THE

TREASURIE

MILLES

1619





4324

HONOR

TIMES STORE-HOVSE

CONTAINING

The learned Collections, Iuditious Readings, and memorable Obserua: tions of sundry worthy Personages, English, French, Italian, Spanish, &c. vpon diuers Subiects as will ap: peare by the seuerall heades in the page following; all of them no lesse vsefull then delight: full.

PAX

NOBI: LITAS

WHERVNTO *is annexed:*

A Speciall Treatise of that kind of NOBILITY *which Soverayne* GRACE, *and fauor, and Contryes Customes, haue made meerly* POLITICALL *and peculiarly* CIVILL *(neuer so distinctly handled before).*

LONDON.
Printed by WILLIAM IAGGARD.
1619.

LIBERTAS

Renold Elstracke sculp:

ΑΡΧΑΙΟ-ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ.

CONTAINING,

Ten following Bookes to the former

TREASVRIE

OF AVNCIENT AND MODERNE TIMES.

Being the Learned Collections, Iudicious Readings, *and Memorable Obſeruations: Not onely Diuine, Morall, and* Philoſophicall; But alſo Poeticall, Martiall, Politicall, Hiſtoricall, Aſtrologicall, &c.

Tranſlated out of that Worthy Spaniſh Gentleman, PEDRO MEXIA, *And* M. FRANCESCO SANSOVINO, that Famous Italian: As alſo, of thoſe Honourable Frenchmen, *Anthony du Verdier,* Lord of *Vaupriuaz*: *Loys Guyon, Sieur de la Nauche,* Counſellour vnto the King: *Claudius Gruget, Pariſian,* &c.



LONDON
Printed by WILLIAM IAGGARD, 1619.

To the most Noble and Twvin-like paire,

of truely Honourable and compleat perfection, Sir PHILLIP HERBERT, Knight of the Bath to our dread Soueraigne King IAMES, at his Royall Coronation; Lord Baron of *Sherland, Earle of Mountgomery, and Companion in the* vnparaleld and famous Fellowship, of the Order of the Garter.

As also, To the truly vertuous and Noble Countesse his Wife,

the Lady Susan, *Daughter to my (sometime) right Honourable Lord and Master,* Edward Vere, *Earle of Oxenford, Viscount Bulbec, Lord Sandford and of Badelesmere: and Lord High Chamberlaine of England, &c.*

(***)

The first Volume of this Treasurie, published about 5. yeares since.

WOrthily might I bee condemned of arrogancie, (most Noble Lord & Lady) becauſe, hauing paſt the Pikes in a peece of the ſelfe-ſame ſeruice (followed with fauour and kinde acceptation) I ſhould therefore preſume vppon the like ſucceſſe: knowing the inconſtant nature of Times, that as they alter, ſo do mens humours & diſpoſitions with them. For, that which carrieth liking and allowance to day, falles into loathing and contempt to morrow; Opinions being more various in the caſe of Bookes, then are the Arguments whereon they diſcourſe, becauſe carping curioſity will haue his cenſure. But, as the Laſt for *Hercules*, was not faſhioned to fit euerie foote, nor his Lyons skinne to be worne by any baſe Lout; euen ſo the ſublimitie of true iudgement (in matters of ſuch induſtrious and painfull labor) ſhould be left to the Learned; not

Ignorance wil alwayes bee bold vpon the learnedſt labours.

not to euery courſe and mechanicke conceite, capeable of nothing, but of ſuch occaſions as are ſuteable to his owne condition.

I haue read of the great Riuer * *Euripus*, which ebbeth and floweth ſeuen times a day, and with ſuch violence; that it carrieth Ships vpon it with full ſayle, directly againſt the winde. Seuen times in an houre ebbeth and floweth raſh Opinion, in the torrent of indiſcreet and troubleſome apprehenſion: carrying Criticke calumnie, and ſquint-eyed detraction, mainly againſt the winde of Wiſedome and Iudgement; becauſe their braines are no better ballaſt, nor their capacity of further reach or extendure.

*A narrow ſea betweene the Hauen Aulis of Bœria, and Eubœo.

Heſiod. in Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

And yet, if the ſaying of *Heſiode* be true; *That nothing can bee more pleaſing, then variety, which is the ſoules cheefeſt ſolace*: Then (not fearing folly, but ſpeaking to peereleſſe Noble nature) giue mee leaue to tell you, that there can hardly bee any eſpeciall ſubiect imagined, but one Argument or other heere meeteth with it. From Sacred Diuinity (the moſt ſolide and ſupreame of all other) through all other Artes and Sciences whatſoeuer, euen to any lowly, and the meaneſt (worthy) profeſſion; here is ſome notable marke or Monument thereof (if it be either Ancient or Moderne) ſtored vp in this Treaſurie, for future Ages to delight in, and to receiue no meane benefite thereby.

Comparing al the Volumes together.

Then (Honourable Lord and Ladie) all theſe bleſſings beeing Yours (as alſo my ſelfe, in endleſſe dutie and ſeruice) when any ſubiect of great, graue, and ſerious conſideration (as of Nations, Monarchies, Kingdomes, and People, in their Originall, Riſing or Declining, by Warres, Diſſentions, Combuſtions, or otherwiſe in the like occurrences) ſhall ſeeme troubleſome or tedious to you: walke on but a little further, & then you may enter into a ſpacious Forreſt, affording all choiſe of pleaſing Game, either for Hawking, Hunting, Fiſhing, Fowling, or any other Noble exerciſe beſide.

When thoſe Forreſt pleaſures ſhall faint you (as all delights dull, by too much continuance) an Orchard ſtandes wide open to welcome you, richly abounding in the faireſt Frutages: not to feed the Eie onely, but likewiſe to refreſh the Heart, inuiting you to plucke where, and while you pleaſe, and to beſtow how, and when you liſt: becauſe they are all yours, and whoſoeuer elſe ſhall taſte of them, do enioy ſuch freedome but by your fauor.

There is one eſpeciall recreation more (Gracious Madam) which remaineth ſoly to your ſelfe, and ſuch as may enter by your admittance; in a goodly large Garden, abounding with all kind of the faireſt Flowers, that open with the cheerfull mornings Sun, and ſhut againe at his ſad departure, all ſweet, and all ſoueraigne. And, becauſe Ladies of elder times (as many haue had the like delight in our more Moderne daies) were ſingularly skilfull in Phyſick and Chirurgery: there is not a vacant place in the whole Garden, but it is fitly furniſhed

ſhed euerie where; the verie common walkes (euen as if they were Bride-like ſtrewed by hand) are couered with the choiſeſt Simples, pureſt diſtillatorie Plants, and wholeſome Herbes of euerie Vertue: for which, the Garden was purpoſely founded, and not for fruitleſſe idle vanity.

And were you all alone, without companie, and by your ſelfe, yet can you not ſo continue there: For, you may meete with a faire Beuey of Queenes and Ladies, at diuers turnings as you walke, and euerie one will tell you the Hiſtorie of her life and fortune (rare examples of Vertue and Honor) as themſelues can beſt, truly & plainly diſcourſe vnto you. Some other alſo you ſhall ſee, ſadly ſitting vnder Eughe & Cipreſſe trees, with Garlands of thoſe leaues wreathed about their heads, ſighing out their diuers diſaſters: whom your Noble nature cannot chooſe but commiſerate; as greeuing to ſee a ſcratch in a cleare skin, and a bodie beautified by Nature, to be blemiſhed by vnkinde Deſtiny.

From manie remote Kingdomes and Countries (where naturally they ſpake thoſe ſeuerall Languages) are all theſe variable pleaſures come hither, onely to kiſſe your Noble hands. It was no mean infelicitie for them, to find no fitter a Tutor, that might haue taught them to ſpeake more eloquent Engliſh; which (indeede) alſo was my fault, ſeeing none elſe would tie themſelues to ſo hard a Taske. But howſoeuer it may prooue, your rich iudgements, and all-ſufficient ability in the Languages, as alſo my weakeneſſe; will (I hope) bury all defects in your fauor, & beare out from ſcandall my willing endeuour, that I may finiſh the other (yet remaining) eleuen Bookes behinde, to perfect ſo rich and rare a Treaſurie.

The Printer to the Reader.

SOme few yeares past, I intended the whol Worke of *Pedro Mexia*, with some other Authours on the like Arguments of variety. I then published nine Bookes, with intention to haue made them vp fifteen, for the first Volume†: but being preuented by sickneſſe, I finiſhed but the first nine Bookes; and finding the good acceptance of them, I haue aduentured now on ten Bookes more, of the like Ancient and Moderne Times: ſauing only, ſome particular Heads but lightly touched, are now (by the ſame Authors) more at large illuſtrated. And may this finde equall ſauour vnto the former (without any harſh cenſure, or vnkinde diſcouragement:) the other eleuen Bookes ſhall follow with all conuenient ſpeede, to finiſh vp ſo faire a Treaſury.

Farewell.

†that was published in 1613.

A Table of the Authours Names, that alledge and approoue the seuerall Arguments, contained in this Booke.

S. Ambrose
S. Augustine.
Anselme
Ausonius
Adon. Epis. Viennæ
Aristotle
Ammianus Marcellinus
Auenzoar.
Appianus
Agathias
Alethius
Auitus
Arrianus
Albertus Strasbourg
Auicenne
Auerroes
Athanasius
Antonius Sabellicus
Arehytas Tarentinus
Antoninus
Annius de Viterbo
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Annales Treuirensis
Autor de Bel. Affric.
Arnoldus Lisiæus
Adrianus Imperat.
Aymonius
Aleuinus
Agapetus
Aulus Gellius
Ægisippus
Ælianus
Æneas Syluius
Æschylus
Æschines
Æmilius Victor
Ætius
Ælius Lampridius
Æmilius Macer
Asperarius
Atheneus
Asinius Pollio
Apuleius Panisis
Alexander Alexandrinus
Alexand. Aphrodiseus
Apolonius Thyaneus
Alphraganus
Anthony du Lebrix
Aristander
Antonius Nebricensis
Albertus Magnus
Aristomachus
Achilles Statius

Aristophanes
Andronicus Athenensis.
Ausonius Lombardus
Aretine
Acamathius
Antoninus Syl.
Alphonsus Rex Hisp.
Attalus
Accurtius
Azzo
Alexand. Trallianus
Atteius Capito
Asconius Pædianus
Appianus Alexandrinus
Archilocus
Arnoldus Ferronius
Amatus
Aristarchus
Antoninus Arch. Floren.
Antisthenes
Anaximander
Albertus Crantzius
Alexand. Guaguinus
Anaximenes
Abbas Siculus
Almadactus Arab.
Augurellus
Anthenor
Annales I. Stow
Actuarius
Aurea Historia
Asserius Meneuensis
Alfridus Beuerlacensis
Adam Merimouth
Alliances genealogiques des Rois & Princes de France
Annales de Aquitaine
Annales de Bourgoigne
Annales du France.
Annales rerum Flandricarum.

B

Biblia Sacra
S. Basile
S. Bernard
Boterus Benesus
Baldus Abbat
Baldus Doc. Ciuil.
Berosus
Bucchanan
Baronius
Budæus
Bandello

Belforrest
Baptista Fulgotius
Blondus
Bartholomeus
Boetius
Boccace
Bonfinus
Barthol. Picenus
Bartholus
Berenus
Barthol. Dardanus
Beroaldus
Baptista Ignatius
Bellonius
Bodinus
Bozius
Bachi Anchisus
Bucholcerus
Balthazar Castillanois.
Bœtius Seuerinus
B. Westmerus

C

S. Cirill.
S. Chrysostome
Columella
Cedrenus
Claudianus
Crescentius
Clemens Alexand.
Cocil. Tolet
Capitolinus
Cornelius Tacitus
Cicero
Ciaconius
Chrysippus
Cardanus
Cleomedes
Collenutius
Conradus Episc.
Cnæus Epidius
Cornelius Agrippa
Caelus
Censorinus
Celsus
Cleanthes
Chalcidius
Cœlius Rhodiginus.
Claudius Victor
Charles de Molin
Comment. Cæsar
Constantinus Cæsar
Calmatheus.

Cheremonius
Chronerus Pol.
Cassiodorus
Corninus Mess.
Cratinus
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Crantzius
Colophonius
Count Balthazar
Cœlius Calcaguin.
Cuspinianus

D

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Dionis. Halicar.
Dionis. Areopag.
Diogenes Laertius
Dioscorides
Demosthenes
Democritus
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Diogenes Cynic.
Damascene
D. Pedro Epis. Leon
Demetrius Alexand
Du Bartas
Dictis Cretensis
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Damasc. Sigierus
Dionis. Lycinius
Donatus
Dionis. Cassianus.

E

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Ephorus
Ecditius
Eusebius.
Eucherius
Eumenides
Epiphanius
Estiuan de Garibay
Eghinhard
Ennodius
Euripides
Eratosthenes
Ennius
Eustatius
Eutropius
Erasistratus

Ebu-

The Authors Names.

Ebulus
Euclides
Elpacus
Euanthes
Epicurus
Empedocles
Eraſmus Roter.
Eſſatius
Eginus
Empolemus
Elpagoras
Eupolis
Epiſc. Tyrienſis
P. Ereb. de Reip. Iud.
Egnatius
Euagrius
Euans
Eſtien Paſquier
Epictetus
Euchirid. Eraſ.
Epicharmus

F

Froiſſard
Fortunatus
Fauchet
Feneſtella.
Frontinus
Fabius Pictor.
Flauius Epiſc.
Faſciculus Temp.
Fernelius
Flores Poetar
Fran. Georgius
Fabianus Prætor
Fran. Philelphus
Functius
Feſtus Pompeius

G

S. Gregory
S. Greg. Nazianzen
Guliel. Tyrienſ.
Gebinianus
Guil. de Naugis
Gennadius
Greg. Floren.
Greg. Turonnenſ.
Gregor. Papa
Geſner
Guicciardine
Gaudentius Merula
Geber
Glareanus
Gontierus
Gualt. Monach.
Garcias d'Orta
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Guyldas
Gyrald. Cambrenſis
Guliel. Malmeſ.
Gemma Friſius

Galen
Galiotus de Nargni.
Geor. Trabezon
Guliel. Budeus
Galerus
Guydonius
Guydo Bonatus
Genebrardus
Geor. Leontinus
Gregor. Giraldus
Gregor. Rech.
Gueuara.

H

S. Hierom.
Hiſt. Miſcellan.
Homer
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Hermolaus Barbar.
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Harpocration
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Herodianus
Horace
Hermes Triſmegiſt.
Hermocrates
Heliſcus Tatius
Heraclitus
Heraclides
Hen. Huntingdon
Hiſt. Poland
Hallian. Chron.
Hall
Holinſhed
Hoſtienſis
Hermippus
Herophilus
Hincmarus
Hier. Oſorius
Hinibaldus
Houllier
Hepheſtion Grec.
Heliodorus
Haly ben Razel.
Hier. Coneſtagio

I

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Iul. Cæſ. Comment.
Innocentius Papa
Ioſephus
Iuuenall
Iulius Florus
Iulius Secundus
Iuſtine

Ioan. Feraldus
Ioan. de Imola
Iulius Capitolinus
Io. de Sacraboſco
Io. Lincolnienſis
Io. Agricanus
Io. Bale
Iulius Frontinus
Iſidorus
Iamblichus
Ingulphus
Iulius Pelagius
Iuſtinatus
Iſaac Rab.
Io. Rouſe
Iulian Imperat.
Iuſtin. Martyr
Io. Scotus
Io. Alexandrinus
Iulius Firmicus
Io. de Mons Royalis
Io. Driodonus
Iſeus
Io. Math. Tiberinus
Io. Vaſæus
Io. Saxonius
Io. Magnus Arch. Hiſpal.
Iſocrates
Ireneus
Io. Capgraue
Iornandus
Io. Monachus
Iacques Boſius
Io. Damaſcenus
Io. Baptiſt, Egnatius
Io. de Maulmont
Iacques de Maguntia
Io. Boccace
Ioachim Vadianus
Ioel. Med. Alexand.
Ioubert Med. Gal.
Io: Camertes
Io: Carion
Io: Cantacuzenus
Io: Fernelius
Iſaac. Iudaicus
Iouianus Pontanus
Io: Laſleus
Iacobus Faber
Io: Annius.

L

Lucian
Lucius Fructus
Leo Imperat
Lucius Plotius
Latinus Pacatus
Lucane
Lact an. Firmianus
Lupus Epiſc. Troi
Liebondus
Lodouicus Viues
Leo Affricanus

Lactantius Grammat
Leonardus Camillus
Laonicus Calchond.
Licinius Macer
Lucas Tudenſis
Lazaro Soranzo
Lucretius
Leo Hebraico
Lodouicus Cœlius
Leo Sophiſt.
Labeo Antiſtius
Linus
Lateranus
Lucius Florus
Laurentius Surius
Lopez de Caſtagned
Lucas Marinus Sic.
Lampridius
Lazarus de Baif.
Lodo: Valentinus
Leo Papa
Lucas de Tuy
Leirus
Lyſias

M

Marcus Aper
Marcellus
Marcus Varro
Molina Hiſpa.
Marineus Sicul
Martianus Capellus
Martin du Bellay
Macrobius
Marianus Scotus
Martiall
Mantuan
Meſſala Augurius
Metrodorus
Marcus Aurelius
Moſchionus
Marbodeus
Meſſala Coruinus
Macchiauell
Moyſes Bar: Cepha
Marſilius Phicinus
Matheus Palmerius
Martinus
Marcus Manilius
Marcus Paulus
Metaſthenes
Mathew Paris
Manethon
Maſpeus
Mathew Weſtminſt
Munſter
Marcus Valerius
Mathiolus
Monſieur de Villamont
Marcus Damaſcenus
Muſæus
Monſieur de la Noue
Meſuus

The Contents.

The first Booke.

OF the Ancient Gauls, their Original, Lawes, Customes, and Ceremonies.

The Disciplines of theyr Druides or Priestes, to the yonger people.

Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Eubages, & profession of Languages, with other manners vsed amongst them, as wel in warre as in peace, and how they haue continued and changed since.

The second Booke.

OF the New Gaules, now called the French; their manhood, valor, and successeful fortunes from their beginning.

The greatnesse of their Kings, their many battels, and famous victories.

Of the names of Kings and Emperour: as also of the Originall of Royalty.

The Battell of Rauenna.

Of the learned women, called the Sybils.

The seuen wonders of the World.

Famous military Orations both of Romaines and Iewes.

The Battaile of Nouara, &c.

The third Booke.

THe originall of the Switzers.

The manner of Gouernement obserued in all their seuerall Cantons.

What Confederates they hane, both in generall and particular.

Likewise of their warres and Battailes.

The fourth Booke.

OF the Kingdom and Court of Spaine, with the Lawes, Customes, and manners of the Nation. Also the diuision and scituation of the said country.

Concerning the kingdome of Portugall, the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Lawes, Customes, and administration of Iustice therein obserued.

Of the Kingdome of Naples, the Antiquitie, Lawes, and Customes thereof.

The Originall of the Salique Law, the first Authors and inuenters thereof.

The Originall of the Normans.

The first planting of the Vine, and prohibition of wine among the ancient Romains.

Examples by Birds, Flyes, and other Creatures, for the leading of a vertuous life.

The Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted, and what a Triumph is.

Of the Crownes and other recompences, giuen by the Romaines to noble deseruing Soldiers, &c.

The fifth Booke.

OF the Nobility of England, Politicall and Ciuill.

The Rites and Ceremonies vsed in the Creation of Barons by Charter.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Viscont

The Charter Royall for the creation of an Earl, a Marquesse, Marchionesse, as also of a Duke, and the manner of creating them: being all liuely represented in their seuerall habites, by Figures cut in Brasse.

The Kings Charter for creating the Prince of Wales.

The Crowning of the King, as well in former times, as now.

The order of the Parliament pompe.

The maner of restoring blood once tainted.

The Order of the Knights of the Garter, by whō instituted, when, and how.

The Collegiate Society of Heralds.

The sixth Booke.

OF the Commonwealth of the Gennes or Geneways, with the Gouernment and administration of Iustice there vsed.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate, Religion, and Common-wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.

Of their three Sects, (viz:) the Pharisies, the Sadduces, and Essæans: their Originall & manner of life.

Of their three Families: The first being the posterity of Iesus: The second, the Asmoneans: & the third, Antipater the Idumæan of Ascalon: with a clearing of doubts in diuers Authors.

Of Ceremonies vsed by the Romaines, before they moued any warre, &c.

The seuenth Booke.

THe Common-wealth of Luca, with their Lawes and Constitutions.

Of diuers accidents, seruing as diuining Auguries in elder times, whereby to iudge of things to happen.

Against

The Contents.

Against the permission of Duells, or single Combats.

A true module of Gouernment in any Common-wealth, deriued from the communitie of Bees.

The three Conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes, and Normanes.

The three famous battailes of Gaza, Grand Cayer, *and at* Nylus.

The first inuention of wearing Rings, with the vertues and properties remaining in precious stones.

Of the Septuagint, *or* 70. *Translators of the Olde Testament, out of* Hebrew *into* Greeke.

The admirable vertues and properties of the Ant.

A briefe suruay concerning the Netherlands, *diuided into* 17. *Prouinces, with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there raigning, from* Thierry *the first Earle of* Holland *and* Zeland, *to this instant time.*

The eight Booke.

Of the Venetians, *and the manner of their policie.*

The foundation of Venice.

The liues and memorable acts of their Dukes and Princes.

Of Gun-shot, and other fiery Engines.

Of Physicke and Physitions.

Of the seuen Sages of Greece.

The first foundation of Ierusalem, what fortunes befell it from time to time, and what Kings reigned there.

Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare, as also of ancient and moderne figures represented by them, with diuers other misteries beside.

The ninth Booke.

Concerning the Countrey of Moscouia *or* Russia, *and of the seureall commodities which the land yeeldeth.*

The Linage and descent of the Russian *Emperour, his Enstalment and Inauguration.*

His manner of Gouernment, Parliaments, Laws, Customes, Warres, &c.

His power for warre and Military Discipline.

What Orders, Rites, Sacraments and Ceremonies are obserued in the Moscouian *Church.*

Of poysons giuen to kill at a certaine day, whether they can doe it, or no.

Of erroneous and vile opinions, yet beleeued for sound truths.

What language they shall speak, that neuer heard any speech.

That a man or woman borne deafe, is necessarilie dumbe also; and he that is borne among dumbe people.

What the reason is of a childes being so tardie in knowing how to speake.

The tenth Booke.

The Kingdome of Ireland, *the Originall of it, and how.*

By whom it hath beene inhabited and Gouerned from the beginning.

How those parts and Countries, commonly caled The New World, *were first found.*

The excellencie and dignitie of Marriage.

Of the Doctors of Sorbonne, *and their first Originall.*

The reason why some Princes and Common-weales haue prospered in the time of Warre, and runne to ruine in peacefull dayes.

Of those qualities and behauiours necessarily required to be in a Prince.

That the eldest sonne ought alwaies to be aduanced and preferred before the younger.

Concerning the great Monarchy of the Cæsars *or* Romanes.

Of the Bezars *stone.*

A learned Tract, concerning the generation of Pearles.

With many other excellent and memorable discourses.

FINIS.

The Authors Names.

Meſ. Angelo Catho.
Marnllus
Mer, Gal. Bel.

N

Nodgerus
Nazarius
Neuius
Nauclerus
Nico. Boyerus
Niceph. Gregorius
Nico. de Lyra
Nigidius
Nico Secundinus
Nicander
Nico. Monardus
Nico. Raſſaus
Nicetas Coniates
Numenius Pythag.
Nico. de Cuſa
Nico. Myrepſic.

O

Ozorius
Oppius
Optatus
Ouid
Onuphrius
Oroſius
Orontius Phineus
Orpheus
Otho Aechiepiſ.
Olradus
Olaus Magnus
Olaus Arc. Vſpal.

P

Pauſanias
Procopius
Paulus Polonius
Paulus Diaconus
Ptolomeus
Pontius Paulinus
Phœbadius
Proſper
Pub. Ter. Varro
Phauorinus
Petrarche
Polybius
Plato
Plutarke
Pliny
Pomponius Mela
Phadrus
Poſſidonius
Petrus Lombardus
Petrus Abayelard.
Philoſtratus
Petrus Bellugus
Petrus Iacob.
Paul. Warnefridus

Paul. Iouius
Phil. Commines
Piſonius
Paul. Oroſius
Platina
Pet. Martyr
Pedro Mexia
Paul. Æmilius
Phlegonius Grec.
Paul. de Caſtro
Politianus
Pindarus
Paul. Æginetus
Pet. Gellius
P. C. Radianus
Plinius Secundus
Pittacus
Parmenides
Polydor Virgil
Petoſyris
Pedro de Albano
Pachymerius
Phil. Melancthon.
Poſidius
Praxagoras
Proculeius
Philemon
Philo Iudai
Pet. Oliuerius
Pet. Comeſtor
Pet. Crinitus
Porphyrius
Philippides
Pythagoras
Propertius
Pauſanias
Pius 2. Papa
Pomponius Latus
Perſeus
Pontanus
Pet. de Aliacus
Policrates
Pegaſus
Pontin. Veruunius
Platearius
Probus
Palemon
Paul. de Nola
Pomp. Lenus Libert
Plautus
Piduxius
Poggius
Popinierus

Q

Quintillian
Quintus Curtius
Quint. Septimius

R

Ronſard

Ruſtic
Rutil. Numation
Ritius
Roder Ximenes
Rabanus
Rog. Houeden
Rabbi Iſaac
Rogerius
Rupertus
Ruffinus
Raph Volateran.
Regino Chron.
Rabbi Helie
Roder. Toletan.
Rondeletius
Reuclin
Rablais

S

Suetonius Tranquil.
Solinus Polyhiſt.
Surianus
Saluſt
Saluianus
Seruius
Symmachus
Scaliger
Sigonius
Stephanus
Suggerus
Strabo
Socrates
Sidonius Apollonar
Sieur de Iouuille
Seneca
Suydas
Sylius Italicus
Seleius Baſſus
Solon
Sophocles
Sebaſt. Munſter.
Scopas
Sim. Simoneus
Stoſlerinus
Sannazar.
Simonides Melli.
Sabellicus
Spartianus
Surius
Sethius
Serapion
Sextus Aurelius
Saxo. Grammat.
Sieur de Pybrac.
Sext. Pompeius
Stobeus
Schonerus
Serenus
Sigiſ. de Herbeſt.
Stoeflerus
Sineſius
Sammonicus

T

Trebellius Pollio

Theophraſtus
Trogus Pompeius
Titus Liuius
Timagenes
Thomas Aquinas
Theodoſius
Tertullian
Themiſtocles
Theopompus
Tabitheus
Tetellus
Toninus
Tibullus
Thales Mileſius
Theod. Gaza
Timocrates
Tithalmanus
Tranquillus
Theuetus
Theodoret
Theophraſtus
Tuditanus
Theod. Bibliander
Thucydides
Tritemius
Tilius
Theophanes
Terentius
Theodotus
Themiſtius
Thomas More
Tarcog. Hiſt. Mund.

V

Virgill
Vitruuius
Vopiſcus
Varro
Valerius Max.
Velleius Patercul.
Vincentius Lyranenſ.
Valturinus
Venerab. Beda
Vegetius
Valer. Flaccus
Volatteranus
Vlpianus
Valentinus Barruchius.

Z

Zenophon
Zenocrates
Zonarus
Zozimus
Zeno
Zuricanus
Zarmanochegas.

THE TREASVRIE
of Ancient and Moderne TIMES.

The First Booke.

Of the ancient Countrey of Gaule, now called France; what Lawes, Customes, Ceremonies, and other manners were vsed among the people of that Nation in their first Originall: and how (since then) they haue continued.

An Introduction to the whole Discourse.

IN ancient times, the Countrey of *Gaule* was enclosed within the limits of the *Rhein*, of the Alpes, of the Mediterranean sea, of the Pyrenean Mountains, and of the Ocean sea. But after that the *Gaules* had passed the Alpes; all the Countrey which was from the Mountains, so farre as the riuer * *Rubicon*, along by the coast of the *Apennines*, and so vp into the high Sea (which at this day is called the Gulfe of *Venice*) took the name of *Gaule*: as *Galatia* did the like, after that wee had subdued some people of *Asia*. That *Gaule* then which is in *Europe*, being halfe parted by the Alpes, is diuided into two parts; the one on the hither side of the Mountaines, and the other beyond. That which is on the further side, yet concerning vs, was called by the Romanes **Togata*: as Romane, in regard of the habit of the Romanes, being commonly called a Gowne, and which they then did vsually weare. That on the hither side, was (by themselues) named properly *Braccata* (by a certain fashion of garment then worne by them, termed Breeches) and partly * *Comata*, in regard that the haire on their heads was verie bushy. *Braccata* in the time of *Iulius Cæsar*, had his extendure from the Alpes, so farre as *Rosne* or* *Rhodanus* bending towardes the Pyrenean Mountaines, where were comprized the *Volcæ*, *Armoricanes*, *Rhutheni* or *Rhynteni*, and *Heluetians*, as it is to be seen in the seuenth Book of *Cæsars* Commentaries. This country was one while called *Prouence*, and then againe *Narbone*, after the name of *Narbona*, then the chiefe and capitall Citie of the country. In *Comata* dwelt the Aquitans, which are they of *Guienne*, euen from the Pyrenean Mountaines, so farre as the riuer* *Garona*: on the hitherside whereof are the Celts, inhabiting so farre as the Riuers of *Sena* and *Marna*. All the rest of the country extending toward the North, is possessed by the Belgians.

Now the search would bee very great, and hard to be performed by any mã, that

The first limits of Gaule

*A Riuer in *Italy*, rising out of *Apennius*, & running betweene *Areminum* and *Rauenna* into the *Adriatique* Sea.

The 3. diuisions of *Gaul*.

**Togata*, calld also *Citerior*, & new *Lombardy*.

**Braccata*, containing *Narbõ*, *Prouence*, or *Daulphinie*.

**Comata*, comprehending *Belgica*, *Celtica* and *Aquitane*.

*A Riuer rising out of the Alpes.

Iul Cæs, in Comment. lib. 7.

Prouence called *Narbone*.

*A riuer parting *Celtica* from *Aquitania*.

The Authors speeches in his owne defence concerning his purpose in this History.

would (with a certaine history of all the times) set downe the fashions, manners, and customes which the ancient *Gaules* had held and obserued, vntill the daies of *Iulius Cæsar*, and their nouell qualities from those dayes to ours. But such as can content themselues with that diligence, which generally may be deliuered by the proofes of good and sufficient Authours, worthy of faith and sound credit; perhaps shall finde their expectation well fitted, both with honest pleasure and profite in their reading. And with this intention am I determined to make (summarily) a collection out of many writers, that haue carefully imployed their paines, concerning the manners and behauiour of the *Gaules*, according as matters might be remembred, in such diuersity of distant places. And first, we will select out the most Ancient: afterward (if wee can bring our purpose to full effect, and as our endeuor shall nothing be wanting) we will as diligently seeke for the nouell customes.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 6. *Cæsar* hath comprehended a certaine forme and semblance of *Gaul* in her ancient dayes; especially in the sixt booke of his Commentaries, of the warre in *Gaul*: albeit he hath sowen many other things throughout his Bookes: which I hauing collected heere and there, and from infinite places in other Authors, so that the whole may serue to encrease and fully illustrate the course of our purpose; wee may the more reasonably accomplish that which shall serue to make knowne our ful aime and scope. Neuertheless, I am not to learne, that the *Greekes* which haue followed *Cæsar*, wer it that they vnderstood not the latine tongue, or were it through careles nesse and negligence; haue declared in many places, that they scarsely vnderstoode the matters contained in his Commentaries. Wherefore we will first of all imitate *Cæsar*, as the most great and singular Author and master of our history: and then pursue others, according as they haue borrowed any thing of him, or as they serue to make the whole subiect vnderstood.

Diuers other good Authors compared with Cæsar.

Errors in Greeke Authors that followed Cæsar.

Cæsar followed as Father of the history.

But in regard that the principall parts of *Great Britaine*, as also of Germany, haue bene seized by the *Gaules*, as shal appear in due time and place; and forasmuch as there hath bene great resemblance of the Britaines and Germanes with the Gauls, as will bee declared by that which *Cæsar* hath writren; I imagined with my selfe, that it would very conueniently suite with our purpose, to compare such fashions as carried any coherence in these Nations. Considering that *Cæsar* thought it fit, to compare the customes of Gaule, with them of Germany. And *Strabo*, perceyuing the Germanes to be called so by the Romanes, as true brethren to the Gauls, by resemblance of their manner of liuing, when he wrote the fashions and customs of the ancient Gaules, he reproued them, and began with the Germanes. But although that *Tacitus* hath sayd, That they were named Germanes, by an appellation proper to their Nation, and such as they pleased to stile themselues; yet notwithstanding, howsoeuer at first they receiued that name, there may be discerned in thē a great Germanity, or (for our better vnderstanding) a Fraternity, both in behauiour and customes, answerable one vnto another.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 7. *Strabo in lib. 9.* *Cornel. Tacitus lib. 4 cap 3.*

Resemblance in customes and manners, betweene the Gaules and Germans.

For our better beginning then, we will conclude on certaine kindes of manners, to the end, that each thing may be carried as may be most conuenient. *Plato* sayeth, There are three principal parts in the body of Man, wherein are lodged the three principall powers of the soule; Concupiscence in the Liuer, Anger in the Heart, and Reason in the Head, as in a Citadell. In like manner, there are three seuerall kinds of vertues that do command & gouerne them: Sobriety or Temperance, to ouersway Concupiscence in the Liuer; Courage, against Anger in the Heart; and Wisedome, in thinking and iudging with Reason. The common consent & agreement of all which, is the faithfull dutie of each one, euen as it were with diuers voices, & worthily may be called Iustice. *Cæsar* and *Diodorus*, *Titus Liuius*, *Strabo*, and others, who are as interpreters of *Cæsar*, do declare many things of the Gauls & if I would haue set down at large in my Discourse, according as they are written by them: I should rehearse one and the same matter too many times. Wherefore I will rather imitate their intention in each place, then bee constrained to alledge their multiplicity of words.

Plato in lib 1. de leg b.

Three cheefe parts in mans bodie.

Three especial kindes of vertues to gouerne the powers of the soule.

Diodorus, Titus Liuius, Strabo, and other Interpreters of Cæsar.

The cheefest places in Great Britain and Germany possessed by the Gaules.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the Temperance in eating and drinking vsed among the Gaules: as also of theyr Marriages and single condition of life.

The Authour beginneth with Temperance.

TO enter then on the behalfe of Temperance, wee might speake of their abstinence in eating and drinking, resort to women, theyr manner of speech, their modesty in Garments and lodging; their sportes, delights and assistance, which they affoord to one another in such things as they haue. Concerning the eating and drinking of the ancient Gaules, they liued for the most part (according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*) on white meats, and diuers kinds of flesh, & principally on Porke fresh and salted. They vsed to haue standing by their fires, pottes full of boyled flesh, and spits well loaden with roasted flesh; the better part whereof they would giue to men of worth, to doe them honor: as *Homer* writes, That the Grecian Captains did to *Aiax*, when he had won the victory against *Hector* body to body. *Cæsar* granteth the selfe-same manner of life to the Britaines, and to the Germanes. The Britaines (saith he) which dwell furthest vp into the Countrey, the most part of them do not sowe any corne but liue onely vpon milke and flesh. Neuertheless, they hold in detestation (by what religious opinion I know not) to taste of an Hare, of an Hen or Chicken, and of a Goose. Hee saith also the very same in his seuenth book, speaking of the Germanes, That they do not addict themselues to any kinde of labour, and that their very greatest nourishment is vppon white meats, cheese and flesh. But *Tacitus* hath written much more amply concerning the manner of life amongst the Germans. Each mother (saith hee) doth nurse her childe with her owne brest, and neuer trusteth it in the hands of their seruants, or other Nurses. Thou canst not know the Master from the Varlet, by any kinde of more delicate feeding. They liue nakedly and slouenly, euen amongst their Heards or droues of Cattle; & lying vpon the ground, vntill such time as age doth set apart such as are Masters, & vertue doeth auouch and make them to bee knowne. Their viands are simply dressed or prepared, being of wilde fruits; sometimes of fresh Venison, or curded milke, without any dainty cooking or dressing. So much for their manner of eating.

The eating & drinking of the Ancient Gaules *Diodor. in lib.* 4 *Strabo in lib.* 2

Hom. Iliad. lib 4

Iulius Cæsar in comment. lib. 6 Of the Germanes.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 3. *cap.* 1.

Of Mothers Nursing their owne chiidrē.

As for their drinke, that amongst the Gaules, and termed *Zythum*: This (sayth *Diodorus*) was made of barley and water, hauing passed thorowdiuers honicombs. *Tacitus* writeth almost the very same of the Germanes. They make a drinke (saith he) of water, mingled both with barley & wheate, disguised into some resemblance of wine. They which dwell on the Sea-coasts, do buy wine. The most part of the Gaules (as *Diodorus* & *Strabo* doe both write) vsed to sitte on the ground and to eate their food, sitting on the skinnes of Dogges or of wolues: being serued with earthen vesselles, which were strong and massiue, and wrought about with branches of flowers; and they were alwayes attended and serued by their young children. In like manner *Tacitus* recordeth, That the Germans so soone as they were awake and risen (which they vsed not to do till it was day:) they laued and washed themselues with warme water, because winter continued in their region for the most part of the yeare; and at comming foorth of the bathe, they went vnto theyr foode, each one hauing his table and seat alone by himselfe. Thus then was their ancient and rude simplicity, which caused the Germanes to be so big membred and corpulent, whereat *Tacitus* seemeth to maruell greatly. And thence likewise ensued the selfe-same greatnesse of bodye which was among the Gaules, vvho for their huge corpulency, and regarding only their owne bignesse of stature, held the smaller constitution of the Romanes in contempt, as may be seene in the 2. book of the wars in *Gaul*.

The drink vsed by the ancient Gaules *Diodor. in lib.* 4 *Cornel. Tocitus in lib.* 4. *cap.* 2.

Diodor. in lib. 4 *Strabo in lib.* 3.

Their manner of eating their meate.

Cornel. Tacitus vbi supra. Of washing their body in warme water.

The reason of corpulence & big stature of the Germans and Gaules.

But *Plato* reprehendeth the Gaules for their intemperance and drunkennes with wine; and *Diodorus* writeth the very same. They affected Wine so excessiuely, that when the Merchants brought it to them, they dranke it wholly new as it was; and then becomming drunk, by hauing taken ouermuch, they lay downe to sleepe, or behaued themselues like mad men. And this was the reason that many of the Ita-

Intemperance and drunkennesse amongst the Gaules.

Italian Marchants broght wine to the Gaules.

lian Merchants for the gaine which they got both by sea and land; brought wine in great plenty thither, and for a smal vessell of wine, receyued (in exchange) foure times the value. And the same Authour not onely blameth their drunkennes, but also the quarrels which accompanied this excesse. They obserued (saith he) as a custome, at their feeding, for the least debate of words, to rise presently from the Table, and defie one another to the combate, hazarding their liues without any discretion. Thus you see how the Greeks haue reprooued the ancient Gaules; and *Tacitus* calleth the Germanes theyr Brethren in the same vice, accusing them equally to bee drunkards and quarrellers. They vsed not (saith he) any such temperance against thirst. For they held it no dishonor, to spend the whole day and night in drinking, so they might bee suffered to drinke their fill, furnishing them with so much as they would haue: you shold find them no lesse easie to bee conquered by their vices, then by armes. The quarrels which rose very often among them, as among people subiect to Wine, was no sooner mingled with iniuries of the mouth; but (for the most part) did end with blowes by the sword, to the expence of their blood, yea of their liues. Such was the blame which the Germanes receiued by making no more account of so bad a custome; euen as if this vice had bene no vice among them, or did any way shame them.

Diodor. in lib. 4 The Gaules hazarded their liues vpon sodaine quarrels.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap: 5.

The whol day & night spent in nothing but drinking amongest the Germanes.

An Order amongest the Gauls against this badde custome.

But the Gaules vsed themselues in better manner: for by a publicke ordinance this vile behauiour (in particular persons) was verie greeuously and rigorously punished. Let vs heare then from *Cæsar* the cause of the magnanimity of the Gaules; which was, by knowing how to keep thē selues from this disorderly kinde of life. The most magnanimous of all (saith he in his first Booke, speaking of the Belgians, Celts, and Aquitanes) are the Belgians, because they are furthest off in the countrey, which is carefully husbanded, and strangers doe but sildome trafficke with them, to bring them that which serueth to no other end but to effeminate their courages.

Cæsar in comment lib. 1

Most valiant & fierce people about *Tornay*.

In the same book speaking of the Neruians, as of the most couragious of al the Belgians, he saith; *Cæsar* making enquiry of them, what might be their naturall disposition and manners, hee found, That Merchants did not trafficke with them, & that they would not suffer (by any means) that wine should be brought among thē, or any thing that serued for delicacy. For they held (as an infallible opinion) that such things wer the cause of abasing their courage, & that their natiue vertue would thereby be much weakned. Whereby we may perceiue, that the intemperance of some particular men, was condemned by a generall and publicke decree; and that sobriety & temperate carriage was greatly respected and honored in those parts. *Strabo* sayeth, That by the perswasion of *Cenus*, a graue and wise man, the Getes rent and pluckt vp all the Vines in theyr country, yet vsed some wine in the time of their childrens nursing. But our Ancestors did much better, because they would neuer permit or suffer, that any Vine should be planted among them, or wine to be brought them from any other place. Wherefore *Diodorus* had good reason to say, that in his time there came no vvine at all into *Gaule Comata*.

Wine & wanton meats the hinderers of manly corage

Strabo in lib. 3 Of the Getes

No vines plāted amongst the Gaules.

Diodor. in lib. 4

Cæsar in his fourth Booke, maketh the *Sueues*, a people of Germany, equall in temperance to the *Neruians* that were in Gaule. For they would not suffer that any wine should bee brought into their countrey, because they were perswaded, that it made men lazie, effeminate, and vnapt to endure any labor. Thus we may obserue then, what was their sobrietie in eating and drinking, wherein their greater part of vertue is commended; for abstinence from lewd and wanton women. And albeit that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, * *Bardesanes*, according as *Eusebius* reporteth; being all of them Grecian Authors, haue reproued this vice as frequent and common among the Gaules, and which is as innated (if credite may bee giuen to *Aristotle*) in warlike actions; whereby the fable was fained, of conioyning *Venus* with God *Mars*: yet notwithstanding, *Cæsar* speaketh nothing therof, but giueth great commendation to the Germans for their temperance, contrary to them that haue written otherwise of them.

Iul. Cæsar in comment. Lib 4 Sueuia, bordering on Bauaria, Halsatia the riuer Rheine, & the Alpes.

An Historiographer of Babylon. *Euseb. in histor. Eccles l. 4. c. 28*

Arist: in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 9

Such as haue continued in virgin estate the longest while among them, and without the knowledge of any other but their owne body, receiued the very greatest respect

Of such as liued longest in virgin estate of life.

ſpect and praiſe. For they held it as a moſt villanous thing to haue knowledge of a woman, before the age of twenty yeeres. In all which time they did not hide themſelues, but bathed daily together in the riuers. And this is the reaſon rendered by *Herodotus*, ſpeaking of the nature of children, wherefore haire commeth much ſooner to ſome then it doth to others: becauſe the vſe of *Venus* maketh the fleſh more looſe and flaggy, and openeth the skinne, which affordeth the eaſier paſſage to the haire; contrarywiſe, ſuch Children as are gelded, haue neuer any haire at all. *Tacitus* hath not omitted the ſelfeſame attribution of praiſe to the Germans. Yong men are long time before they haue any knowledge of women: and that is an eſpeciall reaſon why they loſe no part of their yourhfull ſtrength, and therefore make no haſt at all of parting with their virgin condition. Young Laddes, and ſuch (of like ſtature) as are gelded, do make triall of their agility together, and their children do (commonly) partake of their Parents ſtrength.

Herod. in Terp. Of the nature of Children.

The younger men amongſt the Germans

Young men children equalled theyr fathersſtrēgth

Iulius Cæſar in comment. Lib. 6

Marriages do appertaine to the rule of the ſame vertue: but *Cæſar* hath not written carefully how the Gauls obſerued it. The husband (ſaith hee) laide downe the valew of ſo much goodes, as his wife brought with her, and a iuſt account being taken thereof, the whole ſtocke was put together. The party that ſuruiued, enioyed the others portion, with the reuennewes of all that had paſt. The husbands are maſters and commaunders of their wiues liues, and alſo of their Childrens. When any Father of a Family (of note) dyeth, the nereſt of the kindred do aſſemble together; and if any ſuſpition be conceyued concerning his death: the Wife is committed to tortures, as they doe theyr ſlaues, and if ſhe prooue to be conuinced; after they haue tormented her with fire, and all other kinds of paines, they put her to death. This law may ſeeme hard, that giueth the husband ſuch like power ouer the wife and children, as he hath ouer his ſlaues. For, according as the Philoſophers haue taught vs: the father of the family giueth command to his wife & children, as vnto free perſons. Yet this is not all as one kinde of command: for hee giueth command to his wife as to one of the ſame Commonwealth, & to his children as a King. The Law truly may appeare to be hard, and yet it is *Roman*, euen the like as *Romulus* made, Ordayning; That the ſonne ſhould bee in his fathers power all his life; and that the father may chaſtiſe, beate, put him to any buſines in the field, ſell, or kill him. The ſame King alſo appointed, That a man might puniſh his wife, if ſhe had drunke any wine. *Cæſar* ſpeaketh all this in his ſixt booke: and in his fift hee declareth diuers other faſhions of behauiour in marriages, ſpeaking of the Britaines.

Orders obſerued in marriages amongeſt the Gaules.

Romulus Lawe for power in fathers.

Ten or twelue together (ſaith he) do hold their wiues in common, and principally brethren with their brethren, and fathers with their daughters. And ſuch as are born of them, are auouched for children of them that haue eſpouſed their mothers, being yet maids. So much alſo he relateth of the Engliſh. But *Tacitus* writing of the Germaines, giueth them moſt noble commendation in this point. The wife (ſaith hee) neuer offereth anie dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents, couſins, & kindred are preſent thereat, and allow of all preſents paſsing between them. And they are no preſents deuiſed for delicacie or delight of women, nor to repaire a new intended marriage: but they are a gift of Oxen yoaked, a horſe brideled and furniſhed, & a Buckler or Target, with a ſword and Iaueline. For theſe preſents the husband taketh his wife; who likewiſe (on hir owne behalfe) preſenteth him with ſome weapons of warre. This is the great marriage bond, theſe are accounted ſacred myſteries, & theſe are the coniugall gods that they hold in reuerence.

Obſeruation of marriage amongſt the Britaines.

Cornelius Tacitus, vbi ſupra. In praiſe of the Germans.

Of ſuſpition concerning the husbands death.

Preſents giuē vnto the new mraried Huſband.

And to the end that the wife may not thinke her ſelfe exempted from vertuous deſſeignes, nor the hazards of warre: from the very beginning of her marriage ſhe is continually aduertiſed, that ſhe is thus receiued and taken to be her husbāds companion in all paines and dangers, and that (be it either peace or warre), ſhee muſt of neceſsity runne the ſame fortune. And theſe are plainly ſignified vnto her by the coupled Oxen, the furniſhed horſe, and warlike weapons. She receiueth what ſhe is to beſtow on her children after that ſhe hath worthily and holily nurſed them vp: & ſuch as are of moſt forward diſpoſition the Father hath care of, that they may re-

Aduertiſements to the wife from the day of hir mariage.

The doctrine of the Philophers concerning the huſbands power.

Myſterious ſignifications to the Wife.

Education of their children

ſemble (in good quality) others of theyr linage. And then they liue, keeping their chaſtity well defended ; not being corrupted by any occaſions, nor the ſight of wanton paſtimes, or beeing preſent at Feaſts or bankets.

Women puniſhed by theyr husbands for adultery

There are very few adulteries committed in ſo great a Nation ; for the puniſhment thereof is very ſpeedy, and the huſband may lawfully do it. After hee hath ſhauen and ſtript her naked, the husband bringeth her forth of his houſe, in the preſence of all his and her neereſt Kindred, and beateth her with a baſtinado thorow all the ſtreetes ; for there is no allowance of any pardon after that a wife hath blemiſhed her honor ; and neither her beauty, youth, or riches can afterward winne her another husband. Vices ſerue not there to be laughed and ieſted at: & one may well ſay, That (there) is ſuch a world, as neither permitteth the doing or induring of any diſſoluteneſſe. Thoſe Commonweales are the beſt ordered, wherein is ſuch permiſsion, that the Maides onely finde themſelues husbands, and mariage conſiſteth in mutuall accord (for a long while) in good hope, and that the Bride may haue her hearts deſire. For in this caſe ſhe taketh her husband as one & the ſelfeſame body, and one life is allowed by them both: becauſe they can haue no contrary thoughts, neither theyr deſires any way wandering, but their affections doe ſo ſimpathize, as not in either to husband or wife, but to the ſanctity of marriage. It is helde as a very great offence, to procure the death of any of their children, or of their kindred: And there good cuſtomes do beare more ſway, then good Lawes and Ordinances doe elſewhere. Hitherto haue wee continued the writing of *Tacitus*, concerning the Germanes marriages.

No pardon granted for adultery.

Vices not ieſted at.

Commendation of marriage making.

Againſt murthering of Children or Kindred.

Diodorus reprehendeth the Gaules for a certaine kinde of diſordered behauiour in their ſpeaking, ſaying; They vſe a ſhort kinde of ſpeech, ſomewhat hard to be vnderſtood, and without any deliberation; ſpeaking great ſtore of doubtfull things, yet deliuering many bragging and vaunting words; much to commend thēſelues and in the contempt of others. They are threatners and bad ſpeakers, and full of ouerweening. This vauntery of theirs hath likewiſe beene reprooued by *Strabo in lib.*

Diodor in lib. 4 The manner of ſpeaking amongſt the Gaules.

3. And *Cæſar* ſpeaketh thereof in his ſeauenth Booke, and is alſo to be proued by diuers examples in his other books. Such is that whereof hee ſpeaketh in his firſt booke, of *Diuiconus* the Heluetian, who highly extolled and vaunted the vertue of the Heluetians, and reproached the diſcomfiture of the Romanes, admoniſhing *Cæſar* by menaces to beware of any further attempting; for feare, leaſt the place where the Romanes miſcarried, by a further loſſe of their people, after the foiling of their whole Army, ſhould take name thereby, and ſo remaine as a memorie of their diſgrace.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 7.

Diuiconus the Heluetian braggart.

Such alſo was *Arioviſtus*, King of the Germans, who anſwering litle or nothing to matters which *Cæſar* demaunded of him; ſpake wonders of his owne valour, and that he neuer buckled with any man, but he was ruined. And *Cæſar* might com to fight whenſoeuer he pleaſed, but he ſhould learne of the Germaines, that they were a people neuer vanquiſhed, and skilfull enough in actions of armes. *Vercingetorix* alſo vanted in his oration, that hee would make a League with all the Gaules, and then all the world durſt not make head againſt them. This is ſufficient concerning this matter; I come now to ſpeake of the care which they had of their owne perſons.

Arioviſtus K. of the Germans.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 1.

CHAP. II.

How the Gaules vſed to weare their Haire; and what kinde of garments they vſed, with the painting of their bodyes, their Coines, &c.



Iodorus, ſpeaking of the Gaules, ſayth; Albeit, that naturally they haue goodly lockes of hayre; yet doe they helpe the naturall colour thereof, by an inſtrument properly deuiſed for that purpoſe. They twine and twiſt theyr buſhie lockes together, and ſuffer them to hang dangling downe, euen from the forehead to the necke: ſo that they reſemble Satyres, and young vnſhorne boyes. They haue practiſed by Art, to make their haire thicke

Diodo. in Lib. 5 How the Gaules vſed to weare their haire.

thicke and hard, that little difference appeareth betweene theirs and the haire of a horſe. *Tacitus* ſpeaketh (wel-neere) the ſame of the *Sueues*, a people of Germany. But the eſpeciall note of that Nation is, that they turne their haire croſſe or ouerthwart, and then binde or truſſe it vp in a knot. In this manner are the *Sueues* knowen among all the other Germaines, and free-men of the Countrey from ſlaues. Some of the *Sueues* do weare their hayre long, and briſtling backward with a bending downe, and ſo they go till they bee hoary or white; and then (oftentimes) they binde it together on the crowne of the head. The Lords are no more reſpectiue of their own perſons, and yet without any proud or bad intention: For it is not done in regard that they affect or couet to be affected; but they doe onely ſo decke themſelues, to appeare the more fierce and terrible vnto theyr enemies, when occaſion calleth them foorth to warre.

Cornel. Tacitus vbi ſupra. How the Sueues did weare their haire.

Of the Lords amongſt the Sueues

Diodorus proceedeth on in this maner, concerning the behauiour of the Gaules. Some of them (ſaith he) doe vſe to ſhaue their beards, but others do weare them of ſome length. The Gentlemen do cutte ſhort the haire on their cheekes, & ſuffer their beards to grow to ſuch length, as it will couer all their bodie. They weare alſo a kinde of garment, which is all hairie, to ſeeme the more dreadfull and terrible, conſiſting of diuers colours, and tearmed by them *Braccates*. They haue long skirted Iackets or Caſſockes, rewed or ſtreaked, beeing of the very courſeſt Cloath, which they vſe for winter, and the moſt ſimple or ſlendereſt for ſummer. *Diodorus* ſpeaketh thus of the *Braccates*, as the reaſon whereby the Romans called that part of Gaule *Braccata*, and by which garment the ſame Authour affirmeth, That the Gaules were more terrible to beholde. *Strabo* likewiſe writeth in his fourth book concerning their haire, their Caſſockes, their rude and hairy garments, their long high breeches, & their ſhort open cloaks which hardly couered halfe theyr Buttockes. All theſe Authors do agree together, as touching the haire of the Gaules and Germaines, and to be of a redde colour, according as *Titus Liuius*, and *Diodorus* haue written. *Cæſar* ſpeaking of thē of ancient Britany, writeth thus. They do

Diod. in Lib. 5 How the Gaules wore their beards, and ſome other apparrel.

The reaſon of calling Gaule Braccata.

Strabo in Lib, 4

Titus Liui. dec. 3. Lib. 2. cap: 1 *Diodor. in L. 5.* *Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib: 7.* Of the ancient Britaines.

all paint themſelues with an hearb, called by them **Glaſtum*, which cauſeth a blewiſh or azure colour: and this made them very dreadfull to looke on, when they went to any fight. Moreouer, they wore their lockes of haire very long; ſhauing off all their other haire except that on the head, and on the vpper lip.

Diodorus purſuing his purpoſe concerning the Gaules, figureth them forth (as it were with golde) in this manner. The whole Countrey of Gaule is without the mettall called Siluer: but nature hath giuen it gold, without any labor or cunning endeauour. For, in regard that the moſt part of the riuers haue their courſes verie troubleſome, vneaſie in paſsing, & wheeling or circkling in wide compaſſe: the waters which deſcend from the hilles and mountaines, by diſperſing themſelues abroad in the valleyes, do ſcatter a ſand on the fields, which is mingled with golde. Afterwardes, kneading or tweaking the clods together, wherein they diſcerne the golde to ſhine, and permitting them to become hard: they then breake them in peeces, and when they haue waſhed it in water, and the earth is quite taken away, they hurle the reſt into a furnace, and ſo melt it in that manner. When they haue thus moulten and drawne out the golde pure and cleare, the women and men do adorne themſelues therewith: for they weare it in rings on their fingers, and in bracelets about their armes, and in Carcanets on their breſts, & in chaines about their neckes, and about their middles as golden girdles. *Polybius* alſo maketh mention in his ſecond booke, of their Chaines and Bracelets. And *Strabo* in his 4. booke ſpeaketh of their Mines of gold, whereof the cheefeſt are in the Country of * *Tarbellos*: and hee attributeth this Ornament only vnto ſuch as were in honor and dignitie.

But *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* do ſpeake of another manner of want or pouerty (of this magnificence) amongſt the Germaines. They vſe (ſaieth *Cæſar*) skinnes in their garments, and ſhort cloakes made of furred skins, hauing the greater part of their body naked. But *Tacitus* ſpeaketh more amply, concerning the whole manner of the Germains, writing thus. I doubt whether the gods were fauourable to them or quite contrary; becauſe they denied them the

[z] The Hearbe Woade, vſed by Dyers.

Diod. in Lib: 5. No ſiluer in al the countrey of Gaule, but gold naturally

How they gather their gold amongſt the Gaules, & adorne themſelues therewith.

Polyb. in Lib 2

Strabo in Lib. 4

The countrey of Gaſcoigne, neere to the Pyrenean Mountaines.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 7

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 6. c. 3.

No Golde or Siluer among the Germans.

the mettals of gold and ſiluer. Notwithſtanding, I will not ſet it downe aſſuredly, but that there may bee ſome veine of gold or ſiluer in Germany: yet who (at any time) hath made ſearch for it? They haue no ſuch affection thereto, as to apply it to any ſeruice. Som veſſels of ſiluer haue beene found amongſt them (which haue bene giuen to their Ambaſſadors, or to their Princes) and yet to be held in no more eſteeme or reckoning, then thoſe that are made of earth. Neuertheles, they that dwell much neerer to vs, in regard that they haue trafficked with our people: do make more eſteeme of gold and ſiluer, allowing and commending ſome peeces of our monies. They that liue further off in the Countrey, doe deale more ſimply, and (according to the moſt ancient manner) make their trafficke by exchange. They receiue the old mony, and ſuch as they haue had longeſt knowledge of, as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They loue the coin of ſiluer better then that of gold; not that they beare therto any particular affection, but becauſe the ſiluer money is eaſieſt for them in buying things common, and of ſmalleſt price. The vſuall habit or garment to them all, is a long skirted Iacket or Caſſocke which they faſten together with a buckle, but (for want thereof) with a great pin. The reſt of the body is not couered with any thing, and they ſit the moſt part of the day vpon the hearth, ſomewhat neere to the fire. Such as are of greateſt wealth, doe differ from the other in their garments, which are not ſo ample or large as thoſe of the *Sarmates*, or of the Parthians: but iuſtly fitted to the body, and ſuch as maketh apparant ſhew of euery mẽber. They wear the skins of wild beaſts, and ſuch as dwell neereſt to the riuers, are moſt curious of their habit: but they of more remote abiding, vſe no great curioſity, as being leaſt carefull what they weare, becauſe they liue ſo far from ſtrangers. When they haue made choiſe of their beaſts skinnes, they do the like of fiſhes, taking ſuch as are the greateſt, or as the Ocean and moſt vnknowne Seas do yeeld, and fulleſt of ſpots, and ſo they ſowe them together. The Women are no otherwiſe habited then the men: but that the women are oftner couered with a garment of linnen, inter-wouen with a ſcarlet colour. They care for no ſleeues on the height of their armes, but are naked downe from the very ſhoulders and part of the breaſt (neereſt adioyning) is as nakedly diſcouered. Thus you ſee the gayeſt brauery of the Gaules, & how ſimple the Germans are in their garments: it remaineth now that we ſay ſomewhat of their houſes and dwellings.

Veſſels of Siluer held in no more account then the like made of earth

The *Serrati* & *Bigati* wer monies amongſt the ancient Romanes.

The common wearing habit of the Germanes.

They weare skins of wilde beaſts, and of fiſhes.

What garments the women did wear.

CHAP. III.

Of the houſes and dwellings of the Gaules; their Townes and villages, and of what manner they were.

THe habitations of the Gauls (according as *Strabo* ſayth) are wide and ſpacious, made of earth and planchers of wood, & couered with ſtrong reeds arched on the top together in form of a vault: for ſo *Cæſar* in the fift booke of the Gaules warres ſaith, That the Lodgings of *Q. Cicero* in the fields, were couered with ſtraw and reeds, according to the manner of the Gaules. And in his ſixt booke he ſheweth, that the more part of the Mannor-houſes appertaining to the gentlemen Gaules, were in the woods, or on the riuers. Speaking of the houſe of *Ambiorix*, which was altogether engirt with woods; *As were wel-nere al* (ſayth he) *the houſes of the Gauls are, who to ſhun the heate, do dwel in woods, and neere to riuers.* Cæſar deliuereth plainly, that the Aquitaines, Celts and firſt Belgians, had their Cities and Townes encloſed both with walles and ditches: but it may be doubted whether the like prouiſion was vſed among the Gaules further off, and ſuch as were neereſt to the North; as the [a] *Morini*, [b] *Aduatiques*, [c] *Menapians*, and [d] *Eburones*.

Cæſar declareth, That the moſt part of theſe Belgians, are deſcended of the Germaines, and ſaith, that the Germains had not their Townes and Villages made after our manner: as may bee obſerued by that which *Tacitus* hath written according to the cuſtome which they had in his time. It is ſufficiently known (ſaith he) that the German people dwell not in any Towns,

Of their houſes, lodgings, & dwellings *Strabo in Lib.4*

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib.5.

Lib.6.

Of their firſt Cities and Townes.

[a] People about Turwain by the Britiſh Ocean.

[b] Of Narbone in France.

[c] Inhabiting both ſides of Rheine, next to the Vbii.

[d] Of the country Liege or Luke, beyond Brabant. *Corn. Tacit. in lib.5.*

The maner of their building among the Germanes.

Townes, neither that they could endure to haue their houſes neere vnto one another. They dwell diſtant or apart, ſcatteringly, where either riuers, fieldes, or woods do beſt content them. Their Villages are not after our faſhion: for their houſes do not touch or ioyne neere each other. Euery one leaueth a great wide diſtance or compaſſe about his dwelling; either to auoid the diſaſtrous fortunes of fire, or elſe becauſe they know not how to build better. They vſe neither Morter nor Tiles: but the matter which doeth them ſeruice, is very rude, and is not prepared either for beauty or pleaſure. They plaiſter ſome places much more reſpectiuely, with a kinde of earth ſo cleane & ſhining, as it ſeemeth to contend with painting, & portraitures of colours. They were wont to make caues vnder the ground, and couered them with thicke clods of dung, to withdraw themſelues thither in the winter time, and therein alſo to hide theyr Corne; becauſe in ſuch places, the colde weather had not ſo great power, & when the enemy came, hee could make pillage of nothing, but what hee found readily diſcouered. As for that which was thus hidden or buried, Theeues not knowing thereof, would beſtow the leſſe paines & ſearch, in further enquiry after it. *Cæſar* ſpeaketh (almoſt) as much of the Britains. They tearmed it a Towne (ſaith he) when they had encloſed ſome tuffy wood with ditches and pales; whereinto they were wont to retire themſelues, to ſhunne the courſes of their enemies. And whereas *Cæſar* ſpeaketh ſometimes of certaine Townes of the *Suenes*: in mine opinion, hee is ſo to be vnderſtood.

Their Caues and ſtorehouſes of Corne vnder ground

Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 6.

Returne we now to the townes of the Belgians, which are vp higher in the coũtry, and heere my queſtion is: Whether they had any ſuch Townes as the Britains or no? We will firſt of all ſpeake of the *Morini*, who (according as *Cæſar* writeth) beganne to make war, but in a quite contrary manner then the other Gaules. For they hauing heard, that the very greateſt Nations which had hazarded battel, were quite defeated and conquered: withdrew themſelues & their goods into the ſtrongeſt places, which were great and long forreſts, encompaſſed with fenny or marſhy grounds. *Cæſar* being come vnto the entrance of ſome ſuch forreſt, and hauing concluded there to fortifie his campe: as the *Romanes* were ſeriouſly imployed about their buſines; the enemy (of whom they had no doubt at all) ſallied forth vpon them vnprouided, at moſt places of the wood, and charged the *Romanes* very ſharply. Heereupon, they betooke them to their Armes, and repulſed them backe into the wood, and hauing ſlaine a great number of them, purſued them thorough many vneaſie places, yet with very little loſſe of their people. The next day following, *Cæſar* determined to fell down the Forreſt, and ſuſpecting leaſt ſome harme might be done by the Flankers to Soldiers vnarmed: he cauſed al the trees which were hewne downe, to bee made as ramꝑiers againſt the enemy, and to ſerue as defences on either ſide.

The Morini ſet vpon the Romanes and were repulſed

Hauing made a great ſpacious countrey (in few dayes) by incredible diligence, after that the Romaines had made themſelues Maiſters of the cattle & baggage which was in the rereward; they withdrew themſelues into the thickeſt of the Forreſt. *Cæſar* ſpeaketh this of the wood of the *Morini*, which ſerued them as a Towne or Village. And the yeare after, in regard of the drought which had dried vp all the Mariſhes (as is to be ſeene in his fourth booke) they hauing no more refuges to flye vnto as they had the yeare before, were (almoſt all of them) ſubdued by *Labienus*. In theſe two warres, hee maketh no mention of any other Townes, then of woods and mariſhes.

Cæſar & his men purſue the Morini into the Forreſt

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.

Of towns belonging to the Belgians

Of the Morini, that made war, contrarie to all the other Gaules.

The like is affirmed of the *Menapians*, in thoſe Countries where the Romaine Legions were broght, vnder the conduct of *Fabius* and *Cotta*, as it is ſet downe alſo in his fourth booke. They made ſpoyle in the fields, deſtroyed the Corne, ſet the houſes on fire; and all this happened, becauſe the *Menapians* had hid themſelues in the thickeſt Forreſts. Afterward *Cæſar* himſelfe came to them with fiue legions. But they (as *Cæſar* ſaith) not hauing gathered any forces together, truſting only in the ſecurity of the place, withdrew themſelues into the woods and mariſhes, and carried thither their goods alſo. *Cæſar* hauing diuided his powers with *C. Fabius*, who was his Lieutenant, and *M. Craſſus* Treaſorer of his wars, and hauing alſo ſodainely prouided bridges for paſſage, gaue them aſſault three ſeuerall wayes;

Of the Menapians.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.

Theſtratagem of Cæſar againſt the Menapians, thorough theyr owne negligence.

wayes, and burning their houſes and villages, made himſelfe Maſter of a great number of men and cattle. The *Menapians* ſeeing themſelues in this diſtreſſe; were conſtrained to ſend Ambaſſadours, humbly to entreate peace. In this place alſo there is no name of any village, or pregnant appearance that there were any, but ſuch as wee haue alreadie ſpoken of.

Of the Neruians. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 2.*

By due obſeruation of this diſcourſe, perhaps the villages of the *Neruians* will appear to be euen the like. The *Neruians* (this ſpeaketh *Cæſar* in his ſecond booke) from all antiquity, not hauing any power of horſemen (for euen to this day they do not addict their mindes thereto, but all the ſtrength which they haue, conſiſteth onely in footemen) to the end they may impeach and withſtand the horſemen of their neighbours, if they make any inrode vpon them, to rob and ſpoile them, cutting downe yong trees that had ſhot forth ſtrong branches, they twined them together, and interweauing briars and thorns among them, they wrought them ſo artificially, that theſe hedges or fences ſerued them as a wall; wherein not onely a man could not enter, but alſo he was vnable to ſee or diſcerne any thing.

The politicke defence of the Neruians againſt horſemen of their neighbours or other enimies

The Neruians had no walled townes or villages of defence.

In the ſame warre of the *Neruians*, the women, & ſuch as (in regard of their age) were not ſeruiceable for bearing armes, had neuer any Village or Town for their ſafety, which was engirt with wals; but in ſuch a place where there was no coming or entrance for an Army, becauſe of the mariſh grounds, which were the onely hinderance.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 6.

Now, in this firſt warre agaynſt the *Neruians*, wee may plainly perceiue that they had not any Towne encloſed with wals: and we may well credit it by that which is in the ſixt booke. For *Cæſar* hauing aſſembled foure Legions with all poſsible diligence, entred (vnawares) into the Country of the *Neruians*, and before they could either draw their ſtrength together, or tell how to ſaue themſelues: after hee had ſurprized a great number of men, and heards of Cattle, and diſperſed the booty to his Soldiers; he layde waſte their fields, and compelled them to yeeld and deliuer him hoſtages. This paſſage likewiſe of the *Neruians*, yeeldeth great coniecture, that they had no other towns or villages in thoſe times, but like them of the *Britaines*.

The 2. war of Cæſar againſt the Neruians.

Of the Aduatiques. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 2*

It may appeare alſo, that the *Aduaticates* (by that which *Cæſar* writeth in his ſecond booke) haue had the like townes. Hauing forſaken (ſaith he) al their townes and Caſtles, they brought all their goods into a village, which was wonderfully ſtrong by naturall ſituation. For, hauing (on al ſides about it) huge rocks & downfalles of exceeding height, it had but one onely comming to it, which was hanging or deſcending downward, yet in a ſweete and gentle manner, being in breadth no more then two hundred foote. This way or paſſage they had fortified with a double wall, of very great height, & the ſame was ſtrengthened in many places with mighty huge ſtones, and ſharpe-pointed beames or pyles. Heere *Cæſar* deſcribeth nothing but a wall onely, and on one ſide of the Towne. And the like may be eaſily prooued in the Nation of the *Eburones*: who are alſo called Germaines by *Cæſar* in his ſecond booke. Theſe men, vnder the conduct of King *Ambiorix*, had ouercom *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, with fifteene Companies, neere to *Vatuqua*, as it is ſet downe in the fift booke. *Cæſar* who had neuer receiued a greater iniurie, determined to be reuenged for this loſſe, and vtterly to aboliſh and ruinate the nation of the *Eburones*, as we may reade in the 6. booke. Therefore he ſent *Baſilus* on before with the whole band of horſe, and leauing a legion for guard of the baggage; he diuided the other nine into three Regiments, to ouerrunne and make ſpoile of the whole Countrey. He cauſed *Labienus* to march with three Legions along by the Ocean, toward that part which ioyneth vnto the *Menapians*. Hee ſent *Trebonius* with the ſame number of Legions, to ſacke that Countrey which was neereſt to the *Aduatiques*. Himſelfe, accompanied with the three other Legions, ſtayed to go toward the riuer *Sabis*, and the vtmoſt parts of the Forteſt of * *Ardene*.

A ſtrong fortified town of the Aduaticates.

Of the Eburones. *Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 2.*

Cæſars determination for reuenge vpon the Eburones

The ſeuerall Legions committed to Labienus and Trebonius.

The *Eburones* not hauing any certaine Army, neither garriſon, or any Towne wherein they might defend themſelues by Armes, and the whole popularity being ſcattered euery where abroad; retired themſelues to ſuch places as were obſcure valleyes, or wilde and ſauage, or vvhere the mooriſh Fennes made a troubleſome ac-

* A wood 500. miles in length, reaching from the riuer Rheine, to the City of Tourney.

The great desire of Cæsar, to be reuenged on the Eburones for the losse and damage that he sustained.

accesse to them; these presented them with some imaginary hope, that thus they might defend and saue themselues. *Cæsar* in this fiery heate of reuenge, perceyuing the great danger which might ensue, by hauing thus separated his Legionaries; called all the neere-neighbouring Cities (in hope of booty) to come and make pillage of the *Eburones*, to the end, that the race and name of them might bee vtterly confounded. And because he could not (as yet) appease his thirsting soule by such spoile as he had made, which indeed was very great, he put himselfe once more on his way, to giue further vexation to his enemies, assembling infinite troopes of people from all the Townes & neere adioyning parts, and so sent them outward by sundry wayes. They burned all the villages, and euery house that they could finde standing. The selfesame desire of vengeance (as is to bee seene in his eight booke) enflamed him the third time, and the like waste he made: neuertheless, he speaketh not of any rampier, or of any ditch belonging vnto Towne or Village. Whereby may iustly bee obserued, that the *Belgians* as they were descended of the *Germaines*, so in like manner they had the same order of dwelling.

Iul Cæs. in com. Lib. 8.

Of the Bellouasi or Bellouasians.

The *Bellouasi*, or *Bellouasians* in like sort, albeit that they were the very principal of the *Belgians*, as wel in regard of their vertue and authority, as for the great number of men amongst them: yet it appeareth, that they were no straungers to this custome: for in the first warre, he speaketh not but of one Towne or Village, named * *Bractuspancium*; in the other warres, hee maketh no mention of any one. This may seeme to be spoken sufficiently enough, concerning the habitations of the *Belgians*.

* Thoght now to be the Towne Tulisurgium in low Germany

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Humanity, Liberality, Hospitality, & Courtesie of the Gaules to strangers, and care for benefiting each other equally.

Of sports and recreations amongst the Germaines.

I Finde nothing written in *Cæsar*, of the playes, sports, & pastimes of the youth among the Gauls. As for the Germans, *Tacitus* writeth thus. They had but one onely kind of spectacle in euery assembly yong boies that conceiued delight in this sport, would run or leape forth violently (and starke naked) before swords & lauelines directed against them. This exercise grew to be an Art, and Art made it verie gracefull in them: yet what they did, was not for any lucre, gaine, or wages; but the onely recompence of this their audacious gallantry, was, to bee pleasing in their eyes that beheld them. They would play (being in very stayed and setled iudgment) at such desperate games of hazard and dangerous aduenture, as would make a man blush to stand and looke on, and they performed their intentions in such earnest manner, as if they were at strife for some matter of great moment: yea, such was their affection to the gaine or losse, as after they had nothing els to contend for: they would striue about the very last hazard, laying downe their own liberty and persons in pawne. Whosoeuer lost himselfe, would yeelde to the others seruitude, with his owne kinde consent: And albeit hee were neuer so young and strong, yet (in regard of his losse) he wold suffer himselfe to be bound and sold. For such was their wilfull obstinacy, that they would lay down faith vpon the very least occasion.

Desperate & dangerous games among the younger sort: yet pursued in the very earnestest manner.

Humanity, liberality, and courtesy both in the Gaules and Germans

But whosoeuer would take note of the great humanity, liberality, and courtesy, as well in the Gaules as in the Germains, let him read what followeth. They would inuite strangers (this speaketh *Diodorus* of the Gaules) to feast with them. And after nature was sufficed, they would enquire what people they were, and what occasion drew them thither. But *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* giueth this commendation vnto the Germaines, by writing much more amply. They make it a matter of great Conscience (saith *Cæsar*) to offer any outrage to strangers, who, be it for what cause soeuer they come amongst them, yet they will defend them from all iniuries, and thinke them to be sacred people, each one allowing them part of his house, & vvhatsoeuer he had to liue on. *Tacitus* writeth in this manner. There is not any Nation more addicted to make good chear together, and feast strangers. They doe make great conscience in denying house-room to any commer; for each man will Feast him

Iulius Cæsar in comment Lib 5 Corn. Tacit. in lib. 7.

The loue and hospitality of the Germans, which they afford to strangers.

him according to his power: And when he hath no further meanes, he that is the Hoſte, enſtructeth him to another mans dwelling; and thereinto (without any further bidding) they enter both togither, euen the neereſt houſe they come vnto; where their entertainment is voyde of all difficulty, and vſed with extraordinarie courteſie. As concerning the rites of hoſpitality, they make no difference between him that is knowne, and another that is vnknown. At his departure, if he deſireth any thing, it is their order and cuſtom to grant it: as they will doe the like when it falleth to their turne. They take great delight in giuing gifts: but will receyue no recompence for whatſoeuer they giue, or think themſelues indebted or beholding for any thing that they receiue. This is a teſtimony of their worthy hoſpitality, & I am of the minde, that ſo great an honor deſerueth not to be forgotten, as Germany iuſtly deſerueth in regard of this Vertue.

No difference betweene a known friend & a ſtranger.

Phaleas the Chalcedonian, did firſt publiſh in the Commonwealth (as *Ariſtotle* affirmeth) that goods might bee equally diuided; to the end, that the two principall plagues to mankinde (which are riches and pouerty) might be baniſht from the Citty. And this is that which *Plato* (moſt of all other) wiſhed for the grounded eſtate of a happy Commonwealth. But the Germains neuer fixed their imaginations on ſuch a moſt fortunate Commonwealth, by diſputes and diſcourſes onely; but accompliſhed and brought it to effect by their owne good cuſtoms and honeſt examples. For ſome of them (as *Cæſar* auoucheth in his ſixt booke, ſpeaking of the Germaines) had not any certain meaſure of land, or any particular limitation: but the Princes and Magiſtrates aſſigned euery yeare (both to kindreds and parentages, who were acknowledged and placed together) ſomuch ground or land, and ſuch a ſite or ſituation, as vnto them ſeemed beſt and conuenient; & the yeare following, they were conſtrained to ſeeke elſewhere. In his fourth booke, hee ſayth as much of the *Sueues*, another people of Germany. They had no land which they held in particular, or diuided among thē: neither were they permitted to tarry longer then a yeare in a place, to Til or make it husbandable. This is the equality of goods, which then was among the Germaines.

Ariſt in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 5.

Riches & pouerty the two principall plagues vnto mankinde.

Plato in Lib. de Legib. cap. 9.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 6.

The order of the Germains holding of their Landes.

Iulius Cæſar in Com. lib 4

And they rendered great ſtore of reaſons for this equality, as the ſame Author witneſſeth in his ſixt booke, viz. Fearing leaſt beeing retained by an accuſtomed continuance in one quarter, they ſhould forſake the profeſſion of warre, & follow the other more beneficial kind of life. Fearing, leaſt they ſhould withdraw their minds from the enlarging and extendure of their bounds or limits: and growing to be too potent in ſtrength, they ſhould ouerweand expell the weaker from their goods. Fearing alſo, leaſt they ſhould be ouer curious in building, to defend themſelues againſt cold and heat, and ſo proue to be ſtarke Cowards. Fearing beſide, leſt a wicked couetous deſire ſhould ariſe among them, of ſcraping and gathering goods together: wheron (cuſtommarily) inſueth threatnings, diſſentions, & blood. Alſo, to the end that the popular ſort might bee contained within a reaſonable contentment of mind, when the meaneſt perceiued his goods to be equal with the moſt powerfull. This is (in effect) the words of Cæſar, touching the qualitie of goods vſed then among the Germaines: and when the Greekes come to compare with him, in commending this manner of behauiour either in the Cretanes or Laconians; all that they could auouch or ſay, was; to terme this worthy and extraordinary vertue, to be no more then meer barbarouſneſſe.

Equality of goods among the Germans.

The reaſons of the Germaines, for their equality in goods.

The firſt.

The ſecond.

The third.

The fourth.

The 5. and laſt

Compariſon of the Greeks with Cæſars words.

Seruitude or bondage was in vſe aſwel among the Germaines and Gaules, as in other Nations. Many men (ſo ſpeaketh Cæſar in his ſixt booke, diſcourſing on the Gauls (finding themſelues to be charged either with debts, or taxations, or iniuries of the mightier ſort) did yeild themſelues into ſeruitude or ſlauery of Gentlemen, who had the ſelfeſame right ouer them, as Maſters had ouer their ſlaues. It ſhould ſeeme, that this Maſterie or command was cruell, as well as that whereof *Titus Liuius* recounteth in his 2. booke, to be vſed in Rome, after that the Kings were expelled thence, when the commotion of the bondmen was on foote. For they were then controlled and handled by their Maſters, as the bodies of debters were by their creditors, who were parted (as *Quintillian* writeth in the ſixt chapter of

Bondage or ſeruile life amongſt the Germains and Gaules. *Iul. Cæſar in comment. Lib. 6*

Titus Liuius in Lib. 2. dec. 1.

of his third booke) or diuided betweene the creditors, according to the law of the twelue Tables. And that Law(as himselfe saith) which naturally was not to bee allowed,and yet (notwithstanding)permitted as in right, was reprehended by publicke custome, and oftentimes(to remedy the same in meere pitty) the Commonwealth granted Letters of respite, abolishing extorting interests, and making a new obligation for the principall.

The Romane Law of the 12. Tables.

But the Gaules vsed much greater humanity and liberality then the Romaines did; becausе the Masters kept in honourable place, and about their persons,such as thus stoode obliged to them, and they vsed their seruice also in their warres. Wherefore it appeareth,that that which *Diodorus* wrote, differed not from this purpose, where he saith; They employed as guards and defenders of their bodyes, such as (among freemen)were poore and needy, and they serued them as Esquires and Armor-bearers in the warre. *Tacitus* reporteth almost the very same custome as was vsed by the Gaules, when he speaketh of the slaues among the Germaines. They do not vse their slaues (saith hee) as we do ours, appointing them certain offices in our houses: for euery one serueth himselfe, and gouerneth his houshold affaires. The Master chargeth his slaue with certaine measures of Corn, or with some Cattle, or with some kinde of cloth:euen as we do our Farmers or Husbandmen, and the seruant obeyeth him not but in such businesse. If he would haue any matter done in his house, his wife and Children performeth it. It sildome or neuer hapneth,that a master doth beat his slaue or bindeth him, or enforceth and constraineth him to any businesse. They had a custome to kil them, yet not by any maner of rigorous or seuere chastisement; but in choller,as an enemy, and done in the case of some reuenge. Freemen had no more aduantages then seruants. Seldom or rarely were they aduanced in the house, and neuer vnto the managing of Commonwealth affaires: except among such Nations, as were in obedience to a king,and there they mounted higher then Freemen, or then Gentlemen. Among other Nations, libertines, being not receiued into the like dignities as the free, made distinction of their liberty.

The humanity and liberality of the Gaules, beyond that of the Romaines

Diodor.in L. 6. cap.10.

Corn.Tacitus in lib.4.cap:5.

Of the slaues amongst the Germaines.

Of seruices done in the house.

Freemen had no more benefit then seruants.

CHAP. V.

How the Gaules vsed to educate and bring vp their children. Of their corage, manhood, and valour in Armes and martial exercises.

THese then were the maners and temperance of the ancient Gaules, which serued very sufficiently to maintain their disposition & strength of body, and (doubtlesse) was the cause of their admirable stature: whereat *Cæsar* was much amazed, when hee beheld the Gaules which were slaine in the warres of *Affrica*: you haue also heard some part of their liberality, in the administration of their goods, for the releefe of others necessities. But there remaineth much more to say, if wee would enter into discourse, concerning all the parts of their mãhood and valiancy: were it in considering the exercise of their youth,or their earnest & violent desire in following armes, and the Nations which haue beene conquered by them, and the Colonies established thoroughout the world, onely in the name of the Gaules. The Gaules(thus saith *Cæsar* in his sixt booke) helde this as a difference from others, in their manner of behauiour, to wit; That they would neuer permit their children to come openly before them, vntill they were of able yeares to beare Armes. And they held him to be a villaine,whose sonne (being vnder limited yeares) should be found in publike before his fathers face. *Cæsar* speaketh this neuertheless hee giueth not sufficiently to be vnderstood, at what time or season they were to bear Armes, neither in what exercise their infancy was imployed, vntill this date of expectation, therefore we must make search into other Authors.

The disposition & strength of body amongst the Gaules.

The manhood & valor of the ancient Gaules.

Cæsar in comment lib.6

Somewhat omitted or forgotten by Cæsar.

Tacitus, speaking of the Germaines, would haue vs to know,at what time they came vnto the seruice of the Commonwealth. They obserued as a custom (saith he)that no one should vndertake the profession of Armes, vntill the Commonwealth had approued and allowed his suf-

Corn. Tacit. in lib.5.c.7.

At what time they came to serue the Cõmonwealth in martiall manner.

A Garment which the Romaines did alwayes weare in peace.

ficiency. Then, in the martiall Consistorie, either some one of the Princes, or his Father, or els his neereſt Kinſman, armed the yong man with a ſhield and a Iauelin. This was the * *Toga* or Gown which they tooke, and this was the firſt degree of honor, wherunto their yong men mounted. Before, and till this dignity was done to them, they were but as a member of the houſe onely: but afterward, they appertained to the Commonwealth. *Ariſtotle*, who wrote long time before *Cæſar*, declareth vnto vs this manner of education of children (for it ſeemeth in the 8. Booke of his Politicks) that hee learned this inſtruction of vs. It is neceſſary (ſaith he) to accuſtome and vſe the very yongeſt children to indure cold weather: for it profiteth maruellouſly, as well for the diſpoſition of the body, as for manly cariage in war. And this was the reaſon, why ſome barbarous people (as the Celts) obſerued it as a cuſtome, to plunge their young Infants (ſo ſoone as they were borne) in the coldeſt water of the riuer, or els to cloath them in light garments. For, to whatſoeuer thing youth ought to apply it ſelf, this is the beſt courſe; to accuſtom them therto (by little and little) from their yongeſt houre, and when they are tender; becauſe of the heate which is naturally in them, & therefore the firſt thing to be done, is to be carefull in this one point.

Ariſt in Polit. Lib. 8. cap. 3.

Ariſtotle called the Celtes barbarous people.

Ariſtotle in this place calleth the Celts barbarous, and yet hee accounteth not their cuſtomes barbarous; in regard that hee appointeth the Greekes to faſhion themſelues after their manner. I know that *Galen* ſharply reproueth this behauiour, when in the firſt booke of his Gouernment of health, and inſtructing how to order health, he ſaith. I am not of the minde, that Children ſhould onely bee nurſed among the Germaines. Alſo, that which he writes of, is neither for the Germaines, or for any other ſuch ſauage and barbarous men; no more then for Beares, wilde Boares, Lions, or ſuch other beaſts. I knowe (I ſay) that *Galen* reprehendeth this cuſtome ſeuerely; but I know likewiſe, that the yong nice delicates of the Greekes, whom *Galen* ſtriueth to pleaſe, in preſcribing them an order for theyr health: haue beene quite deuoured by theſe Lyons (as he tearmeth them) and that the Gaules and Germanes, if they be compared with the Greeks, may in good right be called Lyons.

Galen in Gub. San. lib. 1. cap. 3

Galens reprehenſion of the Germains education of their children

And truly, *Lacedemon*, which was the moſt noble of all the Grecian Cities, was principally renowned for being ſtudious in hardning it ſelfe to trauaile, after the true manner of the Celts. For the youths of *Sparta*, did dayly imbolden themſelues againſt al manner of paines and exerciſes: neuer entering into the eſpecial aſſembly, before the age of twenty yeares, as *Plutarch* recordeth in the life of *Lycurgus*. Wherefore, not onely the power of this vertue, which was in the Gauls and Germaines, but (ouer and beſide) the authority of *Ariſtotle*, as alſo of *Lacedemon* (if any man be regardfull thereof) may well ſerue to anſwer the reaſons of *Galen*. We may alſo inferre (to this purpoſe) that which *Strabo* hath written, when he ſaith; The Gaules held this as proper and peculiar to them, to refuſe no taking of pains, as fearing to becom fat and ſwoln bellied by eaſe: therfore they puniſhed and condemned vnto ſome pecuniary fine, ſuch yong men as grew groſſe through ſloath and exceſſe. Whereunto that ordinance of the Romaines was conformeable; that depriued any fat or corpulent Knight, of the Horſe graunted him by publique allowance.

Lacedemon ſhaped it ſelfe to endure the hard cuſtoms of the Celtes.

Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

Strabo in Lib. 4

The Gaules were laborious & painful

Knights had publike Horſes allowed them.

Now it is further to be conſidered, that this exerciſe was not onely proper or peculiar vnto the Gaules: but it was in like common vſe with the Germaines theyr brethren, as *Galen* himſelfe hath elſwhere declared. Let vs liſten then to *Cæſar*, who heerein giueth them ſufficient commendation. From their infancy (this hee writeth in his ſixt book) they addicted them ſelues to paines taking, and imployed (almoſt) their whole life time, either in hunting, or feats of warre. They had diuers kinds of wilde beaſts, in the Forreſt called * *Hercynia*: as wilde Bulles, * *Alces*, but eſpecially Buffles, which they tooke with great labour in their dens or ditches, and there ſlew them. The yong men hardned themſelues to this trauell, and euermore exerciſed this manner of hunting: & they which had ſlaine moſt of them, bringing their hornes to publicke view, as a teſtimony of their diligence, receiued both reward and great praiſe. This yeeldeth ſufficient demonſtration, how the young men prepared their ſpirits, to endure all paine

The Germans brethren to the Gaules.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 6.

* A great wood in Germany, in bredth nine dayes iourny, and in length forty.

* A wild beaſt in faſhion and skin like a fallow Deere.

paine and labour, and fell not off for any danger: as hauing learned, though not of great and skilfull Doctors, which were best able to giue them instructions; yet (at least) of their owne selues, and so put it in effectuall execution.

The *Gauls* wer alwayes in actions of arms. *Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6.*

Let vs now obserue what they were in actions of warre, and as the Poet sayeth; The braue workemanshippe of Mars, because the Gauls were perpetually in war. For, before *Cæsar* came thither (as hee hath written in his sixt booke) it hapned euery yeare, that either they assailed others, or else were glad to defend themselues; and it was easily knowne, that by a custome among the Gaules, age was no excuse to any man, as appeareth by diuers passages in the eight booke. *Vertiscus*, a chiefe Commander of the * *Rhemi*, albeit he could very hardly keepe himselfe on horsebacke, because he was so farre gone in yeares: yet notwithstanding, according to the manner of the Gaules, hee would pleade no excuse by his age, in vndergoing such charges as were imposed on him; and he was very vnwilling, that any fight should bee performed without him. Likewise, in the warre of the *Parisians*, the whole charge (as is to be seene in the seuenth Booke) was giuen vnto *Camulogenus*, an especiall man of the * *Aulerci*, who was well-neere wholly spent with age: and yet for all that, the great experience which he had in martiall affaires, aduanced him to the highest degree of Honor. Answerable to this, *Strabo* saith, The Gaules were rather men of warre, then any way addicted vnto Tillage or husbandry.

* People of Belgia, next to the *Leuci* and *Madiomatrices*.

* People of Roane in *Normandy*.

Strabo in lib. 5.

Aristotle writeth, that the Celts helde the vertue of warlike actions in most singular respect and commendation. And it was well noted, as *Cæsar* affirmeth, that the cause of valour (both in the *Belgians* and *Heluetians*) grew through their continuall exercise of armes, for he saith: The most valiant people of al the Gaules, were the *Belgians*.

Arist in Polit lib. 8 cap. 6.

Iulius Cæsar in comment. lib. 8

Now, as Temperance was the first and formost in ranke, as being the Mother, or the Nurse (at least) of true valiancy: so the second cause which *Cæsar* rendreth, was; That they were neighbours to the Germanes, which dwelt on the further side of the Rheine, with whom they were continually at warre. This (I say) was another cause of their valor, that continually they exercised armes, and by the same reason, the *Heluetians* surpassed (in this vertue) all the other *Celtes*: As it might daily be discerned, in regard, that ordinarily they fought with the Germanes, eyther in repulsing them from their frontiers, or making war on them in their owne country. In this place also might be alledged, their often and frequent skirmishes, to deliuer true faithfulnesse of their valour. Moreouer, the Gaules for want of warre, to the end that they might still be in exercise of armes: gaue themselues to thefts and robberies, as *Diodorus* saith, purloyning the goods of others, without any prouision of their owne. What were the Germanes? saith he. What participation had they in this vertue? All their life, as hath beene already declared, was no way imployed, but in deeds of armes. And as he hath further written in his sixt Booke, the very greatest honour that any Citty could haue, was, to haue a great Desert & spacious Country round about it. They esteemed it to bee proper and naturall to vertue, to compell their expulsed neighbours, to forsake their Lands and Territories, so that few or none durst dwel nere vnto them. And by this meanes, they imagined themselues to be in the greatest security, in being deliuered from al dread of courses, which suddenly might bee made into their Country.

Temperance the Mother or Nurse of valiancy.

The *Heluetians* exceled al the other *Celtes* in Armes.

The *Gauls* wer addicted to thefts & robberies. *Diodor in lib. 6*

The greatest honour of a City among the *Germans*.

Few or no neighbours durst dwell neere to the *Gaules*.

Tacitus speaketh of the same exercise of armes. You could not so readily put into their heads, any order for husbandry in their grounds, or carefulnes for gathering their fruites, and corne, as to go assaile the enemy, and to returne back with wounds and maimes. Moreouer, it appeared to them, that it was meere sloth and carlesnesse, to winne that by sweate and labour, which a man might purchase with the price of his blood. *Cæsar* saith likewise of the Germanes, the same that *Diodorus* doth of the Gaules, that they were addicted to rapine and thefts. Robberies (thus speaketh *Cæsar* in his sixt booke) did not make men any iot the worse esteemed: so that they were done out of those limits, which appertained to each Citty. And it is said that they vsed these courses: onely to exercise their youthes, and for the auoyding of ydlenesse. And when some one of the Lords would deliuer his

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 6. cap. 4.

No care of husbandry, or gathering the fruites of the earth, but al to assaile the enemy.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 6.

Thefts & robberies thoght not discomendable, but allowed & followed with no meane affection.

minde in an open assembly, that he wold be their guide, and that such as would follow him, should shew instantly themselues. Such as gaue consent to his opinion, and (allowing him for their Leader) presently arose, and promised him their vttermost assistance; the people present would both commend them and their enterprize. As for such among them, as neither followed, nor gaue allowance to the attempt: they were reputed as traitours, and neuer afterward durst any man repose any credite in them.

Corn. Tacit. in li. 6. cap. 2 The Germane warred with strange nations.

Tacitus addeth yet moreouer, that the Germanes made war among strange people. If the City (saith he) wherein they were borne, grew slothfull and ydle, thorough long peace and repose; the most part of the yongest Gentlemen went (vpon their owne motion and good will) to finde out such Nations as had any warre. For rest and ease was no way pleasing to this people; and the dangers which they essayed and made proofe of, made them also the more famous: and they could not maintaine any great matter of worth, but by power and warre, for thus they compassed meanes to be bountifull and liberall, onely by warre, thefts and pillages.

The meanes for maintaining their bounty and liberality.

Thus we may perceiue, how the auncient Gaules made continual exercise of armes, and well deserued those commendations, wherewith the first and cheefest of all the Romaine Poets shewed himselfe willing to honour Italy.

Concerning the birth, breeding, and education of the Gaules of greatest antiquity.

We are hardly bred, Babes are no sooner borne,
But we to Riuers beare them, hurle them in;
To harden them against both wet and colde.
Heere, our young people giue themselues to hunting,
And haunt the Forrests. The pastimes they affect,
Is taming wildest Horses, draw the Bowe.
Sometimes our youth, imboldened to labour
Make small account of husbanding the ground:
But to besiedge strong holdes. Each age we passe,
Managing sturdy yron, turning our Staues
To pierce the hides of Bulles. Slowe, tardy age,
Cannot abate our vertue, daunt our hearts.
With snow-white heads we enter Arms, and still
Seeke for fresh pillage, liuing on the booty.

Especiall obseruations concerning the auncient Gaules, omitted by *Cæsar* in his writing of their warres.

Oh, would it had pleased God, that *Cæsar*, discoursing on the fashions and customes of the Gaules, had bene as willing in describing much more amply, what vse they made of Armes; what reasons they followed in their preparation for warre; what diligence they vsed, beeing in the fielde; what their strength and valor was in fights & combates: it would haue caused an extraordinary pleasure, to remember continually, the ancient custome of our aunceStours in their warlike actions. But *Cæsar* (principally) sheweth nothing of all this: neuertheless, we will pursue each matter, insomuch as possibly wee may, and diligently collect somewhat out of diuers passages of his, (as wee can follow any traces, though greatly obscured) in such things as are agreeable to our purpose, not forgetting (in meane while) the iudgemeut of other Authors.

CHAP. VI.

How the Gaules made choice of their Generals and Commanders for their warres, with a true description of their Military seruices and discipline.

What election they made of their Generals for war

THE wars which *Cæsar* made each yeare, deliuereth some testimony, how they elected their Generalles, and other cheefe Leaders in their martiall employments, whereof wee are able to speake somewhat more largely. But the troupe or heape of particular Soldiours, was alwaies made in a publike assembly, & how euery man should behaue himselfe in armes. *Induciomarus*, Prince of *Treues*, pub-

Iulius Cæsar in comment. Lib. 5

publiſhed an aſſembly in armes againſt the Romanes; as is to bee ſeene in the fift booke of the warres in Gaule. The Gaules began their warre in this manner, & followed one common Law among them. All their younger men vſed to meete together in armes: but he that came lateſt, in the preſence of the whole aſſembly (after hee had beene tormented with all the tortures could be deuiſed) hee was afterward put to death. The ſelfe ſame cuſtom is declared in the ſeuenth booke, when *Vercingetorix*, being elected Generall for the warre of the Gaules; was beſiedged in * *Alixia*. For he tooke counſell, to diſcharge all the troupes of horſe which he had with him, and at parting, he gaue thē charge, to returne each man to the City, whereof he was a member, and there to aſſemble or muſter for the warre, all ſuch as were of age to carry armes. Neuertheleſſe, the Gaules hauing publiſhed the aſſembly of their Princes, did not thinke it meete to draw al thē together, that were of age to beare armes, according as *Vercingetorix* had ordained: but rather apointed, that each City ſhould be furniſhed with a certaine number of men; it could not otherwiſe chuſe but breed confuſion by beeing vnable to command them, or knowing one from another, or any poſſible meanes of prouiſion for them. By this manner of ordering men for their warres, we may well perceiue, that the Gaules were ſtudious in military affayres, conſidering, that all ſuch as were aboue fourteene yeares of age, did carry armes.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib. 7.

* The Citty *Auſſots* in *Burgoyne*.

A ſeuere cuſtome among the Gaules.

The Gaules contrary in opiniō to *Vercingetorix*, and vpon good reaſons.

The Gaules ſtudious in martiall affaires.

The Gaules armed themſelues quite contrary to the Romanes, as is to bee obſerued in the ſeuenth booke, where hee ſpeaketh of the * *Hedui*, that came to the ſeruice of *Cæſar*, who very greatly aſtoniſhed the Romanes, by vſing their armes after the Gauliſh manner. And yet I cannot perceiue (throughout *Cæſars* diſcouſes) what thoſe kinde of armes were: therefore we will collect that which *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Titus Liuius* haue noted to vs. The ſword which they vſed, was long, and the man wore it (hanging in a chaine of braſſe) on his right ſide: and it ſerued not onely to ſmite or ſlaſhe withall, but alſo to thruſt or foine, ſo ſaieth *Diodorus*; notwithſtanding, *Polybius* and *Titus Liuius* doe deny their thruſting or foyning with the point.

* Sometime people of that coūtry which is now called Bourgundy.

Polyb. in lib. 4. Diodor. in lib: 3 Strabo in lib. 6. Tit. Liu. in lib. 4 Dec. 3.

Their Target or Shielde was large, and aunſwerable vnto each mans ſtature or conſtitution: and, according to their ſeuerall delight or pleaſure, ſo was it enriched with Imagerie of brazen Beaſts; mounted vp into boſſes. Their Iauſeline had a head of yron or ſteele, contayning a cubite in length, and two fingers bredth. *Cæſar* in his third book ſaith, that they likewiſe caried a ſtaffe, which he tearmeth *Geſes*, & another, called by him *Meris*, which was a certaine kind of ſmall Iauelin. Their heads were couered with a Sallade or head-peece of braſſe, a little exalted or raiſed vp, whereon was figured Images of Birds, Beaſts, and antique ſhapes. Their vſual Corſelet was of yron.

Of their ſwords ſhields & Iauelins.

Iul. Cæſ. in Comment. lib. 3.

Of their Sallades, Head-peeces and Corſlets.

Many of the Gaules were wont to fight naked, ſo farre as the nauil: as *Titus Liuius* ſaieth, in the battaile at *Cannas*, and *Polybius* ſpeketh as much of the ſame fight in this manner. It was a verye dreadfull ſight, to obſerue the behauior of naked mēn, who marched on ſtoutly, ſhewing an excellent beauty, and vndauntable ſtrength. In like manner, *Titus Liuius* ſaieth, that in * *Gallogræcia*, the Gaules fought naked, and that was the reaſon, why they were ouercome by the Romanes, who ſmote them afarre off with their Piles, which were a kinde of ſmall Iauelins, and darted at them very ſtrongly. The Gaules likewiſe vſed Bowes and Slings, according as *Strabo* ſaieth; for he writeth, that they hadde a kinde of Staffe, which being throwne by the hand onely, without any ſtring or other holde, would ſmite further off then an Arrow, and with this they did (moſt commonly) ſhoote at Birds. It is alſo very certaine (as the ſame Author affirmeth) that they hadde a Tree in Gaule, ſomewhat reſembling the Figge-Tree, which carried a fruite, that had ſome likeneſſe to the chapter of a Corinthian piller. This Tree being cutte, did yeeld a deadly iuyce or liquor, wherewith they vſed to impoyſon the heads of theyr Arrowes. That it was ſo, and that the Gaules were great Archers, *Cæſar* prooueth verie prēgnantly in his ſeauenth Booke, where hee ſpeaketh of *Vercingetorix*. Hee commaunded (ſaieth he) that all the Archers (which were a very great number throughout Gaule) ſhould be leuyed, and ſent vnto him, as it will

* A Countrie in the leſſer *Aſia*, ioyning to *Phrygia* and *Lydia*.

Strabo in lib. 5. of their bowes and ſlings.

Of a ſtrange Tree growing in *Gaule*, that poiſond their Arrow heads.

That the *Gauls* were great Archers *Iul. Cæſ. in commen. lib 7.*

appeare much more fully hereafter in better place.

The Armes & defensiue weapons of the Germaines.

This was the Armor and Munition of the Gaules, whereunto that of the Germaines, which *Tacitus* describeth, was not altogether agreeable. They seldome defended themselues with swords or long staues: for they carried Iauelines, or (to vse their owne proper word) *Framées*; the blades whereof were straite and short, but yet so keene, and so apt for their seruice, that they could vse them with or against a staffe, according as they had occasion to fight, either before they came neere to one another, or when they were at handy gripes. The Horseman contented himselfe with his shield and Iaueline: but foot soldiers had many darts each man, which they hurled or darted infinitely, being naked, or lightly cloathed with a simple Cassocke or Mandillion. They had no brauery on their accoutrements: onely, they would decke their shields with some curious choise colours. Very few of them did weare any shirts of Maile, or scaled coats: some one or two might haue (perhaps) a Caske or Morrion. These are the Armes which the ancient Gauls are credibly said to weare.

A short Glaue or two-edged sword.

Of the horse and foote Soldiers habites.

No brauerie on their garments.

It remaineth now to speake, how they employed their men of warre, as well on foote as horsebacke. The horsemen were in most estimation among the Gauls, and had the principall managing of all affairs for warre, as *Cæsar* hath saide in his sixte Booke. And in the League which all the Gaules made against *Cæsar*, one while hee speaketh of the number of eight thousand horse, then againe of fifteene thousand, which was that part of the army, wherby the Gaules made themselues strongest, as plainly appeareth in the seauenth Booke. Neuertheless, no assurance can bee collected heereby, concerning all the cities in their seuerall forces. The people of *Treues*, or the [a] *Treuiri*, were the very strongest of all the Gaules in horsemen, as is to be seene in the fift book. The [b] *Santones*, according as wee reade in the third booke, had likewise very great store of horsemen: but the *Neruians* (in the verie same place) are said to haue the most foot souldiers. Notwithstanding, if you regard them generally, you shall finde, that the Cauallery had the cheefest honour of all the warres among the Gaules. And these were the horsemen, wherewith *Cæsar* vvas most assisted in his ciuill wars. For so him selfe testifieth in the first booke of his Ciuill Warre, that when *Affranius* came with great forces to assaile the Cæsarians who were but a few in number: so dainely the horsemen of the Gaules were diligent in making head against them; and (so long as they could) they maintained fight, albeit they consisted of so few, and endured against a great multitude of the enemie. But so soone as the Ensignes of the Legions began to approach; with verie little losse of their men they retired vnto the neighbouring Mountaines. The time of the fights continuance serued sufficiently for the Cæsarians safety: for, in that while, they had leysure to gaine thẽselues the highest parts of the hils, & there sheltred themselues securely.

Iul Cæs. in 1. de Bel. ciuil.

The comming of Afranius against the Cæsarians with his Ensignes of the legions.

Likewise, in the warre of *Affrica*, when the enemy (with powerfull forces) came to deale vvith the hoast of *Cæsar*, and to attache them in the rere; suddenly the Legionaries stayed them, and the horsemen (although they were but few in number) made very stout resistance, yea, and vvith vnconquerable hardiment, against that great troope of the enemy. And a matter almost incredible happened, That lesse then thirty horse of the Gaules, repulsed two thousand horse of the Moores, and put them into rout. Such was the strẽgth of the Gaulish horse. Hence ensued that exclamation of *Cicero*, in his 5. *Phillippick*. *Opinion was conceiued* (saith he) *that some appointed, that there should be giuẽ to Mark Anthony, the gouernment of that latter part of Gaule, which* Plancus *holdeth at this instant: Is there any other wisedome in so dooing, but to lend our owne weapons to an enemy, to make a ciuill warre vpon vs? For first of all, the nerues or sinewes of warre, which is countlesse summes of money, and whereof hee standeth now in neede; and next, the power of horse, which valeweth as much; what can he desire more then both these?* Behold, in what account and estimation, the horsmen of the Gaules were.

The enemies setting on Cæsars hoast in Affrica

30. horse of the Gaules, ouerthrew 2000. horse of the Moores.

Cicero in Philip. 5. Against *Marke Anthonies* gouernement in Gaule.

Sometimes it was thought conuenient, to entermingle amongst the horse some of the foote souldiers, which vvere worst armed, and the Archers. And this was (as appeareth in the seauenth booke) when *Vercingetorix* went with the Horse, and certaine foote (least charged vvith Armes)

The foot souldiers mingled amongst the horsemen.

Iul Cæs. in com. lib. 7.

What vse they made of their men of warre.

A league made by the Gauls against Cæsar.

a Betweene Belgia, & the riuer Mosella.

b People of that place, now called Xantong in Aquitaine.

The horsmen had the highest honour of the warres.

Armes) to prepare an ambuſcado, where he imagined that the Romaines intended to come and forrage. At another time, (in the ſame booke) ſpeaking of himſelfe, when they were neere to* *Gergouia*, *Cæſar* ſaith: It was not fully breake of day, when in the skirmiſhes, the footemen beeing mingled among the horſe, we were forced to approoue how hardy and vertuous our owne men were. Sometimes, the Footemen, being lightly armed, accompanyed with the Archers, fought amongeſt the Horſmen, as was obſerued in the encounter neere to Alexia. The Gaules (among ſome few of their horſe) flanked their Archers and lighteſt armed foote; to the end that they ſhould ſuccour the horſemen, and ſuſtaine the violent aſſault of the Romaine Cauallery.

* A Towne of Guyenne, ſtãding on a hye hil.

The footmen accompanyed with the Archers fought among ſt the horſe.

Ancient Gaule had * *Eſſedaries*, who were warriours that rode in Waines or Waggons, called *Eſſedaes*: and *Diodorus* giueth vs aſſurance hereof in theſe words. Paſsing thorow the Countrey in time of warre, they vſed Carres or Waggons, which two Horſes drew by a fit prepared furniture; the Waggoner, or he that had the charge thereof, being the only guide. If they met with the enemy in warre; firſt of all, and while they were vpon the waggon, they would let fly their darts at him. Afterward, alighting from the waggon, and being on foote, then they fought together with their ſwords. Theſe two maners of fighting, are much more at large deſcribed by *Cæſar*, when hee ſpeaketh of the Germaines and the Britaines. Of the Germaines in the firſt booke, where hee reckoneth vp the forces which *Arioviſtus* had. They were (ſaith hee) ſixe thouſand Horſemen, and as many foot, of the very ſtrongeſt and beſt diſpoſed, which each man had made choiſe of particularly, as for his owne ſuccour and ſafety. If they were to ſet on to the warre, they mingled one among another, and the Horſemen alſo retired when they did. If any great occaſion happened, the foote ſouldiours fought with the horſemen. And if any one being wounded, hapned to fall from his horſe, the other gaue preſent ſuccour. If they were to march on further, or to retreate vpon expedition; exerciſe had enſtructed them in ſuch celerity, that onely by faſtning hold on their horſes Maines, they would mount vp, and run as ſwiftly as they did. In another paſſage of the 4. Booke. ſpeaking of the *Sueues*, hee ſayth. In thoſe skirmiſhes which they made on horſebacke, they would oftentimes diſmount and fight on foote: hauing taught and invred their horſes in ſuch manner, that they neuer ſtirred from the place where they left them, returning to their horſes againe, when occaſion required. According to their cuſtome, they eſteemed nothing more baſe and idle, then to ride on Saddles. And this was the reaſon, that although they were but few in number, yet they durſt boldly aſſaile any troopes whatſoeuer, if they were Horſemen, and rode on ſaddles.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 4. Of the Sueues their manner of fighting.

Tbey hated to ride on Saddles.

This is that which *Cæſar* hath written; whereby we may gather, that heerein the Gaules were contrary to the Germaines order: conſidering, that the Germaines placed their ſtrẽgth in their men on foot; which *Tacitus* relateth more apparantly. Whoſoeuer (ſaith he) wil conſider them in generall, ſhall finde, that their cheefeſt power conſiſteth in their footemen: and therefore (in fighting) they ranke them among the troopes of horſe. For the footmen which they chooſe among all their youth, to put to the point of any danger; are men of wonderfull ſwiftneſſe, apt and fit to fight among the horſe. They are an hundred, choſen out of euerie Towne or Village, and thereon were tearmed Centeniers, or Centurions: for that vvhich ſerued (before) but to ſignifie the number, was now giuen as an eſpeciall name, and was honourable to them. Thus ſerued the Horſemen of the Germaines, and were mingled in this manner among the foote ſoldiers.

The Gaules contrary vnto the Germains for their footmen.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.

Vpon what occaſion they were called Centeniers or Centurions.

Now, as concerning the behauiour of the Britaines, *Cæſar* in his fourth booke, deſcribeth it in this manner. They haue a manner of fighting on Chariots or waggons, which is thus. Firſt, they skirmiſh on all ſides, and hurle their Darts, and oftentimes it happeneth, that by the terror of their horſes trampling, & by the noiſe of their Waggon wheeles, they trouble the rankes extraordinarily. But after that they are mingled amongſt the troopes of horſemen, they deſcend from their waggons, and fight on foote. During which while, the Waggoners withdraw themſelues ſomewhat out of the fight, and arrange their waggons in ſuch ſort, that if their

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4. Of the Britaines, & what manner of fighting they vſed.

Of the Waggons & Waggoners.

Their maner of fighting with the enemy.

Of the Germaines & Britaines. *Iulius Cæſar in comment. lib. 1*

The ſuccour giuen to each other.

The ſwiftnes of the Germaines.

* Souldiers in old time, that marched in Waggons, but fought on foot *Diodor. in lib. 6*

The notable managing of their horſes in their ſwifteſt running.

their maſters bee preſſed with any great number of enemies, they can make an eaſie and ſpeedy returne to them. The adreſſe and direction of their horſes, the order obſetued among their footmen for fight, and their aptneſſe thereto, by dayly vſe and exerciſe was ſuch: that when they liſted, they could ſodainly ſtay their horſes, euen in the middeſt of his ſwifteſt courſe, although it were in deſcending downe a high hill. There could they readily mannage and turne them, running mainly by the bridle among the horſe; & thence againe returne lightly vnto theyr Chariots. This manner then of fighting, whereof the Eſſedaries made vſe, was ſomewhat alſo mingled among the horſe and foote.

Waggons in vſe among the Gaules. *Iul. Cæſar in comment. Lib. 7*

Moreouer (as is to be ſeene in the ſeauenth booke) a great number of VVaggons attended on the Gaules, eſpecially ſuch as were vnarmed. Next, of the Archers of the *Rutheni*, and the horſemen of Gaule, which had followed *Cæſar*; there came into Spaine, with a great number of waggons, all filled with baggage, according to the cuſtome among the Gaules. Beſide, there were of men and women, about ſix thouſand, with their ſeruants and children: and becauſe they took delight, in hauing beaſts for portage and cariage, they were glad to pay deerly for them, as *Cæſar* hath recorded in his ſeuenth book.

The whole families of the Gaules went to the warres.

Heereby wee vnderſtand, that not onely the men, but their children alſo, yea, the whole Families in Gaule, went to the war when occaſion required. *Tacitus* writeth alſo, That the women followed the Germaines, and accompanied them to theyr warres. But this is ſufficient, concerning ſuch leuies and preparations for warre, as was vſed among the Gaules.

Their enduring ſcarſitie of food.

Now it would be knowne, with vvhat eaſe they could endure the ſcarſity of victuals, by the temperature of their nouriture, hauing formerly auoided the delicacy of wine: and *Cæſar* giueth vs to vnderſtand (in many places) how they wer prouided of victuals.

Of the Heluetians.

The Heluetians departing from their houſes, caried meale (that was formerly ground with them) to ſerue for 3. months. And *Vercingetorix*, to take away from the Romains all meanes of recouering foode, perſwaded the Gauls to burne the Towns and Villages on all parts where the Romans might make any inuaſion. Whereupon more then 20. Townes (belonging to the * *Bituriges*) were burnt in one day: and the like they did vnto the Cities in the neighboring countries. But, at the inſtant intreaty of the *Biturigeans*, who required, that * *Auaricum* (which was the very goodlieſt City in all Gaul) might not be burned: it was granted by *Vercingetorix*, who firſt had debated for the contrary, yet after yeelded, as well in regard of their earneſt motion, as alſo in meere pitty and commiſeration. But the pitty afforded to this one Towne, cauſed moſt cruel ruine of all the other cities and Townes in Gaule. For *Cæſars* armie, that had bin very mightily tormented with famine, and had endured diuers daies without power of recouering any thing to make bread of: after the ſurprizing of *Auaricum*, was now not onely ſtored with plenty of food, but being fleſhed as it wer with hope of like following ſucceſſe, it made them to deuoure vp all Gaule.

*People of old Aquitaine

*The City Vierron of Berrey in France.

The pittying of one towne, was the deſtruction of many other

Vercingetorix his aduice againſt Cæſar

At another time, *Vercingetorix* (by vertue of the ſame counſell and aduice) conſtrained *Cæſar* to forſake *Gergouia*, and hauing taken all the victuals which the Romans had then in * *Nouiodunum*, brought him into ſuch diſtreſſe, that had it not bin for ſhame, tedioufnes of the way, and abſence of the 4. Legions, *Cæſar* was ſetting forward to go into Prouence. *Vercingetorix*, being elected captaine Generall thoroughout Gaul, vſed (at a third time) the ſelfſame aduice; when in a publike aſſembly of the Gauls he ſaid, that he wold not tempt his fortune, & giue his enemy battel, becauſe he was ſtrongly defenced with horſemen, wherby he could eaſily hinder the *Romans* from food and forraging. And it behooued euery man (of his own good will) to deſtroy his Corne, and burne his houſe; conſidering, that by this litle loſſe, which each man might well endure in his own particular, he ſhould perceiue, that their empire and liberty, would (for euer) be the ſurer maintained. And vndoubtedly, *Cæſar* being moued by theſe occaſions, purpoſed to withdraw himſelfe into Prouence, thorow the country of the * *Sequani*, when *Vercingetorix* (too inconſiderately) condemned the good counſell giuen him, & would not tempt fortune, by hazarding the battel, & turned all his intentions ſtil to the worſt: wherby may be obſerued, what care the ancient *Gauls* had for prouiſion of food.

Vercingetorix his aduice gi-uen vnto the Gaules.

Now

zThe Towne Noyon of Belgia in France.

Vercingetorix his third aduice againſt Cæſar.

Cæſars purpoſe to depart into Prouẽce.

*A people in France, which are now cald Bnrgonians.

Their order of martial discipline in the field.

Now if we desire to know, what order was vsed among them in the field, either for marching, lodging their armies, or obseruation of military discipline; it seemeth that they were not therein any iote curious. The *Heluetians* essaying to passe a riuer, some tied diuers boates together; others would leape into such places, wher the Rhone was most easie for passage, oftentimes in the day, and more often in the night, but *Cæsar* euermore gaue them the repulse. The Gaules not hauing (as yet) learned the manner of making bridges, could not (in the space of twenty dayes) passe the third part of their army, by such boates as they had fastened together: and this was their want of knowledge, in the arte of making Bridges. If we look vpon the seating of their armies, and their fortifications in the fielde, they were as slenderly skilfull therein. They would make choise of a valley, that had no other Rampier or Ditch, but Heauen and Earth to succour and defend it. For the custome among the Gaules, was (as we may reade in the eight booke) to refuse and forsake high places, and to order their Campe neere vnto Riuers. So it appeareth in the first booke, that the Heluetians encamped at the foote of some hill, euen as the Germans did the like: but the Romanes euermore elected the highest places. The seating then of the Gaules Campe was in this manner, without any kinde of fortification. The Campe of the Belgians (as is to be seene in the second booke) according as might be iudged by their fires and smoake, consisted of more then eight miles in largenesse. And when they declared most care & warinesse; they would onely plant their Chariots and Waggons formost, which serued them as their cheefest Rampier. In like manner, the Germans would engirt their whole army, with their Waggons and Chariots. At length the Gaules began to imitate the Romanes, in such matters as they perceiued to be best behooouing for thē, or whatsoeuer they did for the best aduantage.

Of the Heluetians.

The Gaules bridges made of Boates.

Their fortifications in the field.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 8. *& in lib.* 1

The Romans planted theyr campe in the highest places

The Campe of the Belgians, and theyr best rampiers of Chariots & Waggons.

The Neruians (as wee reade in the fift booke) encloſed that place, where *Cicero* bestowed his winter abiding, with a rampier of eleuen foote in height, and a ditch of fifteene foote deepe. They had learned this, by their practise of warre against the Romenes, and by the helpe of such prisoners as they had taken. But wanting such tooles and instruments, as were necessarily required in this businesse: they were constrained to cut the greene turffs or sods with their Swords, and to carry both them & the earth, in the long skirts of their Iackets. Afterward, they began to raise Towers on the tops of their rampiers, and to make mounted roofes and Tarrases, according as their prisoners had enstructed them: insomuch, that *Cæsar* (at length) wondred, to see what Towers, Tarrasses, and Fortifications they enterprised and performed. These passages of *Cæsar*, do sufficiently declare, that the Gaules were not wanting, eyther in naturall disposition, or in care, to performe what was necessary, but only came short of orderly discipline.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. Lib. 5. Of the Neruians.

The Neruians learned theyr fortifying of the Romanes

Mounting of Towers and Tarrasses.

Cæsar admired to behold the *Gauls* fortifications.

In the seuenth yeare of the Gauls wars, after great store of losses had happened; *Vercingetorix* comforting the Gaules, declared vnto them, that it was reasonable & expedient (for common safety of each one) to begin to fortifie their campe: to the ende that they might the more easily endure the sudden assaults of their enemies. For in those times (saith *Cæsar*) was it, that the Gaules began first of all to fortifie their Camp. And therefore *Cæsar* did especially marke and nominate it in that place. And the first fortification which they vsed, was at *Gorgouia*, when they made a wal about their camp, which was sixe foote high, of great thick stones. Afterward, neere to *Alexia*, where they made a ditch and a wall, containing sixe foote in height. The Latine word [z] *Maceria*, which signifieth a wall of stones, heaped together without mortar or lime, & whereof *Cæsar* maketh vse in the second place: declareth what manner of walles they had, which were rudely constructed, and without any cunning. The Gaules then (aunciently) had so little knowledge or discipline.

The comfort giuen by *Vercingetorix*, to the Gaules.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 3.

The first making of wals and ditches.

[z] Made instead of a Mound.

But what valour or manhood did they vse in fight? Was there any such matter of worth in them? Vndoubtedly they reposed a very great assurance in theyr owne strength. The Gaules, as was noted in the warres of Affrica, were naked or vncouered, and vsing no kinde of surprizing: had a custome to fight onely by valiancy, and not by any sleight or cunning.

And

And this was the reaſon, why *Diuiconus* the Heluetian, ſpake ſo to *Cæſar*, who had ſurprized the * *Tigurines* at vnawares, ſaying. That they had learned of their Fathers and Aunceſtors, to fight more for manhood then arte, but he made himſelfe ſtrong, onely by ſurprizes. And for proofe of this military vertue, there are very ſingular examples in many places of *Cæſar*. In the battaile of the Heluetians, albeit that from the ſeuenth houre (as is to bee ſeene in the firſt booke) they had fought till darke night; yet no man could euer ſee the enemy to turne his backe. The Belgians in like manner (as it is written in the ſixt booke) neuer being daunted or terrified with the ſlaughter of ſo many of their owne fellowes, cruelly ſlaine before their faces: in reſolute aſſurance, eſſayed boldly to march ouer their dead bodies. The Neruians likewiſe (as appeareth in the ſame place) euē in the lateſt hope of their ſafety, declared an extraordinary ſigne of their vertue. For, albeit ſuch as were the very cheefeſt among thē, lay butchered on the earth before them: yet they kept neere ſtill to them, and fought ſtanding vpon their bodies. Yea, and that in ſuch manner, as they which remained aliue, making hilles of dead mens coarſſes; threw their Darts againſt the Romanes, as from the top of a Butte, and caſt alſo their leſſer Iauelins at them, ſo long as they were able to reach them. This agreeth with that which he ſpeaketh of the Gaules, who were in *Cæſars* ſeruice, when * *Munda* in *Spaine*, was round about engirt with the bodies of enemies, that had beene ſlaine, and lay there in their armes. In ſtead of turffes of earth (ſaith *Hirtius*) they piled and layed dead bodies one vpon another, and for the ſeruice of a Paliſadoe, they couered them with theyr Shields and Iauelins, and their ſwords, with the heads of men, were all placed & turned towards the Towne of their enemie: To the ende, that they ſhould apparently behold the true Enſignes of their valiancy, only to affright them, while thus they were circled in, as in a rampier. Thus the Gaules hauing made a round wall of their enemies bodies, and mounted theron; they began to aſſaile the Towne with violent deliuery of their Arrowes and Darts.

They had learned this manner of making a rampier of dead mens bodies, frō a cuſtome vſed in their owne Countrey, and heerehence (in mine opinion) grew the coniecture made of the Gaules, whereof *Ariſtotle* writeth in his Ethicks to *Nicomachus*: That they feared not any thing in the world, neither ſcorchings, burnings or any torments whatſoeuer. And to this effect, was that which *Strabo* writeth of the *Gaules*, concerning their anſwer to *Alexander*, who demaunded of them, what it was that they feared moſt? Nothing (ſaide they) if the Heauens tumble not downe vpon vs. I perceiue alſo, that they were euen as neglect and careles, in chuſing the aduantage of place for fight, as they were in the ſeating of their Campe, which may euidently bee diſcerned in all the Commentaries of the *Gaules* warres. When the Heluetians and Neruians aſſailed *Cæſar*, it was in a place very diſaduantagious: but if they lighted on any other, that might declare them to bee any way better aduiſed; it vvas by ſome former patterne of the Romanes, and obſeruation of their diſcipline. And the firſt time that they entred into any good order, vvas, vvhen the army vvhich they had vvas rallyed out of diuers Countries, and the Souldiors then vvere generally diſtributed, according to the Countries whereof they vvere, and ſo placed (ſeparately) the forces of each City in his due rancke or degree. So in the battaile of the *Neruians*, the * *Atrebatians* vvere ordered on the left ſide, the Neruians on the right, & the * *Veromanduans* in the middeſt of the battaile. Like vviſe in the ſeuenth book, vvhere hee maketh mention of the forces of *Vercingetorix*. The *Gaules* after they had broken the bridges, kept themſelues firmely on a little Hill, confiding in the ſcituation of the place, and beeing generally diuided, according vnto the Cities vvhereof they vvere, and placing Guards at euery Foord & Thicket of the Mariſh; they impeached them to their no meane diſaduantage. In the ſame place againe, *Vercingetorix* hauing planted his Campe on a Hill neere to the Tovvne, lodged ſeparately alſo the forces of each Citty; yet leauing ſome vvide and ſpacious roome about all their lodgings, and being poſſeſſed of all the ſmaller hilles that neighboured the greater, vvhence any aduantage might be had for looking dovvnvvard; he made

*A people of the Heluetians, by the Riuer Ligamus, whoſe head-City is called *Zurich*.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib. 1. & in li. 6

The reſolute aſſurance of the Belgians.

The manly vertue of the Neruians againſt the Romanes.

* A Towne of *Bætica* in *Spain*

The words of *Hertius*, concerning the vertue & māhood of the *Gaules*.

Ariſt. in li. 9. de Ethic ad Nicomach.

Strabo in Lib. 4 The *Gauls* antwer to *Alexander*.

Aduantage of place for fight

The *Heluetians* and *Neruians* aſſailed *Cæſar*.

* People of *Artoys* in *Frāce*

* People of *Vermandoiſe* in Germany.

Iulius Caſar in Com. lib 3

The military diſcipline of *Vercingetorix*

made a shew verye dreadfull to behold. And euery day, euen from the point or breake of day, he caused the chiefe Commanders of such Cities (as he had chosen to be of his counsel) to come before him, whether it were to conferre about some matters to be done, or execute any thing that depended on their charge: so that no one day might escape him, but some essay or other was made of his courage, & of the vertue that liued in his followers; making out many sallies of horse, mingled with the best and choysest of his Archers.

A notable care & prouidence in a General.

Iul. Cæs. in com. Lib. 1.

In the first booke likewise, the people called *Tigurines*, which were vnder the city of the *Heluetians*, all the other three companies hauing passed the Riuer * *Araris*; were surprized and enuironed aside by themselues. And they of the Borrough *Verbigena*, because they fled away with the other; being afterward brought before *Cæsar*, they were receiued as open enemies. The *Germanes* obserued the same order, to diuide themselues generally by nations: as *Tacitus* deliuereth more plainly, where he saith. And that which principally did encourage them, was; that not hazard, or an assembly made at aduẽture, or a troope, or a squadron; but the families and alliances laboured together. One example heereof in the *Germanes*, is noted by thẽ that followed *Ariouistus*, who in the end (as we reade in the first booke) were compelled to send their forces out of the field: and made a generall ordination (by equall interualles) of the [a] *Marcomani*, [b] *Triboci*, [c] *Vangiones*, [d] *Nomentani*, [e] *Segusians* and *Sueues*. Wherefore I conclude, by the words of this passage, that in regard the Army of the *Gaules* consisted of many Cities; the Souldiers (generally) did diuide themselues, according to the number of the Cities.

* The Riuer Sagona in France.

Diuision by nations obserued among the Germans. *Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3 cap. 5.*

a People of Bohemia.
b Of Halsatia.
c Of the Citty Wormes in germany, now called Vormacienses.
d Neere to Rome.
e The Citie Sion in the Alpes.

The Gaules vsed the *phalanx* in theyr battailes, as the Romanes did their Legions. The Phalanx, subtilly explicated by *Aelianus*, both in parts and parcels, to bee of an equall number, eight times diuided into equall parts; the summary whereof, I thus comprehend. The Phalanx, armed with weighty armours, consisted of foure thousand, ninety sixe men, each ranke whereof, contained in length sixteene *Phalangearies*, and was tearmed [f] *Decuria*: in which bands, the formost man was named [g] *Decurion*, and the last [h] *Tergiductor*, that is to say, hee which conducteth the Rereguard or hinderpart. These formost mẽ wer also cald *Præstites* of the seconds, by reason of their marching before, and so the third men of the fourth. Contrariwise, the second men were tearmed [i] *Substites* to the former: as being vnder them, like as the fourth vnder the third. Thus the *Decuriæ* was composed of *Præstites* & *Subsstites*, the one following the other. The second *Decuria*, was called [k] *Condecuria*, that is to say, conioyned to the *Decuria*, in such manner, that they all answered both in place and number: *Decurion* to *Decurion*, *Præstites* to *Præstites*, *Subsstites* to *Subsstites*, and they which accoasted, or went along by, were tearmed [l] *Astites*. The ordinary space or distãce of the *Phalangearies*, was foure cubites, but whẽ they closed, two, & when they went in crowd, one onely. This was the manner of the Phalanx, obserued by the ancient *Gaules*.

This place is thus expounded by the author.

f Bands of Souldiors.

g The Captaine or Leader.
h The Guide of the Rereguard.
i Vnder-Substitutes.
k Coniuncts or Adiuncts.
l Assistants or helpers.

The battaile of the Heluetians (as is to be seene in the first booke) kept it selfe strongly lockt against *Cæsars* horsemen, and when the horsemen were repulsed, the Phalanx, which was prepared vnder the first battailion, aduanced it selfe, and set forward. But the Romanes (by the power of their Iauelins) brake the Phalanx of the Heluetians, by reason that they wer too strongly lockt together: And then, to defend themselues against their Iauelins, they began to disioynt their vniting, & to combine their Targets and Shields, the one with the other, which were in the forme and shape of the shelles of Tortuisses, to receiue and resist the Iauelins darted at them. In the same booke also, the Germanes hauing suddenly (according to their custome) prepared a Phalanx; withstood the strength of all theyr Swords. And I perceiue, that this Phalanx was ordered in such manner, not to serue as a defence for their heads; but rather as a Rampier for their brests. But on the Heluetians day, the [m] *Boïj*, or *Boians*, and the [n] *Tugi*, or *Tulingians*, who came thither for their succour; enclosed the battaile round about with Chariots and baggage, and guarded the rereward. And as the Heluetians (who had the worst, & of whom the greater number were sore wounded) retired, and withdrew themselues into the neerest neighbouring Moun-

Iul. Cæs. in comment. lib. 1.

The Phalanx of the Heluetians, broken by the Romanes.

The Phalanx of the *Germans*.

m People of that part of France, now called *Lyons*.
n Auncient people among the *Heluetians*, not farre from *Lucerna*.

The retire & re-assault of the Heluetians.

Mountaine: they assayled the Romanes at vnawares on the Flanks, and engirt thē round about. Which the Heluetians beholding; they returned againe, began to recharge them, and fought valiantly with them.

Thus wee haue heere set downe some forme of that fashion, which the Gaules obserued in preparing their battaile, and that which *Hirtius* hath spoken thereof, is not much diffring from the purpose. That the Gaules, being in battaile, had a custom to sit downe vpon Faggots of Vine branches and small twigs, which they placed in the ground. Now, albeit he reporteth, that *Cæsar* hath declared the same in the first book of his Commentaries, yet notwithstanding, I finde no such matter. But forasmuch, as the Gauls (in their battails) are said to sit downe on Faggots: it was a kinde of discipline obserued among thē, like to that of the Romane * *Triarij*, who being ranked in the third battalion, which was the rereward, vsed to kneele down on their knees, which was termed by the Latines, *Subsidere*, whence ensued the word *Subside* as they named it. This commeth somewhat short of the order obserued among the *Gaules*: but many matters more might be related, concerning the encouragement they gaue to one another for war-seruice, which principally imployed their mindes, and boldly animated them on to vertue.

The words of Hirtius, concerning the Gauls sitting on Faggots.

* Souldiers that were alwaies set in the rereguard and were the strongest mē: they tought euer standing and bowing some what on their knees, as if they would rather dye, then remoue from their places.

CHAP. VII.

Of the shouts, cries, & strange noises deuised and vsed by the Gauls, to comfort and encourage themselues, and to affright or dismay their enemies. Also of their signes of contentment, peace, mercy, their Barit, Songs and Rithmes.

A vsuall matter obserued in Military discipline, & how it was among the Gaules.

IT hath bin a vsuall obseruation in all Military discipline, when they prepared to the fight, and so soone as they began to draw their weapons; to make a cry in the loudest manner that they could, & to enflame the Souldiers mindes with the founde of Trumpets. But the custome of the Gauls, was, not onely with cry of the voyce, and sound of Trumpets: but with a Song, a Dance, loud yelling, clattering of their armour, and brandishing their darts, to make a noise so terrible, as nothing could appeare to be more horrible. *The Gaules* (saith *Diodorus*) *had loud, big, and rude voyces, & their Trumpets (according to custom) were barbarous, & made a rude harsh sound.* But *Polybius* (in his second booke) sayeth moreouer. The brauadoes & noises of the *Celts*, were dreadfull to the Romanes: for they had an infinite number of Trumpets and Hobois, with the sound whereof, the whole Army cryed out aloud, making so great a clashing and noyse; that not only the Clarions & army ecchoed the sound, but all the places likewise that did round engirt them. And indeed, the noyse which customarily was made by the Gauls, hath oftentimes beene noted by *Titus Liuius*: but yet hatefully and iniuriously, as (for the most part) he was wont to speake of the Gaules. The Gaules (saith he, in his fift booke) by singing sauagely, and crying out confusedly; filled the ayre with an horrible sound. And in the same place: Immediately there were heard songs and noyses disagreeing, as when the Gaules walked (by troopes) about their walles. And afterward in the foure and thirtieth Booke, he saith. The Gaules went marching forward, howling or yelling strangely, and singing according to their confused fashion, shaking their Targets ouer their heads, and brandishing their Dartes in their hands. Then againe in the foure and fortieth Booke, speaking of the *Gauls* which were in *Asia*, he saith. Beyond all the rest, their singing, when they began the battaile, and their howling, yelling, and dances, couering themselues with their Shields, after the manner of theyr Country, with the horrible clattering of their armour: all these things were done on deliberate purpose, onely to procure affrightment and terror.

Diodor in lib. 1

Polyb in lib. 2.

The noise of the Celts affrighted the Romanes.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 5.

Cæsar toucheth this tumultuous behauiour more lightly, in his fift booke, after the ouerthrow of *Sabinus* & *Cotta*, where the Gaules hauing the victory, hee speaketh thus of them. Then, according to their wonted custome; they cryed the victory together, and howled loudly. And at another time, in the seauenth Booke, speaking of the Gaules neere vnto *Alexia*. The Gaules (saith hee) perswading themselues

Titus Liuius no friend to the Gaules.

Tit. Liu. in li. 34

Tit. Liu. in li. 44 Of the Gaules in Asia, and how they behaued themselues in battaile.

Iulius Cæsar in comment. lib. 5 The ouerthrow of Sabinus & Catta

Iul. Cæsar in Com. Lib. 7.

The battaile fought neere to Alexia.

selues to be the stronger part, and perceiuing the Romanes, that they were pressed with great numbers on all sides: they that were within the Fort, and they that came in their assistance, with a loude cry and yelling, assured the courage of their people. Moreouer, that which gaue greatest terror to the Romanes, was, the loud cry that they made at their backs, in the time of their fighting. It was likewise a custome among the *Gaules*, to require parlie or conference, by making a loud cry, as by a Trumpet: according as *Cæsar* in his fift Booke, speaking of the Eburons, saieth. *Then after their vsuall manner, they made a loud cry together; to the end, that some one of the Romanes might come foorth, to admit them parlie or conference.*

Iul. Cæs. in com. Lib. 5. How they required parlie.

Signes of especiall obseruation among the Gaules.

It may appeare now as conuenient, to speake somewhat of those signes which the *Gaules* vsed, to signifie, when theyr hearts were appeased and quieted; when they desired peace; and when they were willing to yeelde themselues. The signe which they vsed to make, when theyr hearts were contented and quieted; was, to shew their right shoulders naked. *Cæsar*, speaking of the *Heduans*, in his seauenth Booke, saith thus. Whensoeuer their right shoulders were seene to bee naked: it was their accustomed signe, thereby to declare, that they were contented. The signe of desiring peace, was, to extend or stretch out their hands: as hee speaketh in the second Booke, discoursing on the *Bellouasians*. The women and children (beeing on the walles) according to their wonted behauiour; would stretch foorth their hands, thereby desiring peace of the *Romanes*. Which he farther relateth in the seuenth Booke, speaking of the women of *Gorgouia*: who baring their breasts, and stretching out their hands vpon the walles, required mercy of the *Romanes*. In the same place also, hee declareth what signe they vsed, when they were willing to submit themselues. The *Heduans* holding vp their hands; gaue notice thereby, that they would yeelde themselues. And holding downe their armes, they requested thereby, that their liues might be saued.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 7. The signe of quietnesse.

The signe of desiring peace In Lib. 2.

In Lib. 7. The women of Gergouia.

The signe of yeelding. The Heduans

But perhaps these thinges may seeme to bee of slender account: therefore I will conclude the noyses made by the *Gaules*, and search into the behauiour of the *Germanes*, whether they were of like condition, or no. It should seeme, that it was the Barrit of the *Germanes*, whereof *Tacitus* maketh such mention. They had certain pleasant Songs and Rithmes, at the sound whereof; that which they tearmed Barrit, enflamed their courages; and by the Song, they presaged the ende and fortune of the future battaile. For they were cheered or dismayed, according as the Army made the noyse; and this accord in singing, seemed not to consist so much in the voyce, as in vertue. They did principally respect the rudenes of sound, and confusednesse of the noise; by holding their Targets before their mouthes, to the ende that the voyce (being made thereby the greater and fuller) might resound the louder and stronger. Such then was the noyse of the *Gaules*, cheefely when they came to the shocke or brunt, and when they would enflame their Souldiers courages: for the women *Gaules* (alwaies) had some part in this encouragement. You wil hardly credit, that mens harts would bee more enflamed, by the exhortations and teares of their dearest wiues; thē they could be by the sound of Trumpets and Cornets. The proofe hereof, is to be seene in the 7. Book, when at *Gorgouia*, the mothers of the Families began to pray with earnest affection, and to shew their haire disheueled, after the *Gaulish* manner, and to make presents of their young infants. Such was the exhortation at the siedge of **Massylia*, after that all the Ships on the Sea were readily prepared; at the instant entreaties & teares of the old men, of the mothers of the families and their daughters, who desired thē to succour the Citty in extreme necessity: they had no lesse heart and resolution, to mount into those Ships, then they had before in fighting the battaile. Then might easily be discerned, both from the Camp of * *C. Trebonius*, and all the places of highest prospect in the City; how all the youth that remained within it, and all the oldest men, with their wiues and young children, stood as publike guardes, and (vpon the walles) helde vp their hands to heauen, or ran to the Temples of the immortal Gods, where prostrating thēselues before their Images, they entreated victory of the Gods.

Obseruations among the Germanes, & of their Barrit *Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Singing foretolde their battels succes

Rudenesse of sound most regarded.

Of the womē among the Gaules, and how they encouraged the hearts of their husbands. *Iul. Cæs. in com. ment. Lib. 7.*

* A Country in Affrica, among the Westerne Moores.

* One of them that afterward murdred *Cæsar*.

This hath some resemblance with that

Iul. Cæsar in Com. Lib. 1. Of the German women.

which is written of the Germanes, in the first booke. And the women, holding vp their hands to the Souldiers, which were going to the warre with teares entreated them, that they would not suffer them to fall into the seruitude of the Romanes. Therfore, when the Germanes were ready to fight, such things as were in theyr deereſt esteeme (as *Tacitus* reporteth) they would haue in some place neere vnto them: where the out-cryes of theyr wiues, and lamentings of their children, might easiest be heard; these serued them as most sacred witnesses, and these were their cheefest commendations. They wold bring the wounded persons to their mothers and wiues, and they feared not to number and sucke their hurts; carrying food to them, and any thing that might harten them againe to the fight. Some say, that diuers battels, which began suddenly to quaile and breake off: were as suddenly re-enforced and pursued by the women, euen through the constancy of their praiers, beating their hands on their naked breasts, & setting before their eies, the danger of their neere-ensuing captiuity, which they feared the more impatiently, in regard of their Wiues and Children. Wherefore the wiues of martiall minded men, did declare themselues also no lesse valiant and resolute.

An obseruation among the Germans whē they wer ready to fight.

Quailed battailes re-enforced by the meanes of women.

But *Cæsar*, in attributing very great courage to the Gaules, doth yet (I know not how) reproch them, with a quite contrary negligence or cowardise. For, like as the hearts of the Gauls (saith he in his third Booke) are prompt and deliberate, for the attempting of warre: euen so is their courage dull, and weake in resistance, to support any mischances. In briefe (as we may reade in the eight Book) a man cannot well iudge, whether the Gaules are more insolent, when their affayres do go neuer so little successefully with them; then they are easie to be affrighted, when neuer so little harme befals them. This is that also, which *Titus Liuius* reprehendeth with such insolence, as euery where hee ceasseth not to taxe them with somwhat sauouring of the same nature. As in the fift Booke concerning the gowned Gauls. The Gaulish nation are accustomed to colde and raine; but they cannot any way endure eyther dust or heate. In the tenth Booke. The bodies of the Gaules, which cannot abide trauaile or heat, do yet melt themselues with sweating. They enter fight like more then men; but their issue is lesse then women. In the 37. Booke. Their big bones that can suffer no labor, will toile with weighty Armour on their backes. In the 40. Booke. Heate and trauaile are yrkesome to the Gaules quaggy bodies, because they are not able to endure thirst. In the 48. Booke, speaking of the Gaules of Asia. If their first assault be endured, which they rush into with boyling courage, and blindfold fury; their lazie members will melt themselues into sweate, and the weapons will fall out of their hands. The Sun, dust, and drought, without imployment of any weapon against them, doth dul their foggy bodies, and abate their stearnest courage, if theyr hot rage and fury be once ouer-passed.

In li. 37. cap 9.

In lib. 40. cap. 1

In lib. 48. cap. 2

Tacitus giueth the selfe same dull disposition to the Germanes. Their great bodies (saith he) that haue no other strength, then (at the first on-set) to shew thēselues forward: are not accustomed to support (with any patience) either paines, busines, thirst, heate, colde or hunger. How doth this hold together? According to the iudgement which *Cæsar* hath giuen of the Gaules? Are they both most valiant, and yet foggy fellowes also? Vndoubtedly, al the Gaules are reported to bee (euen naturally) martiall and valorous, and being exercised in military discipline, they are the more hardened against any trauel; but wanting exercise, they grow the more foggy & ydle. Custome and vse do teach men to support any toyle, and to hold good defence against all danger; for the trauaile of warlike discipline, admitteth neyther finerie or softnesse. If we meete with some old Souldier, who, because he is expert in warre, is feareless of blowes: If likewise a new fresh Souldier be brought in, that hath his hart as stout and resolute, & as yet vnexperienced; yet his best courage will appeare to be but womanish; so writeth *Cicero* in his second *Tusculanes*.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 1. Of the slowe disposition of the Germans.

The naturall inclination of the Gaules.

Vse and exercise maketh men apt and valiant.

Cicero in Tusculan. 5.

Tendernesse and softnesse is reprehended in the Gaulish Souldiers; as namely by *Vercingetorix*, and *Critognates*, one of the * *Aruerni*, in the seuenth Booke. For there he saith, that the Gaules desired to fight, in regard of their soft and tender disposition, because they cannot long endure any toyle. The same man at the councell

* People by the Riuer Leyre in France. *Iul. Cæs. in commen. lib 7.*

Cæsars double dealing with the Gaules. *Iulius Cæsar in comment. Lib 3 & in Lib. 8.*

Titus Liuius a reproouer of the Gaules.

In lib. 5 cap. 4.

In lib. 10. cap. 7

councell which was holden among them, that were beſiedged in Alexia, and ſtood in great diſtreſſe, through want of victualles: againſt ſuch as were of the minde, to hazard all at one ſally, he ſaid. *This is indeed meere cowardiſe, weakneſſe, and no ſigne of courage, or any acte of vertue, to declare your ſelues vnable, to endure dearth & ſcarſity ſo ſhort a while.* Proofe may bee produced, of more men that gladly offred themſelues to death, then could patiently ſuſtaine greefe or annoyance. It is not then to be doubted, but prompt & ſtout courage, eſpecially in warlike enterprizes, was hereditary (both by nature and race) to the Gaules nation, and that this ſoft or tender complexion, grew through lacke of exerciſe, in military diſcipline. For, if a Gaule had beene once well enſtructed, by a Maſter, skilfull in the arte of warre: where was any Souldier to bee found, that could more ably endure all labour? If thou doe inferre any doubt in this caſe, proofe thereof was made by *Cæſar* himſelfe: For *Cæſar* leuied ſixe Legions of the Gaules, becauſe he could raiſe no more then foure of his owne Common-wealth. *Cæſars* horſe-men were knowne to be Gaules, and thereupon, after he came to the head of all his enterprizes: hee naturalized all thoſe Legions, which not onely were Gaules by Nation, but they retained (beſide) the name of * *Alauda*. Wherefore, this ſoftneſſe in the new or young experienced Souldiers, was as common to the Romanes as Gaules; and was no otherwiſe proper, eyther to the Gaule or Germane Nation.

But *Titus Liuius*, with I know not how many Greekes, is too iniurious and inſupportable againſt the name of a Gaul, and forgets withall, the kindneſſe which hee ought to his Country, and to the law of hiſtory. For, although hee much better affected, to make the *Venetes* or *Venetians*, to deſcend from the traitor *Antenor*, then from the Nobility of the venetian Gauls, as *Strabo* hath done, and the Romanes approue the ſame, placing the *Venetes* or *Venetians* in *Gallia Togata*; yet thereby hee maketh himſelfe to be a Gaule. And the law of hiſtory doth command, that in the relating of a hiſtory, he ſhold ſtand cleare from ſuſpition of being touched with fauour or hatred. But whereas he reprocheth the gowned Gaules and Aſians, with the ydle matter of cold, becauſe they dwelt in the hotteſt Countries, and ſuch as were neerer to the Sunne, then the * *Patauines* or *Patauians*, among whom *Titus Liuius* was borne; doth he not mocke himſelfe as fooliſhly as can bee deuiſed? As for the Gaule Souldier which *Cæſar* had, and who was the very braueſt man of all other whatſoeuer: this man belyeth him manifeſtly. And it appeareth very probably, that *Cæſar* had to deale with thoſe men onely in that *Gaule:* but in the other partes of the world, hee fought againſt women, in regard of thoſe men hee found in this Nation.

Vercingetorix to the Souldiers beſiedged in Alexia.

Courage naturall and hereditary to the Gaules.

Cæſar had ſix Legions of the Gaules, & but foure of Romanes.

* A certaine legion among the Romanes

Titus Liuius reproued by the Author, to offend againſt his own country, & the law of Hiſtory.

Concerning the gowned *Gauls* & *Aſians*

* Men of Padua in Italy.

Apparant proofe of the ancient Souldier of Gaule

CHAP. VIII.

Of the difference betweene the Souldiers of Cæſar, and of Pompey, being the valiant Gaules, in comparing them with the Romanes: As alſo of the Spaniards and the Gaules, and what cunning they learned of the Romanes.

NOW, to ſpeake of *Cæſars* Souldier, againſt the Soldier of *Pompey*, that is to ſay, the valiant *Gaul*, what was hee againſt the *Romaine?* In the third book of the ciuill warres, *Cæſar* ſaith: *The Army of Pompey was not accuſtomed to paines taking.* Why then *Titus Liuius*, by the purity of his eloquence, which *Quintillian* compared to the whiteneſſe of milke, hath drawne the *Spaniards* and *Gaules* frō the corners of the world, onely to make himſelfe liſtened vnto, according as Saint *Hierome* writeth. Notwithſtanding, in this delicacy or ſoftneſſe of not enduring paine, heate, thirſt, nor duſt, which hee reprehendeth in the Souldiers of *Gaule*; himſelfe ſheweth the ſoftneſſe and affection of his owne ſpirit, which cannot any way abide equity, the grauity of hiſtory, ſoundneſſe of iudgement, and trueth. For, to be ſoft, or hardened againſt toyle, is not any thing that proceedeth eyther from Nation, or race, but by breeding and diſcipline.

Compariſon of Souldiers.

Iul Cæſ. in comment. lib. 3.

Quintil. im lib. 3. cap. 9.

Hier. in Præfat.

Of delicacy and hardneſſe againſt labour

Want of discipline in the Gaules.

Strabo in Lib.4 cap.7.

The simplicity of minde which remained in the Gaules.

The spaniards not so soone subdued, as the Gaules, & the reason why.

The spaniard war like vnto theeues.

Strabo in Lib.7.

Example of the Helueti-ans.

Example of the Belgians, Armoricans, & Aquitains.

All Gaul conquered neree to Alexia.

Hirtius in lib.3 cap.1.

Cæsar then did but right, in giuing to the men of Gaule a great courage, & truely warlike: and yet neuertheleſſe, he diſcouereth in this great minde or ſpirit, a certaine want of diſcipline, or much rather he reproueth a kinde of ſimpleneſſe, and an ill aduiſed aſſurance of their ſtrength, which was the fault that was moſt noted in their warres, according as *Strabo* writeth in his fourth Booke.

The Gaules very eaſily aſſembled together in great number, becauſe they wer ſimple of ſpirit, ſtil followed iuſtice, right and trueth, being moued and affected by the loſſes of their neighbours. Whereupon it happened, that the more eaſily they were chaſed out of theyr Country: becauſe in aſſembling all their forces, or rather their whole families and friends, they were throwne out by them that prooued the ſtronger. The Romanes did much more eaſily ſubdue them, then they could do the Spaniards: for the wars in Spaine were begun long time before theirs, and yet notwithſtanding, they were brought to end after theirs. And betweene both theſe times, they conquered all the *Gauls*, that were betweene the Rheine and the Pyrenean Mountaines: for in comming to the field ſo many together, they were ouerthrowne by multitudes together. But the Spaniards managed their battailes more ſparingly, and, euen as if they had a deſire to ſome affected kinde of monies: ſo did they preſerue them from one time to another, and from Country to Country, making their warre ſtil cauteouſly, like vnto theeues.

And that which *Strabo* hath written, may ſufficiently bee perceiued by the examples of *Cæſar*. The whole City of the Heluetians, there being all the people of twelue Townes, and of forty Villages: did fight all at one inſtant, and in one inſtant alſo were all ouerthrowne. Such was the league of fifteene people of the Belgians. Such was the reuolting of the *Armoricans* in the warre of the *Venetes*, or *Venetians*. Such was the conſpiracy of the Aquitains againſt *Craſſus*. In briefe, did not all Gaule put it ſelfe in Armes, and was it not wholly conquered in one warre, neere vnto *Alexia*? The Gaules in the eight yeare of their warre, both well felt and knew this fault, as *Hirtius* ſaith, and that in regard of ſome great numbers, which ſtill were aſſembled in one place; it exceeded poſſibility to reſiſt the Romanes. But if diuers Cities (at one ſelfe ſame time) had made warre in diuers places: the Romane Army could neither haue had ſufficient ſuccour, leyſure or forces, to vndertake all at once.

A great error of the Gaules in their fighting.

Neuertheleſſe, the Gaules were not alwayes of ſo ſimple and open ſpirit: but at ſome-times they declared more cunning, and holpe themſelues by ſome ſurprizes. *Cæſar*, (as *Suetonius* ſaith) neuer ſuffered any one occaſion of warre to bee loſt, were it neuer ſo vnindifferent, ſetting as ſoone on the allied and leagued, as on enemies: and yet notwithſtanding, all the warres which he made, hee ſtill paliated with good & ſufficient colours of reaſon. The Eburone-Gaules payed *Cæſar* with his owne vnfaithfull dealing. For theſe Gaules aduertiſing the Romaine with the conſpiracy, which all the Gaules had agreed on together: made him beleeue, that if hee would come, and leaue the fielde, they would giue him free paſſage. Through this deceit, a Legion, and fiue Cohorts or Companies (with *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, which ledde them) were all vanquiſhed. And albeit, that the Romane was then alike in number and ſtrength to the Gaules (as *Cæſar* confeſſeth) yet was he foyled by the Gaules ſubtilty, who had learned this craft of *Cæſar*, and therewith repayed him.

The Gaules were not alwayes filly & ſimple in their martial afairs.

The Eburones cunning in ouer-reaching Cæſar.

Cæſar repaied with coyne of his own ſtamp

Hirtius recounteth the like ambuſcadoes of the *Bellouaſi*, or *Bellouacanes*, who hauing vnderſtood the lodging of the Romaine horſemen: tooke a number of light and nimble ſpirited footemen, and en-ambuſhed them in a place thickly couered with wood. On the morrow, they ſent certaine horſes thither, which might allure the Romanes out, into the compaſſe of the ambuſhment, and when they were once in it, they preſently charged them. And the fortune of this miſhappe fell on the men of Rheimes, who were appointed as Guards there that day. For they hauing ſeene (too ſuddenly) the enemies horſe-men, and knowing themſelues to exceede them greatly in number, making no account of ſo fewe as they ſeemed to bee: they ruſhed foorth, and ouer-hotly purſued them, euen vntill they were (on all ſides) enuironed by the Foote-men to

Hirt.in l.3.c.3.

The Bellouaſians circumuented the Romanes.

The Rhemi foiled through their owne fault, with the loſſe of their Prince *Vertiſcus*.

to their no little astonishment, which caused them to retir much sooner, then skirmishes of horsemen were wont to do; hauing lost *Vertiscus*, Prince of the Citie, and cheefe Commander of the horsmen. This shewed no simpleneſſe in the Gauls, but meere quaint cunning, learned of the Romaines.

The Romains harmed by their owne instructions.

In the very same place, *Hirtius* declareth the like cunning stratagem; as that which *Hannibal* vsed, to deceyue *Fabius*. *The Bellouasians* (saith he) *perceiuing that the Romaines were ready to pursue them, and that they could not (without daunger) passe the night, or soiourne longer where they were: they deliuered (by Oath) from hand to hand, the Faggots and small bushes whereon they vsed to sit, and whereof they had great store in the fielde, all which they placed before their Army: and at the ending of day-light (vpon a signe sodainely giuen) they set them all on fire. So the flame, which followed it selfe in great length, immediately hindered, that the enemy could not discouer their Forces: and which being doone, the Gaules very speedily withdrew themselues.* Cæsar, *albeit he could not perceiue that the enemy was gone, in regard of the fire (so made before them: yet notwithstanding, suspecting that they had done this deuice, to the end that they might flye, caused his Legions to march on, and sent out troopes of horsemen to pursue them. And yet, being mistrustful of some surprizall, & doubting left the enemie might still lurke there, with intent to allure the Romanes to some disaduantage, hee marched on the more aduisedly. The Horsemen, fearing to enter the smoke, and if any one (by ouermuch forwardnes) did enter, he could not see any thing before or behind him: grew all suspitious of some secret ambush, & so gaue leysure to the Bellouasians to retire thence. Thus the enemy, by meanes of a slight (full of feare & craft) hauing marched about ten miles of the country, without sustaining the left losse, seated their campe in a very strong place.*

A cunning stratageme of the Bellouasians against the Romaines

The night fauoureth many attempts

Cæsar suspected the deceit of the Bellouasians, and therefore would not be too rash.

Suspition is the hinderer of the braueſt actions

Many harmes done to the Romaines by the Gaules.

Oftentimes thenceforward, & by many ambushes both of horse & foot, they did great damages to the Romaines, in their wandering abroad, stealing and foraging: whereby it should appeare, that these attempts sauoured rather of a Punick spirit then of a Gaulish. And yet neuertheleſſe, when all came to al (as we vse to say:) they were surprized by the hands of their maisters, & by the selfesame deceits & subtilties which they had learned of *Cæsar*. And to the end it might bee noted, that the Gauls had no more cunning or craft then what they learned of the Romaines: the Heluetians (as *Orosius* writeth in his sixt booke) surprized the Consull *Cassius*, with all his army, by an ambuscado. But I haue concluded with my selfe, not to omit one maner of ambushing, which was the most maruellous of al those that euer I read of, or heard reported; whereby the Prætor *Posthumius* was ouerthrown of the Boian Gaules, as *Titus Liuius* reporteth in his 33. booke.

Cunning oftentimes deceiues it selfe.

Oros. in lib. 6. cap. 4.

The Prætor Posthumius vanquished by the Gauls.

Tit. Liuius in lib. 33. cap. 4.

While matters went on in these doubts and vncertainties, tidings came of another losse, according as fortune (in that yeare) still re-charged one vpon another. And these were the Newes, that *Lucius Posthumius*, designed Consull, was ouercome in Gaule, both he and his Armie. There was a verie great Forrest, which the Gauls called *Litana*, thorough which Forrest, he was to passe his Army. The Gaules, on both sides of the passage, had cut and hewne the Trees of the Forrest in such sort; that (yet notwithstanding) they parted not from the trunke or bodie, but must endure hard thrusting and enforcement, before they could possibly get thē to fall.

The manner how Posthumius was ouerthrown by the Boians.

Posthumius had two Romane Legions, and had leuyed so many people, allyed vnto the Romaines, that hee brought into the enemies Countrey, well neere the number of fiue and twenty thousand men of Warre. The Gaules, who vvere ambushed in the Forrest, when the Armie was entered within the VVood; threvv downe the aforesaid hewne vnder-growing braunches, vvhich were apted so for the present purpose; that falling stil thickly one vpon another, without any possible meanes of restrayning them, they ouer-turned (pell-mell) both Men and Horses, in such manner, that (very hardly, and with much paines taking) tenne men of them escaped. For the greater part were slaine, by the falling of the huge braunches and armes of Trees on them; and the Armed Gaules, that held possession of all the VVood, put the rest vnto death, vvho vvere not a little affrighted at this so strange misaduenture. Verie few (of so great a number) were taken; who in going to the bridge of the riuer,

A stratageme effectually performed.

A strange confusion on the sodaine.

were impeached by the enemy, who formerly had gotten the mastery thereof. This is all that *Titus Liuius* hath written, concerning this notable accident to the Gaules.

CHAP. IX.

In what manner the Gaules fortified their Cities and Townes; and what Engines they imployed for their owne defence.

After what manner the Gaules fortified their Townes and Cities.

BVT this is enough alreadie spoken, concerning the maner of behauiour among the Gaules, as well in ranged battails, as in ambuscadoes: it remaineth now to speak, how they fortified their Cities and Townes, and contrarywise, how they were besieged. How was it then that the Gaules strengthened and fortified their Townes, and what Engines had they whereby to defend themselues? There neede no wonderment bee made, at the fortification of the *Morini*, *Neruians*, *Menapians*, *Aduaticatæ*, and *Eburones*, becausе they had no Townes at all. And thence ensued it, that the *Aduaticatæ* maruelled so strangely, to beholde the warlicke Engines of the Romaines; whereof it is thus written in the second Booke. Beeing fortified with a rampier of twelue foote high, which had fifteene thousand Towers and strong Bastils nere to each other; the Romaines kept themselues within that Fort. Afterward, when the trailes and platformes were readie prepared, mounted aloft, and a Tower to be raised some long distance off: at the beginning of these vnwonted workes, the Gaules beganne to laugh on their walles, and lowdly to mocke at them, maruelling what they did vndertake so farre off, and with so huge an Engine, or how it should bee possible, that the hands and strength of men (especially of so meane stature) could promise any hope to themselues, of comming neere to their walles, with a Tower of so great a composition. But when they (soone after) perceyued, that this mighty frame mooued from place to place, and approached neere vnto theyr walles: beeing astonished at a matter of such nouelty, and sight vnaccustomed; they sent their Ambassadors vnto *Cæsar*, to entreate peace; who answered them, That they must thinke, that the Romaines neuer made any warre, without the speciall fauour of the Goddes: seeing they could aduance (and in so short a while) an Engine of such height, to fight both farre off, and neere at hand; and therfore they should submit themselues, and all their goods to his mercy. Thus spake *Cæsar*. It would require so much speech (saieth *Cicero* in his second Tusculanes) concerning the new souldier, & the old: that if wee make comparison of one that hath not beene exercised with him which is tried and skilfull; he will appeare no otherwise, then meerely as a woman. All which notwithstanding, the very selfsame Gaule, beeing enstructed in the Discipline of *Cæsar*, seemed as a God to another Gaule, that neuer had knowledge in that Art.

Ambassadors sent by the Gauls to Cæsar, and his answer to them.

Cicero in Tusc. 2

Concerning the old & new soldier.

But let vs leaue these Belgians which dwelt so farre off, and come vnto such as were more ciuillized, as the *Swessiones*, and the *Bellouasians*. The *Swessiones* (saith *Cæsar* in his second booke) when as the Treiles vvere prepared against *Nouiodunum*, one of their cheefe Townes, and that the platforme was mounted together vvith the Treiles: as men amazed at so great an enterpriee, and such straunge workes, which the Gaules had neuer seene or heard of, yet so speedily performed by the *Romaines*; they sent their Ambassadors toward *Cæsar*, to entreate that they might yeeld themselues. The *Bellouasians* also, hauing not (as yet) seen such Engines, vvherewith Townes vvere battered, but onely hearing report made of them, surrendred the Towne of *Bratuspantium*. VVherefore, if the Gaules (as Cæsar affirmeth) had neuer either seene or heard speech of such instruments, vntill that verie time: vvhy then should vve make any maruelling, That the Gaules, vvho had not yet learned such cunning, vvere conquered by other Gaules, that had knowledge in them? Now, vvhether this place in Cæsar, vvhich treateth of the Belgians, vvas purposely vvritten, or (at the least) may seeme not to bee vvritten according vnto trueth, there the question remaineth. For, the Gaules made their

Of the Swessiones and Bellouasians.

Iul. Cæs. in com. lib. 2.

Diuers people that had no Townes or Villages.

Iul Cæs. in Comment. lib. 2.

The Gaules had neuer seene such admirable Engines as were framed by the Romaines.

Engines to batter cities and Townes withall.

A doubt concerning the passage in Cæsar.

How the *Gauls* vſed to make their Towne-walles.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 7.

their walles with ſtrong beames of wood, which were not planted vp on one ende: but couched downe, & ioyned together, with ſpaces of earth betweene each two beames, whereof *Cæſar* ſpeaketh thus in his ſeuenth book. All the walles (ſaith he) of the *Gaules*, were (well nere) made after this manner. They layd beames of wood ſtraite out along on the ground, and followed after ſtil in the ſame order, making equall diſtance betweene them, about the ſpace of two foote in bredth. Theſe beams or plaits, as ſome terme them, were reueſted and bound within, with ſtrong forced earth; and the equall diſtances (whereof we haue ſpoken) were filled vp with great ſtones, which fronted the wall forward. After that this rowe was all along thus ranged and ordered; another like frame was laid thereon, after the ſame manner; yet ſo, that the beames betweene both, did guard and keepe the maine Timber from touching each other. And being diſtanted alſo by the ſelfe-ſame ſpaces: they were knit and ſhut faſt together, by great ſtones caſt in betweene them. And ſo, conſequently, all the whole worke ſhaped it ſelfe in this manner, euen till the Wall was perfected to a reaſonable height.

Theſe walles were the ſtrongeſt defences that the *Gauls* then had about all their Cities and Townes.

A ſuruay of this their order in building, & what thickneſs their walles contained.

Now, concerning this kinde of building, ouer and beſide, that it was no way miſhapen, by the order kept in the leuelling, and fitting both the beames & ſtones aptly to each other: euen ſo it was greatly commodious, in ſeruing for the defence of their Townes. For the ſtones were apt and proper, to impeach the force of fire, and the beames and other matter, brake and reſiſted the blowes of battery. Becauſe, they being bound together inwardly, and knit to the Timber beames running all along, contayning (for the moſt part) in thickneſſe, the meaſure of forty foote; could (by no meanes) be forced to ſinke, or be otherwiſe diſmembred. Hereby then it may appeare, that the Gaules knew ſome-what for the fortification of their Citties and Townes; yea, and how to defend themſelues alſo, by ſuch meanes as were vſed in the warres.

All the Gauls were not ignorant in fortifying their Townes.

Marcus Craſſus beſiedged the Santone Gaules.

In the third yeare of the warre in Gaul, the Santone-Aquitaines were beſiedged by *Craſſus* and his men, both with Treilles and Towers: but they reſiſted him valiantly, one while, by making ſaillies out vpon them, another while, by vndermining, till they came to the great planted platforme, which formerly had beene prouided, by meanes of the treilles. To which vndermining (ſaith *Cæſar*) the Aquitains were well inured becauſe they had Mines of Copper and Braſſe in many places. So much *Cæſar* wrote, approuing, that the Aquitains knew well enough how to defend a Towne or City; becauſe they had Copper Mines, which made them therein very skilfull. It is ſaide alſo, that the Celtes (for the ſame cauſe) knew well how to defend themſelues at the ſiedge of *Auaricum*: becauſe they had very deep Mines of Iron in their Country. For Auaricum being couragiouſly aſſayled by the Romanes, the Gaules found out all ſorts of inuentions (as *Cæſar* ſaith in his ſeuenth Booke) wherby to giue impeachment to the moſt ſingular enterprizes of the Romane Soldiers: as hauing (by naturall inclination) a very ingenious and ſubtile ſpirit, apt to follow and counterfeit all things, and whatſoeuer they ſawe done by others.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 7.

The Celtes skilful in their owne defence

The natural inclination of the Celts.

Firſt, for the Romane Falx, they could ouerthrow it by a ſnare or grinne; and when it was remounted, they would againe hurle it downe with their Engines. They couered all their walles with towers made of skinnes, and equalled the height of thoſe towers made by the Romanes, with maſts made in their owne turrets. In making their ſaillies abroad; eyther they would throw fires into the platforme; or ſuddenly ſurprize the amazed Romanes; or by vndermining, ouerthrow the maine fortification. Whereunto (indeede) they were the more apt and ready; becauſe they had great yron Mines in theyr Country, and knew (beſide) all kindes of deluing into the ground. By leauing their Mines open, they impeached and tardyed the Romanes preparations: mingling fire with pitch and other matter, made apt to burne whereſoeuer it fel, and tumbling downe great ſtones alſo, to keepe them from approching neere to their walles. By theſe cited places it appeareth euidently, that the Gaules had attained vnto ſome indifferent knowledge, how and which way to defend a City: but to ſpeak truely, it was more through their continuall exerciſe in their Mines, then by any cunning they had learned in the arte Military.

Of the Romã engine Falx.

The exerciſes of the Cels againſt the Romanes, in all their atempts of war againſt them.

Working in the Mines vnder ground, made the *Celts* ſo ready in defending themſelues.

And

Kings compelled to buy their peace of the Gaules.

name of the Gaules was so much feared, that Kings (not constrained, but on their own meer motion and good will) bought their peace of them, with great summes of money.

Ptolomy slain by the Gaules

Beeing conducted by *Belgeus*, they slew *Ptolomy*, King of Macedon. Led by *Brennus*, as making small account of the spoyles of men; they sacked the Temple of *Apollo*, which was in Delphos. Afterward, a new Armie of the same Gaules, which vvere dwelling in Germanie, hauing formerly driuen in rowte the [a] *Getes* and [b] *Triballes*, and inforced *Antigonus*, King of Macedon, to forsake the Fielde: thence they passed on into Asia, vvhere they made such a dreadfull terrour (as *Titus Liuius*, the great blamer of the Gaules name, saith in his eight and forty booke) amongst all the Nations, which were on this side the Mountaine Taurus, that not onely they among whom they came, but such with whome they neuer were (both neere and farre off) did ranke themselues altogither vnder their obedience and subiection.

The Temple of Apollo sacked by them.

Cruel people of Scythia in Europe, Eastward by the sea side.
b People of Mæsia, betweene Danubius and Aenius.
Titus Liuius in lib. 48. cap. 9.

Not long after, because they consisted of three Nations, to witte, [c] *Tolistoboges*, *Trocmes*, and *Tectosages*, they diuided Asia into three parts, to the end, that each Nation might hold his share tributary to himselfe. The coast of the *Hellespont* was assigned to the *Trocmes*. The *Tolistoboges* had the [d] *Æolides* and [e] *Ionia* for their part. The *Tectosages* had the Countrey vvhich was in the middest of Asia, and raised all their souldiers pay, at the charge of that whole Asia, which was on this side *Taurus*, making their abode neere to the riuer *Halys*. And their name was so much feared (in regard of their great number) that they became (afterward) a people of no meane parentage: insomuch, that the Kinges of Syria refused not to pay them Wages. Thus hath *Titus Liuius* written, concerning the entrance of the Gaules into Greece and Asia. Whereby, I haue obserued, that, in regard (as I haue formerly sayde) their warres were managed by vertue, and no craft or guile: the due commendation of the Gaules valiancie, was iustly comprized vvithin those limites and Countryes, as the Sunne obserued his course, from his rising, to his fall.

c People of Gaule, that did win part of Paphlagonia & Mæonia

d People that somtimes wer cald Mysians.
e A Region in Greece, betweene Caria and Eolis.
f A riuer rising out of Taurus, and running thorough Cappadocia.

War guided by vertue, and no guile.

But in following time, thorow lacke of Military Discipline, or else (much rather) by reason of discords, which grevv among themselues, the [g] *Cenomanians*, hauing differēce with the *Togates*, the *Massylians* with the *Bracchates*, and [f] *Heduans* with the *Comates*: they holp the Romans, to bring their owne Countrey into thraldome; betraying all Gaule, to subiect it to the Romane Empire. And that which is much more, to the end, that in this case we may more admire the Gaules Vertue, they being well instructed in the Art Military: and all together hauing encountred *Cæsar*, who was a most excellent Maister in actions of warre; within the space of foure yeares, ouerthrew the whole Romaine Empire, which had setled it selfe by so many warres, and multiplicity of ages. For heerein *Cæsar* had the consent of the Gaules, onely against whom, (as *Vercingetorix* propheſied) not all the inhabitable world knew how to make resistance: yet, the only consent (I say) of the Gauls, and Gaule onely, stoode against all the other Prouinces of so great and mightie an Empire. Why then, thou Man of Gaule, thou deseruest highest honour for this Vertue; for encreasing the dignitie and glorie of thy Countrey, and not the tyrannie of a stranger. Thou (euen of thy selfe) hast subdued Italy, Spaine, Greece, Egypt, Asia, Affrica, yea, and Spaine againe: in briefe, thou hast conquered the whole Empire of the Romane people.

g People of Gallia Cisalpina.

Gaul betrayd & subiected to the Roman Empire.

The Romane Empire ouerthrowne in 4. yeeres, onely by the valour of the Gaules.

Conquests of the Gaules nation in the world.

But this may seeme sufficient (if not too much) to be spoken concerning their man-hoode and valour: Now it is fitte time to speak of their prudence and wisedome.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Learning and wisedom of the Gaules: Of the disciplines instructed by their Druides or Priests, to the yonger people. Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Eubages and profession of Languages.

THE study of disciplines (whereby the iudgment of man maketh it self most firme, for the better entertainement of wisedom) was most notable amōg the ancient

Of the wisedom and learning vsed amongst the Gaules.

they were ioyned or fastened together with iron nailes of great bigneſſe. Their Anchors (inſtead of Cables) were made faſt with chaines of iron: and for want of other ſailes, they made vſe of skinnes and hides, which were ſoft and pliable with currying and paring. And either through the want of hempe, or knowledge how to vſe it (which is the more likely) they imagined, that if they vſed other ſailes, they could not reſiſt ſo manie tempeſts of the Ocean, and ſuch impetuous windes as daily aroſe, neither ſo commodiouſly conuay ſuch great burthens as they caried in their veſſels.

Hempe not known to the Gaules, nor the vſe therof

In another paſſage of the fourth book he ſheweth, that the Gallies, whereof hee himſelfe made ſeruice, both againſt the Britaines and the Venetes, had not beene vſed on the Ocean, vntill that inſtāt time. For, the Romanes being ſomewhat hardly preſſed by the Britains, on the ſhore of the Ocean; *Cæſar* commanded, that the gallies (which theſe poor barbarous people were not wont to ſee, & which could be managed moſt readily in any buſines) ſhould be ſet apart diſtant from the other ſhips, and that they ſhould be moued by the ſtrength of Oares: to the end, that they might be ranged againſt the flanke of the enemy, which was diſcouered; and whence they might repulſe and recoil the enemy by the dint of their weapons, and Engines of warre, vvhich auailed the Romanes very greatly. For the ignorant people, being amazed at the faſhion of thoſe veſſels, and the moouing of their Oares, as alſo the manner of their vnaccuſtomed Engines, ſtayed their proceedings, and (ſoone after) retired.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4. Of Cæſars Gallies againſt the Britaines.

Cæſars command for imployment of his Gallies.

Ignorance is the mother of much errour, eſpecially in warre ſeruices

Thus farre we haue heard the ancient faſhions and behauiour which the Gauls vſed in actions of warre, and vvhich haue bene collected out of many places: declaring them to be much greater in naturall ſtrength, then in the courſe of Martiall diſcipline. Whereby wee may perceiue (in regard that their vvarres were managed by vertue, & not by any ſlights, cunning, or trumpery;) they were the maiſters of all or moſt nations. For they purſued their purpoſe, euen as Geographers were wont to doe, to make all the Earth habitable, euen from the Suns ſetting, ſo farre as his riſing. *Britaine, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia*, yea, *Aſia* it ſelfe, can declare the

The Gaules made themſelues maſters of al other nations.

Empire of the Gaules. For *Britain*, which was along the ſea coaſt (as *Cæſar* ſaith in his fift booke) had beene conquered by them that paſſed from Belgia, going thither for pillage, and to make warre; and they named themſelues according to all the Cities titles from whence they iſſued; and hauing made warre there, there they inhabited, and began to plough and huſband the grounds. VVhat ſhall we ſay of * *Celtiberia?* Doth it not deliuer ſufficient teſtimony, that Spaine was ſubdued by them? For, to what purpoſe elſe ſhould *Lucane* ſay?

Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 5.

The Celts departing from the ancient Gauls,
Renowned their name as farre as Iberus.

*Whoſe people deſcended of the Celtes, that came out of France, and placed themſelues by the riuer Iberus.

But it may be, that Italy came not vnder the gouernment of the Gaules: Yes, that it did ſoundly, and at the ſame time when *Tarquinius Priſcus* reigned. The *Bituriges, Aruernians, Senones, Heduans, Ambarrians, Carnutes*, and *Aulertes*, vnder conduct of the *Sollunians, Boians*, & * *Lingones*, preuailed ſo farre, that that Italy, which reacheth along frō the Alps, coaſting ſtill to the *Apennines*, and ſo farre on as the riuer *Rubicon*, became Gaule. And finally, after that they had ouerthrowne the Romanes neere to *Allia*, they tooke Rome and burned it; and hauing agreed for a thouſand pounds of gold, they ſolde the Capitoll (which they kept beſiedged) to the reſt of the Romaines which vvere encloſed therein. And hath not furious Germany borne the yoake of Gaule? *In elder times* (ſaith *Cæſar* in his ſixte Booke) *the Gaules excelled the Germanes in vertue.* For the *Volcæ* and *Tectoſages*, vnder the conduct of *Sigoueſus*, poſſeſſed themſelus of the moſt fertile places in Germanie, euen thoſe which were neereſt to the Forreſt *Hercynia*, as *Titus Liuius* alſo relateth.

Italy ſubiected vnto the Gaules power in the time of Tarquinius Priſcus.

*People of Langres in France.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib. 6.

Rome ſurprized and burnt by the Gaules

Tacitus maintaineth, that the Colonies of the Heluetians & Boians were brought into the ſame place. But thoſe Gaules, the conquerors of *Germany*, being made bold and hardy, by ſuch ſimplicity in diet as the *Germans* vſed, extended themſelues much further, and the renowne of theyr name, went (with great honor) thorough *Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*, and *Aſia*, according as *Iuſtine* (following *Trogus*) declareth more at large. And the name

People of Narbone, beyond Rhodanus weſtward now called Languedoc, towards the Pyrenean mountaines.

Spare dyet made the Gaules couraginus.

of a people, which were Natiues of the Countrey: but were chaſed and expelled from their dwellings by another people, in regard of their continuall warres, and thorow the inundations of the Sea, they landed on the hither Iſlands, and in the Countrey on this ſide the *Rheine*. Some alſo holde, that after the deſtruction of Troy, a ſmall number of people vvhich fled from the Greekes, wandering all about: cam at laſt into this country, which till then was empty. But the inhabitants of this land (more then any thing els can) do aſſure this, which wee haue alſo ſeene engrauen in their Monuments: that *Hercules*, the ſon of *Amphitrio*, made all poſſible ſpeede to ruinate the cruell Tyrants *Gerion* and *Tauriſcus*, one of which ouerawed *Spaine*, and the other *Gallia*. After he had conquered them both, he had priuate knowledge of ſome women of noble race; by whom, he had many Children, that ſtyled (by their owne name) all thoſe places where they commanded.

Annius: de Viterbo.

Scrip. Brit. Cent. 1.

I. Bale ſcrip. Brit. Cent. 2 Two bloodie giants conquered by Hercules.

It is likewiſe further maintained, that the[a] *Phocenſes* which liued in Aſia, flying from the cruelty of *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to King *Cyrus*, betooke themſelues to ſea, and came into *Italy*; one part vvhereof, founded the Towne of[b] *Velia*, and the other[c] *Maſſilia* in *Viennoys*. Within ſome while after, when their forces were increaſed; they fortified a great number of Cities and Townes. But we muſt breake off this variety, which gladly would keep company with pleaſing ſatiety. Afterwards, when theſe places were (by little and little) ciuillized, and reclaimed from rudeneſſe by men: the ſtudy of learning (which is moſt commendable) began to appeare in ſome ſplendour, by the *Bards*, *Eubages*, and *Druides*.

a People of Phocis, a little countrey of Greece, by the guiſe Criſſeus
b A Towne of Lucania, in the gulfe Peſtanus.
c The Cittie Marſiles in France, which was as famous for Learning, as Athens.

Marcellinus reporteth this of *Hercules*, agreeing therein with *Beroſus*. For *Beroſus* ſaith, that *Galatea* (by conſent of her parents) was begotten with child by *Hercules*, at his returne out of *Spaine*; and that of her was borne *Galata*, of whome the Gauls receiued their name *Galates*. Therfore, the antiquity of the Gaules Diſcipline and Learning, maketh it ſelf known by theſe teſtimonies.

The beginning of the ſtudy of Lerning.

Beroſ. an. l. 1

Galatea got with childe by Hercules.

But in what Diſcipline and Learning (perhaps) thou wilt aske me? I anſwer, in Grammar, Rhetoricke, Logicke, Mathematicke, Phyſick, Theology. Grammar inſtructed to reade, and frame Letters; and this Art was ſuch from thoſe times, when as the tongues were in their entire condition: and that the neighbouring ſtrãgers had not (as yet) corrupted them. For ſo *Plato* in his *Philebeus* grounded the Greeke Grammar. Heere (me thinkes) I vnderſtand in this place, that which many good and learned ſpirits haue queſtioned, to wit, vvhat were the Letters of the Ancient Gaules? *Cæſar*, in his ſixt book confirmeth, that they were Greeke Letters. *They thought* (ſaith he) *that it was ill done, to ſet down their diſciplines in writing: howbeit, that almoſt in all their other affayrs, as well cõmon as particular, they vſed the Greeke letters.* In this place, *Cæſar* ſpeaketh not obſcurely, but diſertly and plainly; that the Gaules made vſe of the Grecian Letters, that is to ſay, theſe Charracters α. β. γ. &c. He deliuereth ſom proof heereof in the firſt Book, that in the camp of the Heluetians, there were found little Table bookes, written with Greeke Letters. Moſt true it is, *Cæſar* calleth thoſe Greeke Letters, which the Gaules then vſed: but I call them Gaul Letters, & will maintaine, that they neuer came out of Greece into Gaule; but on the contrary, that they went out of Gaule into Greece.

Plato in Phileb.

Of the letters of the ancient Gaules.

Cæſar in comment lib. 6

The Gaules vſed Greeke Carracters.

Greek letters found in the campe of the Heluetians. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 1.*

As concerning the man, who is ſayde to be the firſt inuenter of Letters, verie great queſtion had beene made thereof: and *Plinie* hath debated the matter by diuerſity of opinions. So that the inuention of Letters, is not proper or peculiar vnto any one Nation, according as hee thinketh; but (from all antiquity) they had bin vſed. *Cadmus* (if the booke be true which is allowed to one named *Xenophon*) as is affirmed by ſom, was the firſt that broght Letters (to the number of ſixteene) from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*, the which were very like to the Caracters of the *Galates* and *Mæons*. Hereby may be coniectured, that Letters came from the *Galates* vnto the *Greekes*. Now, finding not onely a verie likely conieƈture, but a certaine proof alſo, by the report and account of Times; maintaining, that the diſcipline of the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*, *Sarronides*, *Druides*, and *Bardes*, did flouriſh in Gaul for ſo many yeares before *Cadmus* vvent into *Greece*: there neede no doubt to bee made, but that the *Gaules* caracters vvere in vſe in *Gaule*, for ſo many yeeres before *Cadmus*

Of him that was the firſt inuenter of Letters.

Cadmus reported for to bring Letters from Phœnicia into Greece, and to be the firſt that foundout the caſting of mettals.

The antiquity of the Gaules diſciplines.

The Lerning vſed amongſt the Ancient Gauls in thoſe elder dayes.

cient Gaules. The * *Druides*, or *Druidæ*, made profeſsion in each of thoſe Diſciplines. Firſt of all, *Cæſar* ſaith, they wold haue men to beleeue, that their ſoules could not dye; but after death they paſſed from one body to another. And they were of opinion, that this beleefe ſerued greatly for an encouragement to vertue; when men held the feare of death in contempt. Moreouer, they diſcouered verie many things which they taught to youth: concerning the Starres, and their motion; of the greatneſſe of the world, & the earth; of the Nature of things; of the might and power of the immortall Gods. *Cæſar* writeth, of the Learning of the Gaules; but in few words, and ſleightly; therfore we muſt enquire after more ample relation. That the Gaules had a capeable vnderſtanding of all diſciplines, *Cæſar* hath affirmed in his ſeuenth booke, by that which wee haue already alledged. *They are a kinde of people of very great vnderſtanding, and who are moſt apt to follow and counterfet all things which cā be taught them.* And *Diodorus* writeth thus. *Although their ſpeech be ſomewhat obſcure and doubtfull, yet are they not any ſuch men, as do eſtrange themſelues from Learning.* Alſo *Strabo* agreeth there-with, ſaying. *The Gaules are eaſily guided to learn ſuch things as may do them ſeruice, becauſe they addict themſelues to Arts and Diſciplines.*

From the beginning of the world, which Father *Noah* re-eſtabliſhed; all ſortes of Diſciplines were taught to ſuch ſpirits, as appeared to be deſirous of them. For, according to *Beroſus*, if that which now adayes is generally read, be true: * *Dis*, who was the firſt Author of the Gaules Nation, is ſaid to bee moſt famous for knowledge, and thereon was called *Semnothes*, or *Samothes*, and (after his name) ſuch as made profeſsion of Learning and knowledge, were termed *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*. But this place of *Cæſar*, ſeemeth to confirme the hiſtory of *Beroſus*. *The Gaules* (ſaith he) *do report themſelues to bee deſcended of their father Dis: and ſay beſide, that the Druides gaue them that inſtructiō.* For this cauſe, they marked all the courſes of times by number, not of dayes, but of nights; and that they kept ſuch a cuſtome, by obſeruation of their birth daies, and ſo from the beginning of months and yeares; that ſtill the day followed the night. Now, concerning this point, that day alwayes enſued after night: the Germaines alſo kept the ſame courſe, & made not their account by number of dayes, as we do (ſaith *Tacitus*) but of nights, giuing an apt tearme therefore, and vſed their aſſignations among themſelues accordingly, as holding, that night was ſtill the guide to day. It may bee, that this was a thing in vſe to other people alſo, to take the beginning of the houres, from the inſtant of midnight.

But let vs come againe to Father *Dis*, and the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*, whereof *Beroſus* ſpeaketh; with whom the opinion of *Ariſtotle* conſenteth: for hee writeth in his Magitian (according as *Laertius* reporteth) *That Philoſophy receyued originall from the Semnotheans of the Gauls.* The ſame *Beroſus* writeth, that *Sarron* the third King of Gaule, to reſtrain the wilde fierceneſſe of the firſt men; eſtabliſhed publicke Schooles of learning: but hereafter we ſhall ſpeake more at large of the *Sarronides*. The fourth King was *Druis*, of whom came the *Druides*, & who were full of all things, as *Cæſar* affirmeth. The fift King was *Bardus*, of whom wee celebrate the honour, in ſpeaking of Bardes, Poets, and Orators. Thus then wee perceiue the ancient profeſsions of the *Gauls* diſciplines, which maketh it ſelfe venerable, euen in the image of antiquity. *Marcellinus* in his fift Booke, doth very neere agree heerewith; writing the Originall of the Gauls, where he ſaith; *Thoſe that haue anciently written, doubting the firſt original of the Gaules, did leaue their knowledge halfe full of trouble.* But ſince then, * *Timagenes* the Greeke, both out of diligence and ciuers Languages, collected ſuch things as were vnknown for the ſpace of long time; to whom giuing credit (all doubt & ſcruple taken away) we will deliuer the ſame notes diſtinctly and cleerely.

Some are of opinion, that the * *Aborigenes* were the firſt that had beene ſeene in theſe Countries; and that they did name themſelues Celts, after the name of a king whom they deerely affected; and *Galates* (for the Greekes do call the Gaules ſo) after the name of his [b] Mother. Others do affirme, that the *Dorians*, which followed ancient *Hercules*, inhabited the borders about the Ocean. The [c] *Druſides* recount (for a truth) that there was a certain part of

* Certain lerned Prieſts in Gaule, who were in ſuch eſtimation, that the determining of all controuerſies was committed to them. It is ſuppoſed, that they firſt came out of the Ile of Britaine.

The Gaules capeable of all diſciplines. *Iul. Cæſ. in Comment. lib. 7.*

Diodor. in lib. 4

Strabo in li. 5. cap. 1.

Old Father Noah re-eſtabliſhed the world.

*Pluto the God of riches *De migr. gen.*

Beroſ. ant. lib. 1

The courſes of times noted by number of nights, & not of dayes.

The Germans held the ſame obſeruation of accounting by nights.

Beroſ. Ant. lib. 1

Ariſt. in Mag. in epithet. temp.

De Ant. Cant. lib. 1.

In mort. Claud.

The venerable diſciplines of the Gaules *Marcel. in lib. 5*

*A great rhetorician of Alexandria, who taught in Pompeyes houſe.

*Ancient people dwelling in the Mountaines, whom Saturn brought into Italy.

b Galata, or Galatea.

c Reputed to be a people of Thrace.

of

of a people, which were Natiues of the Countrey: but were chaſed and expelled from their dwellings by another people, in regard of their continuall warres, and thorow the inundations of the Sea, they landed on the hither Iſlands, and in the Countrey on this ſide the *Rheine*. Some alſo holde, that after the deſtruction of Troy, a ſmall number of people vvhich fled from the Greekes, wandering all about: cam at laſt into this country, which till then was empty. But the inhabitants of this land (more then any thing els can) do aſſure this, which wee haue alſo ſeene engrauen in their Monuments: that *Hercules*, the ſon of *Amphitrio*, made all poſſible ſpeede to ruinate the cruell Tyrants *Gerion* and *Tauriſcus*, one of which ouerawed *Spaine*, and the other *Gallia*. After he had conquered them both, he had priuate knowledge of ſome women of noble race; by whom, he had many Children, that ſtyled (by their owne name) all thoſe places where they commanded.

Annius: de Viterbo.

Scrip. Brit. Cent. 1.

I. Bale ſcrip. Brit. Cent. 2 Two bloodie giants conquered by Hercules.

It is likewiſe further maintained, that the [a] *Phocenſes* which liued in Aſia, flying from the cruelty of *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to King *Cyrus*, betooke themſelues to ſea, and came into *Italy*; one part vvhereof, founded the Towne of [b] *Velia*, and the other [c] *Maſſilia* in *Viennoys*. Within ſome while after, when their forces were increaſed; they fortified a great number of Cities and Townes. But we muſt breake off this variety, which gladly would keep company with pleaſing ſatiety. Afterwards, when theſe places were (by little and little) ciuillized, and reclaimed from rudeneſſe by men: the ſtudy of learning (which is moſt commendable) began to appeare in ſome ſplendour, by the *Bards*, *Eubages*, and *Druides*.

[a] a People of Phocis, a little countrey of Greece, by the gulfe Criſſeus
[b] A Towne of Lucania, in the gulfe Peſtanus.
[c] The Cittie Marſiles in France, which was as famous for Learning, as Athens.

The beginning of the ſtudy of Lerning.

Marcellinus reporteth this of *Hercules*, agreeing therein with *Beroſus*. For *Beroſus* ſaith, that *Galatea* (by conſent of her parents) was begotten with child by *Hercules*, at his returne out of *Spaine*; and that of her was borne *Galata*, of whome the Gauls receiued their name *Galates*. Therfore, the antiquity of the Gaules Diſcipline and Learning, maketh it ſelf known by theſe teſtimonies.

Beroſ. an. l. 1

Galatea got with childe by Hercules.

But in what Diſcipline and Learning (perhaps) thou wilt aske me? I anſwer, in Grammar, Rhetoricke, Logicke, Mathematicke, Phyſick, Theology. Grammar

The Lerning vſed amongſt the Ancient Gauls in thoſe elder dayes.

inſtructed to reade, and frame Letters; and this Art was ſuch from thoſe times, when as the tongues were in their entire condition: and that the neighbouring ſtrãgers had not (as yet) corrupted them. For ſo *Plato* in his *Philebeus* grounded the Greeke Grammar. Heere (me thinkes) I vnderſtand in this place, that which many good and learned ſpirits haue queſtioned, to wit, vvhat were the Letters of the Ancient Gaules? *Cæſar*, in his ſixt book confirmeth, that they were Greeke Letters. *They thought* (ſaith he) *that it was ill done, to ſet down their diſciplines in writing: howbeit, that almoſt in all their other affayrs, as well cõmon as particular, they vſed the Greeke letters.* In this place, *Cæſar* ſpeaketh not obſcurely, but diſertly and plainly; that the Gaules made vſe of the Grecian Letters, that is to ſay, theſe Charracters α. β. γ. &c. He deliuereth ſom proof heereof in the firſt Book, that in the camp of the Heluetians, there were found little Table bookes, written with Greeke Letters. Moſt true it is, *Cæſar* calleth thoſe Greeke Letters, which the Gaules then vſed: but I call them Gaul Letters, & will maintaine, that they neuer came out of Greece into Gaule; but on the contrary, that they went out of Gaule into Greece.

Plato in Phileb.

Of the letters of the ancient Gaules.

Cæſar in comment lib. 6

The Gaules vſed Greeke Carracters.

Greek letters found in the campe of the Heluetians. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 1.*

As concerning the man, who is ſayde to be the firſt inuenter of Letters, verie great queſtion had beene made thereof: and *Plinie* hath debated the matter by diuerſity of opinions. So that the inuention of Letters, is not proper or peculiar vnto any one Nation, according as hee thinketh; but (from all antiquity) they had bin vſed. *Cadmus* (if the booke be true which is allowed to one named *Xenophon*) as is affirmed by ſom, was the firſt that broght Letters (to the number of ſixteene) from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*, the which were very like to the Caracters of the *Galates* and *Mæons*. Hereby may be coniectured, that Letters came from the *Galates* vnto the *Greekes*. Now, finding not onely a verie likely conieture, but a certaine proof alſo, by the report and account of Times; maintaining, that the diſcipline of the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*, *Sarronides*, *Druides*, and *Bardes*, did flouriſh in Gaul for ſo many yeares before *Cadmus* vvent into *Greece*: there neede no doubt to bee made, but that the *Gaules* caracters vvere in vſe in *Gaule*, for ſo many yeeres before *Cadmus*

Of him that was the firſt inuenter of Letters.

Cadmus reported for to bring Letters from Phœnicia into Greece, and to be the firſt that foundout the caſting of mettals.

The antiquity of the Gaules diſciplines.

Marc. Varro ie lib. 7. de ling. Lat.

And this is that, which *Varro* (in his seauenth booke of the Latine tongue) maketh openly knowne. For *Crates* ♀ Greek, had formerly made a Grammarian question in Greece, demanding what was the reason why *Alpha* might not be called *Alphatos?* The other grammarian Greekes answered: *These wordes are none of ours, but are wholly Barbarian.* In this place then the Greekes do plainly confesse, that these Letters were none of theirs. And, consenting heereto, *Aristotle* confesseth to his Magitian (according as I haue alreadie sayde) *That Philosophy receiued originall from the Semnotheans, or Samotheans of the Celts.* And last of all, that Gaule had bin the Mistris of all Greece.

The demaund of Crates the Greek.

Arist. in lib. de Mag. succ. lib. 22.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 9.

I know very well, that *Strabo* speaketh of the Gaules, that they affected the Greeks: insomuch, that whatsoeuer bargaines or conuention was made amongst them, they wrote thereof into Greece, & that they addicting themselues to the study of eloquence, & of Philosophy, as the Greekes did, kept in pay or wages, professors of the liberall Artes, as also they did the like by Physitians. But *Strabo* wrote this of the* *Massylians*, and of their neighbours, at such time as *Tiberius* held the Empire, and when the great Lords of Rome (as himselfe writeth) caused theyr children to bee sent no more to *Athens*, then they did to *Marseilles*, there to follow their studious exercise. It must needs then be very certaine, that we learned the *Gaules* doctrine of *Dis*, *Samothes*, *Sarron*, *Druis*, *Bardus*, and those other ancient masters, when *Greece* did not so much as onely thinke on Letters.

The ancient famous Vniuersity of Marseilles in France.

Of whom the Gauls leraned their doctrins

Some may conceit, that we speak of Paradoxes, against all reason: but I cannot cõprehend, why such men as haue heard so many Authours speake, that carry credite and authority (among all) in other things, should reproach theyr praises of their owne Countrey, by a peruerse opinion of iudgement. But it may bee, that al these things do serue vs to no purpose, in regard that (concerning this matter) wee may bee pressed with nouell Arguments: because the Gaules (as some will say) did speake Greeke, therefore did they make vse also of Greeke Letters. But let me much rather tel them, that in, & from the time of *Cæsar*, the Gaules did not so vnderstand the Greeke tongue, that they could speak it in any mean measure. Herein I haue *Cæsar* for my warrant; for thus he writeth in his fift Booke. *Wee preuailed so farre* (saith hee) *with one of the* Gaules *horsemen, onely by powerfull promises: that he vndertooke to carry a Letter to* Cicero, *which he had written in Greeke Carracters, to the end, that if it happened into the Enemies hand, they might not know our secrets.* *Cæsar* speaking this, I conclude thereby, that the enemies of *Cæsar* and the Gauls, vnderstood not a letter written in Greek, nor the language thereof.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 5.

A Letter caried by a Gaule to Cicero.

And hee that will looke a little neerer, cannot probably proue to himself (thogh some others hold it for most certain) that the popular Gaules vnderstood any thing in that language: but that the cheese and principall Heads of each Commonweale knew the Greeke tongue, as now adayes they do the Latine. I say moreouer, that whosoeuer maketh heedfull obseruation, will finde, that this cannot any way bee prooued for truth. Because it is most certaine, that in so great an army of enemies, there must needs be some men of marke, of Townes good store. Nay, that which is more, I haue learned of *Cæsar* himselfe, that the woorthy *Druides*, who were the masters and Doctors of the Gauls youth, did not know the Greeke tongue. For *Diuitiacus*, one of the *Heduans*, according to the testimony of *Cicero*, vvas the most learned man amongst the *Gaule Druides*. The great affection in this *Diuitiacus*, towards the Romane people, the extraordinarie good will which they bare vnto him, the singular fealty, iustice, temperance (as appeareth in the first booke) in this man, was very well knowne vnto *Cæsar*. To *Cæsar* I say, who vnderstood the Greeke tongue sufficiently, and had a desire to communicate secretly (for feare lest any thing should be discouered) with *Diuitiacus*, concerning his brother *Dumnorix*, who was supposed that hee would betray *Cæsar* to his enemies.

That the popular Gaules vnderstoode not Greeke.

The Druides knew not the Greek tongue

Diuitiacus the learnedst man of the Druides Gaules.

Cæsar sufficiently vnderstood the Greek tongue

Wel then, if *Diuitiacus* had vnderstood the Greeke tongue, as well as *Cæsar* did: could not the one haue holpen the other with priuate instructions, in whatsoeuer they would haue had imparted? But scorning to serue his turne by ordinary Interpreters (as it appeareth in the verie same first Booke) *Cæsar* spake with *Diuitiacus*, by the meanes of *Valerius*, Prince of a

Whether the Gaules spake Greeke or no.

Cæsar scorn'd ordinary interpreters. *Iul. Cæs. in Comment. lib. 1.*

Countrey in Gaule. Then there is no appearance, that *Diuitiacus* (although hee was one of the principall *Druides)* did vnderstand the Greeke tongue, or that it was any way knowne to the Gaules.

What the language of the ancient Gauls was, in regard it was not Greeke.

Heere I may be demanded, what was the speech of the Ancient Gaules, seeing it was not Greeke? I may, and must answer, that it was Gaulish: but to render a certaine reply, where the Language of the Gaules hath beene preserued, it requireth the Diuination of a Pythian *Apollo*. Because it is sufficiently knowne, that the Gaules haue had time long enough, whereby to vnlearne and loose their owne Natiue tongue. For not onely Lawes, but the Romane Legions established in Gaule; constrained the Gaules to speake the Romane tongue. And, according as *Plato* sayth: *Ordinarily all other Citizens do follow the manners of them that command them.* Therefore, the Romane Lawier, and the Romane Warriour, did quite abolish and extinguish the Gaules Language.

The Gaules compelled to speak the Romane tongue. *Plato in Lib. de Legib. 4*

Moreouer, the Emperours of Rome, appointed wages vnto such men, as made publique profession of teaching the Latine tongue. So that, to this very day, the bookes written in this corrupted tongue; some whereof wee haue yet to shew, are vulgarly called Romaine, and not Gaulish.

Teaching the Latine toong publikely, rewarded.

Some in debating this matter, are of opinion, that the Language of the *Suisses*, that hold (at this day) the dwelling of the *Heluetians*, are they that speak the ancient Gaulish tongue. But we know well enough, that these *Suisses* were not the true Gaules of the Country, neither are: considering, that the ancient Heluetians (shut vppe by *Cæsar* within their owne mountaines) were afterward expelled thence (according to *Eutropius)* by the * *Quades*; and finally, the *Quades* themselues, thrust out by the *Allemaignes*. At length the *Vites*, a people amongest the Saxons, possessed themselues of the *Heluetians* Countrey; whereupon the *Suitois* (that is to say) *Suisses*, were called, according to the opinion of *Beatus Rhenanus*, by a Name somewhat neere vnto the *Vitois*.

That the Suisses yet speake the ancient Language of Gaule.

Of the ancient Heluetians.

*A people of Bohemia.

zA Saxon people.

Others are of the minde, that the language which the Germaines now adayes speake, is that of the ancient Gaules, and take S. *Hierom* for their Authour, who giueth assurance, that in his time the *Galates* or *Galatians* of *Asia*, spake the same language which the *Treuirians* (dwelling on the *Rheine)* now doe. But *Cæsar* seemeth to auouch the contrary, writing in his first Booke, that *Ariouistus* King of the *Germaines*, by long vse (as some haue conjectured by this place) of fourteen yeers, did speake the Gaulish tongue. And in the time of Saint *Hierome*, there were other *Treuirians* in *Gaule*, that were subiects to the Romane Empire: and now in our time also, there are other that speake the same speech, as the other *Germaines* doe.

That the Germaines Language was the olde Gaulish tongue.

Iul. Cæsar in comment. Lib 1

Ariouistus K. of the Germaines.

There remaineth yet another opinion amongst learned men; who do iudge, that the language of the ancient *Gaules*, is that which was vsed in *Gaule Armorica*, that is *Britaine* at this day. But they do not hold the French History to be true, that makes the *Britaines* to come out of the Isle of *Britaine*, into *Gaule Armorica*: considering, that *Cæsar* (as I haue already saide) maketh great *Britaine* it selfe to be a Colonie of the *Gaules*, and that *Strabo* maketh mention of a Towne or Cittie, called *Britaine*, which is in *Amorica*; and *Pliny* (though verie confusedly) numbereth the *Britaines* in *Gaule*: and *Cornelius Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* writeth, That the neerest shores of the Ile were impeached by the *Gaules*, & that their language was but little different. Finally, the learned men of this Isle, imagined (for this reason) that the Welshmen of England, had some conniuence in speech with our Britaines. Therefore this is the only opinion, which (as yet) I know, to holde any good reason, or deseruing to be approoued. And this is the Grammar of the Gaules, both in writing and speech.

Gaule Armorica, now cald Britaine.

Great Britain affirmed by Cæsar to be a Colony of the Gaules.

Plin. in Lib. 3. Corn. Tacitus in lib. 2. cap: 1.

Of the welshmen of England.

But what was that of the Britains, and that of the Germaines? *The Discipline of the Gaules* (saith *Cæsar) was first inuented in great Britaine, as hath bene esteemed: and from thence transported into Gaule. And at this day, such as would know it most diligently, they go thither (oftentimes) to learne it.* This passage sheweth sufficiently, that the discipline betweene the *Britaines* and *Gaules*, was al one. If we vnderstand also, that *Cæsar* maketh *great Britaine* as descēded of the *Gaules*, & that they of the *Brittains* were most human which were *Gauls*, it

O: the discipline of the Britaines and Gaules. *Iulius Cæsar in Com. lib 1*

The diſcipline of the Britains and Gaules al one.

it is verily to be credited, that Diſcipline parted from Gaule, to come thither. This place may ſuffice generally, for al the doctrine of the Britaines.

Of the Germains. *Cornelius Tacitus, vbi ſupra.*

Concerning the Germaines, there is ſcarſly any one word. *The men and Women* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *were equally ignorant in the ſecrets of Letters*. The Germaines then wholly, had not any Letters or Diſciplines. *Æneas Syluius* giueth aſſurance, that in the time of *Adrian*, ciuility and Letters came into Germany. The Germaines themſelues do hold, that it is not yet eight hundred yeares, ſince their language began to be written; and that (with Chriſtian Religion) the Muſes came into Germany; where both in publique Schooles, and by learned profeſſors, they haue ſo proſpered, that the nation (which all Nations elſe had formerly in deteſtation for ſauage barbarouſnes:) hath ſince then, in all ciuility, in all gentleneſſe and humanity of all diſciplines, conferred with the moſt learned and beſt lettered Nations whatſoeuer, and for the priority in this commendation.

Eneas Syluius concerning the Germans, and their former barbariſme.

The ſtudies of the Rhetorick Gaules.

But what were the ſtudies of the Rhetoricke Gaules? Aſſuredly, they vvere very highly and honourably eſteemed: yet more for a ſetled ſpeech, conſiſting of meaſure, then in proſe. The Gaules had (ſaith *Diodorus* in his ſixt Booke) Poets of melodie, which they called Bards. Theſe men, with a Muſicall inſtrument, as vvith the Lyre or Harpe, ſang ſome mens praiſes, and others imperfections. He further ffiarmeth in the ſame place, that Poets were in ſuch reuerend reſpect amongeſt them, that vvhen Armies were in ranged battaile, hauing their Swordes and Bowes ready drawne, and approaching to ſmite one another: not onely friends, but meere enemies (if theſe men once did ſteppe betweene them) were faine to make an end of all fighting. In like manner, among the moſt ſauage Barbarians, anger was compelled to yeelde to vviſedome, and Mars gladly reuerenced the Muſes. Likewiſe, *Strabo* in his fourth Booke, ſpeaketh of the Bardes, as being Poets, and ſingers of praiſes. The Poet *Lucane* alſo, in the firſt of his *Pharſalia*, ſpeaketh thus in commendation of the Gauliſh Poets.

Diodor. in lib. 6

Of the Bards and Poets amongſt the Gaules: and in what reuerence they were eſteemd.

Strabo in lib. 4.

You Poets, Bards, that of thoſe valiant ſouls,
Dying in warres, do Caroll their renowne,
Know how t'eternize to perpetuall worlds
Their endleſſe praiſe: Many ſweet ſongs you ſing.

Lucane in lib. 1

Moreouer, *Marcellinus* in his fitte Booke, ſpeaking of the Gaules, hath theſe words: *The Bards ſung to the Harp, which they touched very pleaſingly: declaring the famous actes of illuſtrious men, their Songs being compoſed in heroycall verſes.* The Romaines followed this example of the Bardes, and they (according as *Cato* hath written in his Booke of Originals) had a cuſtome to ſing at banquets, the vertues of famous and renowned men, euermore conforming their voices with ſuch as did play on Inſtruments.

Marcel. in lib. 1

The Romains imitated the Bards in ſinging at bankets

Heereby therefore, we may wel perceyue, how highly Poeſie was honoured and authorized by the Ancient Gaules. This argument putteth mee in minde of Greece, and of her *Homer* and *Heſiodus*, ſhee vaunting of them, that they were in as great honour and eſtimation amongſt the Greekes. This then was their Rhetoricke, and (as *Pomponius Mela* ſayeth) *This was the eloquence which the auncient Gaules had.*

Greece renowned theyr Bards and Poets.

Pomp. Mela, in l b. 1. cap. 5.

But what was that of the Germaines? Although they were ignorant (as hath bene formerly declared) in the myſteries and ſecrets of Letters; yet notwithſtanding, as *Tacitus* auoucheth, they celebrated in ancient Canticles and Songes, the memory of their Gods and Kings. And this was the only maner of their Annals, & of the Antiquity which they had: for I finde nothing more, concerning the Diſcipline of the ancient Germaines.

The Rhetoricke vſed among the Germaines. *Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5. c. 9.*

Now, what was the Logick of the ancient Gaules? I finde in *Cæſar* one only queſtion, concerning the meanes & manner which ought to be followed in the inſtruction of youth. All the noble and liberall Arts, were to be learned in written books; the maiſters of thoſe Arts, interpreting thē to their ſchollers, & the ſchollers practiſing to vnderſtand them. Many times ſome great difficulty would ariſe, about the entertaining of mens authority; whoſe Bookes were propounded to youth: becauſe thoſe men, although they were more excellent then other men, yet notwithſtāding being no more but men, they

The Logicke of the ancient Gaules. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.*

Difficulties ariſing about men of authority, and theyr written works

would sometimes dreame, and quite forget themselues. Whereby ensued, that their writings passing as vniuersall, they proued many times vneasie to be explained. Contrarywise, without any writing, but by the voice onely, an infinite number of Arts and Sciences (belonging to Mechanicall men (as Laborers, Masons, Marriners, and such like) were soone apprehended: and there arose no repugnancie or doubt of their words, neyther any difficulty of their intention when as they were vnderstoode. There was no other maxime of these Arts, but what vse and profit had approoued. Then those Doctors and professors were not woont to write of any discipline: but al that they deliuered to youth, they taught onely by word of mouth. Yet notwithstanding, being guided by other reasons, they made Conscience (as *Iulius Cæsar* sayeth in the sixt Booke) to set downe their disciplines in writing.

Arts taught by voice or tongue, without writing.

Instructions giuen vnto youth by word of mouth onely. *Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6.*

Well then, if we vrge a question (in this case) to *Cæsar*, thus will he shape vs an answer. *It appeareth to me, that for two reasons, they established this decree amongst them. First, because they would not haue their disciplines imparted vnto popularitie. Next, least such as learned them, trusting to writing only; would make the lesse account of retaining them in their memory.* For many times it happened, that the more part, by vsing continuall recourse to books, became slothfull in Learning truely, or kept retention of any thing shewn vnto them. And these two reasons were likewise alledged by the *Druides*, for not committing their Disciplines to writing; & these causes haue beene approoued by the very cheefest Philosophers of Greece. For, in ancient time, this was the aduice of *Pythagoras*; and (after him) of *Socrates*, both which left not one Letter in writing. The opinion of *Socrates*, to this purpose, is amply declared by *Plato* to *Phædrus*, in this Conference which *Socrates* had with *Phædrus*.

Two especiall reasons alledged by Cæsar concerning instruction.

2. Reasons of the Druides.

Pithagoras & Socrates lefte nothing written.

CHAP. XII.

A Dialogue or Communication between Socrates and Phædrus, concerning what great difference there is between the excellent Art of Memory, and matters registred downe by writing.

Socrares. It remaineth now to speake of the fitnesse or vnfitnes of writing. VVhether the doing thereof bee well or ill, is not that the question?

Of the fitnes or vnfitnes of writing.

Phædrus. Yes, that is our argument.

Socrates. Knowest thou, that in dooing or ordaining it, as concerning present speech, thou mayest thereby be acceptable to the Gods?

Whether writing or speaking be most acceptable to the Gods.

Phædrus. Not I, but thou doest.

Socrates. I haue heard of our Elders, that they knew the trueth, and if wee our selues could finde it; ought we not henceforward, to bee verie carefull of mens opinions?

Phædrus. This is to laugh at thine owne demand: but tel vs that, which thou sayest thou hast heard.

Socrates. I haue heeretofore heard, that neere vnto * *Naucratis* which is in Egypt, there was sometimes one of the ancient Gods, who was named *Theuthates*, and to him, the Bird tearmed *Bis* or *Ibis*, was sacred. Moreouer, that hee vvas the first inuenter of numbers, and of Ieat, as also of Dice and Letters, and of Astronomy and Geometry. At that time, *Thaumas* was king of all Egypt, making his abiding in a great City of the higher Countrey, which the Greeks called the Egyptian *Thebes*, and that *Ammon* or *Hammon* was then their God. *Theuthates* beeing come to this King, he shewed and declared to him, that hee must instruct the Egyptians in disciplines. VVhereon the King demanded of him, concerning the profite that would ensue thereby to any one; and according as *Theuthates* should seeme to speake ill or vvell, so would hee blame, or else giue commendation. It is sayde, that betweene *Thaumas* and *Theuthates*

*A City well knowne in Egypt.

The inuention of numbers, Ieat, Geometry, Astronomy, Dice, and Letters.

Disciplines to be taught to the Egyptians

Concerning the enstruction of letters, & what harme or benefit might ensue by them.

thates many things were debated, vvhich wold require too long time to discourse, but when they came to dispute about Letters. Sir (said *Theuthates*) *this discipline will make the* Egyptians *very wise, and prompt of memory: for this is the onely Medicine found out for memory and knowledge.* Whereto the other replyed; O most ingenious and subtle *Theuthatec*, the one is most apt to performe the workes of Art, and the other knowes best how to iudge, what harme or benefite their vse may bring. But thou, the Father of letters, being carried by thine own affection, maintaineſt the contrary of their effect. For letters causeth forgetfulnes in the mindes of such as learne them, because they make no reckoning of studying by memory; for they trusting to the marks of exterior writing, doe forsake inward recordation, which is the very soule of memory. Thou hast not then found out a medicine for memory, but for forgetfulneſſe, and thou canst not teach thy Schollers the truth of knowledge and vnderstanding, but of Opinion. For, they hauing comprehended great store of things, and vvithout a Master, they will perswade themselues to know enough; and yet notwithstanding (commonly) they are exceeding ignorant in the greater part, proouing to bee offensiue and troublesome in mens company and frequentation, as beeing more full of opinion of knowledge, then of true knowledge indeede.

Letters enemy to the memory, & the reason why.

Diffrence between knowledge and opinion therof.

Phædrus. Thou canst easily (O *Socrates*) imagine the humor of the Egyptians, or of any such nation, as seemeth good to thy selfe.

Socrates. My friend, it is held by some, that in ancient times, Oakes did speake those prophesies which were in the Temple of *Iupiter* * *Dodonæus*. For, through the rudeneſſe and ignorance of old men in those times, who had not then attained to the knowledge which now your yonger dayes haue done: it was sufficient for them, to heare an Oake, or a Stone speak, so long as they spake trueth. It may bee thou conceiueſt, that some peculiar intereſt should bee placed in iudgement, how, or of what country he was, that hath spoken any thing of this nature, without consideration, whether it were so, or no.

Phædrus. Truely, thou hast very iustly reproued me: but for the order of disciplines, I am of the same minde as *Thaumas* was.

Socrates. Then whosoeuer thinketh, that Arte can so well sette downe it selfe, or comprehend by writing, as if there could bee something certaine, or assured by writing; that man should ill learne, and bee ignorant in the Oracle of *Ammon*, making more esteeme of reasons sette downe in writing; then of knowing and retayning that which is written.

The memory hath exceeded all matter set downe in writing.

Phædrus. Thou sayeſt very well.

Socrates. O *Phædrus*, writing hath a great matter in it, and (in very truth) carrieth some resemblance with painted creatures, for such works seeme as if they had life: but if thou demand any queſtion of them, they hold their peace with great modesty. Thou imagineſt also, that a discourse set downe in writing, should speake of it selfe. But, if hauing a desire to learne, thou come and demand something of it, concerning that which it should say; it continueth silent, yet signifying one and the same thing. For, after that a discourse is set downe in writing, it carrieth it selfe alike equally to all men: both for the learned which vnderstand it, and for such as vnderstand it not; and no one can say, to whom it is most conuenient, and to whom not. And if it happen to be iniuriously dealt withall, it will alwayes stand in need of his fathers help: becauſe it is not able to reuenge any wrongs receiued, nor yet to right it selfe.

Writing compared to painted figures or portraitures, that can speak nothing.

Writing is in it selfe equall and alike to all men.

Phædrus. Hitherto thou hast spoken most truely.

Socrates. Doe wee not then perceiue, how another discourse maketh it selfe, which is Brother to this we talke of, and much more it excelleth both in power & dignity?

Speaking reputed the brother to writing

Phædrus. What is thy meaning? And what is that which (thou saieſt) maketh it selfe?

Socrates. It is that, which (with knowledge) writeth it selfe in the spirit of him that apprehendeth: for it can acte reuenge vpon it selfe, knoweth it selfe, and when and how to speake, or to bee silent.

The excellency of speaking aboue writing

Phædrus. Thou speakeſt the liuely and soule-like discourse of him that knowes &

* A Citty in Chaonia, nere which was a wood dedicated to Iupiter.

Writing the image of ſpeaking.

vnderſtandeth; and (by good right) that which is written, may tearme it ſelfe (in ſome reſpect) to be his image.

Socrates. Tell mee then, in good ſadneſſe, if a wiſe husbandman take delight to beholde his ſeedes, whereof he is carefull, and deſireth to gather fruite; will he ſowe them at Spring time, in the Gardens of *Adonis*, where hee ſhall ſee them budde foorth at eight dayes following; or, when hee goeth about ſuch buſineſſe; ſhall he ſcatter them ieſtingly, as after the manner of a holy day ſport? When hee hath taken paines to ſowe his ſeede, according as hee ought to do, and anſwerable to the Art of Husbandry: he ſuppoſeth it ſufficient for him, if in the ſpace of eight moneths after the ſeed time is paſt, they doe thriue, and come to their maturity.

A pleaſant witty queſtion, and to very good purpoſe.

Phædrus. The wiſe Husbandman, (O *Socrates*) will doe as thou haſt ſayde; but the idle and negligent foole hath no ſuch care.

Socrates. Shall we then ſay, that a man who hath knowledge and experience in that which is iuſt, honeſt, and good, will be leſſe carefull of his ſeede ſeaſons, then an Husbandman?

The ſeedes of wiſedom haue their due ſeaſons.

Phædrus. No.

Socrates. He will not then write down the ſeedes of his penne with Inke, ſowing them there amongſt his Diſcourſes, as if he did a matter of great importance: becauſe hee cannot then helpe them with his wordes, neither can hee demonſtrate the truth ſo exquiſitely as it ſhould bee.

Matters ſet downe in writing, cannot afterward be holpen with words.

Phædrus. Nor can they make any proof of themſelues.

Socrates. No truely: but he ſhall ſowe and vvrite (as it is in reaſon) in meere ſportfull manner, and vvhole Gardens of Letters. But, when he maketh memories, as certaine Treaſures, to the end that they may not fall into Obliuion, as well for himſelfe, as alſo for the firſt that will followe the ſame example: hee taketh delight in beholding their tender byrthes; and, while others doe addicte themſelues vnto other Recreations, as to Feaſts, ſports, and the like pleaſures; leauing all theſe heedefull matters behinde them; hee ſhall paſſe on all his leyſures, taking great delight in his owne diſcourſing.

Memories are ſaid to be the rich treaſures of mans life, and the beſt to be learned.

Phædrus. O *Socrates*, thou ſpeakeſt of a moſt true paſtime indeede, in ſteade of that which is of ſmall valew, and woorth nothing: when a man delighteth in ſerious Diſcourſe, he ſhall ruminate on Iuſtice, and all thoſe other eſpeciall matters by thee remembred.

Serious Diſcourſe the miniſter of iuſtice.

This was the opinion of *Socrates*, vvhich vvas much more ſweete and humaine, then that of our *Druides*. *Socrates* alwayes preferred knowledge, conſiſting in memorie and liuing wordes, before that of the dead Letter: neuertheleſſe, hee allowed vvriting to bee but as ỹ help to forgetfulneſſe. I could wiſh that this Opinion had beene as pleaſing vnto the *Druides*; for then, wee ſhould haue had no neede of ſtraungers goodes, as to borrow any thing of the Greekes, but continued ſatisfied with our owne countryes aboundance. Neyther by meanes of the Latines and Greek, ſhould we haue learned diſciplines by paine and ſtudye, after the nature of other ſtraunge Languages: but with great pleaſure and contentment of minde, wee ſhould haue ſuckt them as milk from our nurſes breſts. All the youth of a man, albeit ſtudy were ſharpe thereto, ſhould not ſo hardly haue ſpent it ſelfe in learning Greeke and Latine Letters; yet ſeeming but as an enterance into the common rode way of liberal ſtudies, whẽ we rather ſhould haue runne out our full courſe to the end. A long and laborious time of ſtudye vvas required in apprehending the Greeke and Latine tongues, to vnderſtand *Homer*, *Demoſthenes*, *Virgil*, *Cicero* and others: whereas contrary-wiſe, without trauaile, and with exceeding delight, we might haue ſung the Hymnes & Poems of our Bardes, hauing (naturally) the true vnderſtãding both of their words and ſenſe.

Memory and ſpeech preferred before the dead Letter.

The loue which they bare vnto theyr countrey, and to vertue it ſelfe, was ouerabounding in ſeuerity. For, our *Druides* ſought all meanes, vvhereby to make Gaule ſurpaſſe all other Nations, not only in actions of Armes; but in the honor of Diſciples, and in coueting to baniſh idleneſſe from the Gaules mindes; they diſinherited their poſterity, of their moſt rich and vnualewable patrimony of ancient diſciplines. In the doing vvherof, they buried in perpetuall obliuion, the Gaules rare Arts and Doctrines, vvhich they had

The Gaules had ſufficient ſtudies of their owne, without need of borrowing elſewhere.

Study of ſtrange Languages, irkeſome to the Gaules

The Druides too ſeuere in affection to their countrey and vertue.

The Gaules had rare artes & disciplines.

a hope, should haue liued and flourished for euer, only by the meanes of hindring writing. But in vaine do we now make our complaints: neuertheleſſe, ſorrow remaineth ſtill with vs, to wiſh (how vainely ſoeuer) that it had beene ſo. And vndoubtedly (in this caſe) they might iuſtly accuſe the vileneſſe of the Romane ambition, which vtterly ruined the Schooles of the *Druides*. Wee may therefore ſay with the Poet.

We ought to mourne, & all theſe mortall things
May touch their hearts.

CHAP. XIII.

A further addition to the Artes and Sciences, taught among the Gauls, by their Druides, Bardes, and learned men, according to the iuſtification of diuers good Authors: and what religious Ceremonious orders they obſerued.

Iul. Cæſ. in commen. lib 7.

BVT let vs come to the Mathematicall Artes, whereof *Cæſar* ſpeaketh, when he ſaieth. *They made very many diſputes of the Starres, and of their motion; of the greatneſſe of the world, and of the earth, and concerning the nature of things.* Queſtionleſſe, theſe were their ancient diſciplines, left from the father to the ſonne, by *Dis*, *Sarron*, and *Druis*: which they themſelues preſerued carefully, hauing receiued them (from hand to hand) of their graue Auncеſtors. For *Ioſephus*, in the firſt booke of the Iewes Antiquities, teſtifieth, concerning the ancient Fathers before the flood, that they had obſerued thoſe Mathematicall conſiderations. And becauſe they would hinder the loſſe of ſo noble inuentions, or periſhing by the inundations of the waters: they engraued them vpon two Collombes or Pillars, the one whereof was of moulded earth, and the other of ſtone. And this was thus done, that if that of earth ſhould chance to be defaced by the flood: yet the other of ſtone might remaine intire, and yeeld men means to apprehend what was engrauen thereon. The ſame Author witneſſeth, that the ſame Pillar of ſtone was to bee ſeene in *Syria*, in the time of *Veſpaſian*. *Euſebius* likewiſe reporteth, how the *Egiptians* learned them of *Abraham*; and that the Greekes afterward, did ſet downe thoſe Artes in writing, & then publiſhed them. But our *Druides* (as I haue formerly ſaide) gaue them to poſterity, according as they had receiued them from the hands of their fathers; diſputing many matters, touching the Starres, and their continuall motions.

Dis, Sarron, Druis.

Ioſeph in lib. 1 de Antiquit.

Two Pillars engraué with Mathematical Artes.

Euſeb. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3 c. 5

Mela alſo writeth, that the *Druides* made profeſsion, concerning the motion of Heauen, and of the Starres. Aſtrology was ſuch a thing, as it could not any way be taught or learned, except (before hand) a man had ſtudied Arithmeticke & Geometry. For the calculation of the motions, they ſtood in neede of the accounts of Arithmatick; and the diſtances and interualles of the Starres, muſt needs paſſe themſelues by the figures of Geometry. Therefore the *Druides*, making profeſsion of enſtructing Aſtrology; taught (firſt of all) Arithmetick and Geometry, which are Arts that make Aſtrologie to be vnderſtood.

Pomponius Mela. in li. 3. cap. 5.

Concerning the learning of Aſtrology, and how it was enſtructed by the Druides.

Beroſus ſheweth, that there was ſome muſicke in the Hymnes and Poems of the *Bardes*. *Among the Celts* (ſaith he) *a Barde was much renowned, for the inuention of Songs and Muſique.* The *Druides* diſputed many things, concerning the greatnes of the world and the earth: This was the greatneſſe and forme of the world and earth, which *Mela* ſayeth, the *Druides* taught: This was thei Coſmography & Geography, and the *Druides* diſputed diuers things of that nature. As, what was the length of the world, from the Sunnes ſetting in the Weſt, to his riſing in the Eaſt: what was his largeneſſe, from the Equator or Equinoctiall circle, to both the one and other Pole: how great were the diſtances of the fiue Zones, from the Pole, ſo farre as the ſmalleſt circle thereof, euen to the Tropick, and then from the Tropicke, ſo farre as the Equator, which is in the midſt: what were the Zones of the earth, which are aſsigned and ſubiected to the Celeſtiall Zones: which of thē were inhabited, and deſert, by reaſon of cold or heate, and which were temperate: And how Europe, Aſia, and Affrica were diuided, and ſeparate one from another.

Beroſus in lib. 1. cap 3.

Muſicall Bardes among the Celts.

Pomponius Mela vbi ſupra.

The diuers diſputations vſed among the Druides, of the world, earth, & heauens.

Their queſtions of Phyſick, were concerning

The questions of Physicke, among the Gaules.

cerning Principles, that is to say, the matter and forme of things: as Fire, Ayre, Water, Earth. Whence all things were engendred; how they perished, augmented, decreased, altered and moued. The professours (among the *Gaules*) of these so seuerall doctrines; are called by *Strabo*, Poets, or Prophets, who, ouer and beside other things, concerning Physicke, principally taught this Oracle, proper to the Country: *That the world must sometime perish by fire, and by water.* The same Doctours are called (by *Marcellinus*) *Eubages.* *The Eubages* (saith hee) *seeking into the very highest & deepest parts of the earth; laboured to discouer the secrets of thē.* These noble disciplines then, were wont to bee taught of the *Gaules*, and in the *Gaules* language onely.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Marcel. in l. 5.

Heere we may not omit, to remember two most excellent Philosophers among them: that were commended, yea, and consecrated to immortality, by the words of *Cicero*. The one was *Diuitiacus*, (of whō wee haue spoken already) Prince of the *Heduans*: the other was *Deiotarus*, King of the *Gaules* in *Asia*. Speake then noble *Cicero*, and remember vs of our famous *Druides*. *In Gaule there were of the Druides, among whom, I my selfe knew Diuitiacus the Heduan. as the man that receiued me into his house, and made account of mee. This man made his vaunt, that hee knew the reason of Nature, which the Greekes named * Physiologia; and could speake of things to come, partly by Augurie, and partly by coniectures.* This *Diuitiacus* (as it is very likely) was the Hoste to *Cicero*, by reason of the *Druides* knowledge which was in him. But what doth he say of * *Deiotarus*? How is it that this Oratour commendeth him? *But wherein* (saith he) *shall I make mention of king Deiotarus, that most famous & right worthy personage our Hoste, that neuer did any thing, but with presage? For, when hee was returned from a voiage, which hee had formerly purposed and resolued to make: the Chamber wherein hee should haue lodged (if he had continued his iourney) fell downe the night ensuing. And therfore, as I haue oftentimes heard from himselfe, hee made many pauses and returnes from that one voiage;* albeit he proceeded in many other beside. *Cicero* speaking further of the same man, saieth. *Hee performed one very notable action, when he came backe from the kingdome of*

Two famous Philosophers among the Gaules, made immortall by Cicero himselfe.

Cicero in lib. 4. de offic.

* A searching out of natural things, or a reasoning of the nature of any thing.

* A king of Galatia, whō Cicero defended, being accused to haue conspired Cæsars death

Cicero in lib. vbi supra.

the Tetrarches, whereof he was dispossessed by Cæsar, and condemned to pay a great summe of money. He saide, hee did not repent himselfe, for not crediting such Auguries, as happened to him when hee went towards Pompey, hauing maintained with his forces, the authority of the Senate, and liberty of the Romane people, with the dignity of the Empire. And that the Birds (to whose augurie hee gaue faith) had well councelled and aduised him: yet notwithstanding, hee made much more precious and deere esteeme of his honour, then he did of all his goods and possessions. These are the words of learned *Cicero*, to whom both *Gaule* and *Galatia* are for euer beholding: because, by so worthy a testimony, he preserued the memory of 2. such famous Philosophers of theirs.

An augury giuen by Birds to Deiotarus.

Gaule & Galatia indebted to Cicero.

But what shall I most preferre in this place, if not our sighes and teares, as true witnesses of our misery? Heeretofore, *Gaule* commanded ouer the Italians and Grecians, and, insted of the goods of Fortune, which are but of small worth, and giuē to men as stipendary wages: she gaue them the goods of the minde in recompence, which were (indeede) much more precious. *Greece* and *Italy* vaunted very proudly, because they had Mathematitians and Philosophers: but that glory was (formerly) ours; those praises distilled from our Fountaines: which did meerely dry vp themselues, because they would not rampier and defend their owne power, by writing. For *Gaule* might haue had Gaulish *Euclides, Ptolomies, Platoes, Aristotles*, and others beside, farre more excellent men then all they were. But let vs ceasse our bootlesse complaints, & come now to the Theology or Diuinity of the *Gaules*.

Gaule commanded ouer the Greeks & Italians.

The pride of Greece and Italy, yet proceeding from the Gaules.

The *Druides* (aboue all things else) would haue men to beleeue, that their soules could not die: but that (after death) they departed out of one body, & entred into another. The reason of this their opinion was: that it was the only encouragement to vertue, because feare of death was thereby held in high contempt. I set downe this their perswasion of immortality, as the principall foundation of the Gaules Religion and Theologie, which the Greekes and Latines did enuiously celebrate. *The Gaules* (sayeth *Diodorus*) *after their repastes and feeding, had a custome, to defie one another vnto the Combate,*

The Diuinity vsed among the Gaulish Druides, that mens soules could not die.

Diod. in Lib. 5. cap. 3.

bate, without making any reckoning of their liues, for the opinion of Pythagoras preuailed with them: That the ſoules of men were immortall, and that after the death of the body, within a certaine while, they came againe into other bodies. And for this cauſe, ſome would caſt written Letters into heapes of wood, prepared as bon-fires to burne mens bodies in, as if the dead were there to reade them. *Strabo* affirmeth as much. *They were perſwaded* (ſaith he) *that mens ſoules were not ſubiect to corruption or mortality.*

Written Letters caſt into fires that burned dead bodies. *Strabo in Lib. 2 cap. 7.*

Pomponius Mela writeth thus. *There was one thing which the Druides helde and maintained, to encite men (thereby) with the better will to warre: That mens ſoules were eternall, and that the dead liued another life. Whereupon, when they burned dead bodies, or buried them, the whole account of their former liues negotiations was interred with thē, eſpecially, if any thing had beene borrowed, it was to be redemanded of them. Some were found, that voluntarily, and with their owne good will, would throw themſelues into flaming fires, and burned ſuch things as neereſt and deereſt appertained to them, euen as if they were to liue with them.* *Mela* reporteth thus of them, wherein we may note the ſame reaſon of this perſwaſion, which

Pomponius Mela in lib. 4. ca. 2.

Death freely and voluntarily imbraced by the Druides.

Cæſar alſo held, to wit: that by the contempt of death, the Gaules might make themſelues the more couragious, and valiantly diſpoſed to warre: and it is very likely, that the contempt of death, whereof we haue formerly ſpoken, proceeded from hence.

Valerius Maximus, in his ſecond booke, maketh this relation. *I bethinke me* (ſaith he) *of the ancient manner of the Gaules, who are ſaide to haue a cuſtome, to lend out monies, to be repaied them againe when they wer in the lower regions. For they held it as a matter moſt infallible, that the ſoules of men were immortall: and I ſhould haue reputed theſe men fooliſh, but that the Bracchates likewiſe held the ſame opinion, which Pythagoras* * *Pallium did.* Such a number of Authors then, doe conſent with *Cæſar*, concerning the opinion which the Gaules had, of immortality. And heere I may not negligently let paſſe, that theſe Authors (aboue all things elſe) do refuſe to confeſſe, that the Gaules were the firſt fathers of Philoſophy. *Pythagoras* maintained, that the ſoules of men were immortall, and *Plato* (following him) ſaieth the ſame. It is alſo the opinion of the Philoſopher, which *Ouid* remembreth.

Valer: Max: in lib. 2.

* Pallium, for the Latine word Palliatus, which is as much to ſay, as clothed with a Robe, which they called Pallium, & which the Philoſophers vſed to weare.

The words of *Ouid* of the ſoules immortality.

Mens ſoules are exempt from death,
And leauing their firſt lodgings;
Liue alwaies in new dwellings,
Where they haue freſh entertaiment.

This (I ſay) was the iudgement of *Pythagoras*, from whence enſued, that the Gauls (by report of the *Greekes* and *Latines*) were made *Pythagorians*, and ſo meerely borrowed this opinion of immortality. But to ſhew of what great ambition this error is, the ſillieſt iudgement may eaſilie apprehend: in that, for a long time before *Pythagoras* was borne, this opinion of the *Druides* liued among the *Gaules*. Wherefore, I may very well aſſure that which hath formerly beene propoſed: that *Greece* was not Schoole-miſtreſſe to *Gaule*, but rather her ſcholler. Neuertheleſſe, the *Gaules* did not allow of that * *Metempſychoſis*, that is to ſay, the changing of ſoules, which *Pythagoras* maintained, as paſsing out of humane bodies, into other of brute beaſts: For they did not beleeue, that of men they became beaſts, but that they were made men again, in other bodies. The Poet *Lucane* affirmeth the ſame.

The error of the Greekes and Latines, concerning the Gaules, which were of more antiquity then *Pythagoras.*

Tranſmigration or paſſage of the ſoule from one body to another

——————According as you ſay,
Thoſe ſhadowes goe not into the ſilent dwellings
Of deepeſt Erebus, or the pale Country
Of King Pluto beneath. The ſelfe ſame ſpirit enters
Into another body: And of long life
Led in another world, you ſing moſt truely.

Lucan: in lib. 3.

Other points of the Gauls religion.

Proceede we now to other points of the *Gaules* religion. They diſputed very much, concerning the power and might of the immortall Gods, and made profeſsion (as *Mela*

Pomponius Mela in lib: 4, cap. 3

Mela saith) to know what the Gods would haue them to do. They adored the Gods, *Mercury*, *Apollo*, *Minerua*, *Iupiter* and *Mars*, holding almost the very same opinion, which other nations did, to wit: That *Mercury* was the inuenter of Artes, and a guide to men on their wayes and voyages: That he could helpe much in the gayning of monie, and in the affaires of Merchandize, being such as the Poet feigneth him.

Mercury reputed to bee the God of Messages, and the inuenter of Artes, as also a guide to trauellers in their iournies.

He spake the word, and the God Messenger,
Immediately was ready to be gone.
He fastened to his feete his light wingd plumes,
Which at his heeles do beare him through the windes,
Mounting and falling with their nimble flight:
One while on Land, and then vpon the waues.
He tooke his Rod, and with that powerfull Rod,
He summond vp aloft pale meager Ghosts,
From the sad shades, or else doth send them thither.
And therewithall he doth controle our sports.
Waking or sleeping, he commandeth all:
And some into eternall sleepe to fall.

For this Rod of his, was taken to be the power of Artes, the guide to trauellers on the way, and the rich gaine of Merchants. *Iulius Cæsar* made his prayers to *Mercurie*, (and as *Marcellinus* saith) he was reputed to bee the most sudden sense in this worlde, that moueth our thoughts, according to the doctrine of those Diuines. This was the power which the *Druides* gaue to *Mercurie*. As for that of *Apollo*, he was said to cure & helpe diseases and sickenesse; as the God testifieth of himselfe in *Ouid*.

Marcel: in lib: 5, cap. 7.

Ouid: in Metamorph. Lib. 4

Apollo taken to be the God of Physicke.

Physicke is mine, and through the Vniuerse
Men call to me for succour in distresse.
The vertue of all hearbs to me is subiect.

Minerua the Goddesse of all ingenious deuises.

The might of *Minerua*, they held to be thus: That shee gaue the determination of all workes and cunning deuises. Whervpon the Poets feigned, that she was bred and borne in the braine of her father *Iupiter*.

The power of Iupiter and Mars in their seuerall conditions.

They were perswaded also, that *Iupiter* had command ouer all the other Gods, and that *Mars* gouerned in warres: to whom oftentimes they made vowes (when they had determined to giue the enemy battaile) of all such things as they should take in fight. And if they won the day, they would sacrifice all such Beasts as were taken, and bring away all the rest as booty. *Diodorus* relating almost the very same, saith farther; that they sacrificed their prisoners and captiues to the Gods. But you wil say, that this example was too cruell. I confesse as much, but must answer ye withall: that it was borrowed from the ancient Romanes, who wold put to death in their prisons, the very braueſt & most valiant Captaines of their enemies. And many times for a publike spectacle, and before the common people, they were giuen as a prey to wilde Beasts, to be deuoured by them in cruell manner. Some of the Gauls did burne in their sacrifices, such Beasts as were taken for booty, and (with them) did put the enemy to death, or else torment him with other paines.

Diodor in lib. 5

Cruelty exemplified by the ancient Romanes.

The *Celts* had an admirable and particular obseruation in their Temples, to cast or spred abroad a great deale of their gold and siluer. Now albeit this was a nation very greedy and couetous: yet notwithstanding, there was neuer found any man, among the rudest inhabitants of the country, that durst so much as touch one peece thereof, such was their respect and reuerence to Religion. Neuertheless, such offrings may (perhaps) seeme more proper and conuenient for *Mars*: beeing called (in ancient times) by the Greeke Poets, *The plague of men, or the Murderer*. And yet such ceremonies also were common, and vsed in the sacrifices of other Gods. The whole nation of the Gaules, (as *Cæsar* affirmeth) were greatly addicted to Religion, and by this occasion, such as were vexed with any greeuous diseases, or they that were in warre, or in any other

An especiall obseruation of the Celts in their Temples.

Names giuen to Mars, by the ancient Greeke Poets

Iul. Cæs. in commen. lib 6.

other perill of life: did sacrifice men as their oblations & offerings, or else made vowes of such sacrifices. For they held a seuere opinion, that if for the life of one man, the life of another was not iustly rendred: it was impossible to appease the anger, or satisfie the will of the immortall Gods. And such manner of sacrifices wer publikely instituted, as truely declaring admirable Religion, and meruailous perswasion of the Gods might and power; whereof the Greeke Authors made not a iote lesse account and estimation.

Religious sacrifices instituted publikely.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Diuination vsed by the Sarronides, who were a kinde of Philosophers among the ancient Gaules, their manner of oblations and sacrifices: As also of their spels, charmes, and incantations.

Diodor. in lib. 5

Philosophers and Diuines called Sarronides.

Diodorus further sayeth, that some other Philosophers & Diuines, were held in great honour & reuerence among them, whom they tearmed *Sarronides*, that vsed diuination: and because they fore-tolde things that were to come, as well by auguries, as sacrifices; they were highly esteemed of them, but especially of the common people, who performed great reuerence to them. And when they held any councell, concerning matters of import and consequence: they obserued a very admirable custome, and almost incredible. For they would cut the throte of a man, and when he fell downe; eyther by the manner of his fall, or separation of his members, or fluction of his blood (by a long and ancient obseruation) they attained to the knowledge of future things. Their custome also was, neuer to make any sacrifice, without the presence of some Philosophers: as holding opinion, that sacrifices ought to bee performed by such men, as participated in the diuine nature, and came neerest to the Gods. For by the prayers of such men, they were perswaded, that good fortune and successe should be desired of the Gods, and their councell also to be especially vsed, both in the times of peace and warre. Heereto may be referred, that which *Cæsar* saith, in the fift Book of his warres in Gaule. *Whosoeuer came latest to the assembly made in Armes; beeing first afflicted with diuers torments, was afterward put to death before the whole multitude.* Moreouer, *Strabo* saith, that they would fasten a man vnto a Crosse in their Temple, and there shoote him to death with Arrowes.

A strange obseruation of the Sarronides.

The manner of their sacrifices in the presence of Philosophers.

Iulius Cæsar in comment. Lib. 5

Strabo in Lib. 4

The same Author, agreeing with *Possidonius* and *Artemidorus*, saith, there were certaine *Bacchanalles*, which dwelt in an Island, neighbouring to the Riuer of *Loyre*, and of certaine Auguries done by them, according as two white Crowes mooued their right wings, which neuertheless is reputed to be fabulous. Therefore that which *Artemidorus* saith, I hold more agreeable to reason, that in an Iland neere to Brittaine, such and the like sacrifices were performed, as the* *Samothracians* obserued, in the honour of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. *Cæsar* pursuing the selfe-same occasion, saieth; that there were others, who had Idols of immeasurable height, the members of whose bodies were framed of Twigs and Osiers, which beeing filled with liuing men, & set on fire; there they dyed most miserably. Beside, they imagined, that the punishments of such as were apprehended for robberies and thefts, or any such like offences; were most pleasing to the immortall Gods, & these they made most vse of in those Idols. Neuertheless, for want of such offenders, they made no difficulty, in putting honest and innocent persons to the same affliction, whensoeuer neede and occasion required.

Possidonius in Lib. 2
Artemidorus in lib. 4.

* An Isle by that part of Thrace, wher Hebrus faleth into the Aegæum Sea.

Strabo writeth the same of their Statues, saying. *They builded a Colossus of wood, many parts whereof, were enterlaced with Straw: and therein they burned all kindes of Beasts, and men also among them.* But *Diodorus* saith, that in making their sacrifices to their Gods, they vsed an impiety answerable to their bestiall nature. For, after they had kept (for the space of fiue whole yeares) such as were attainted and conuinced of notorious crimes: they would spit them on stakes, from the fundament to the mouth, and so sacrifice them vnto their Gods. Then placing them vpon high piles of wood, and putting fire to them; this was the manner of their immolation.

Strange manner of Idols, with liuing men in them

Strabo in lib. 3. Of their Statues.

Diodo. in Lib. 4

A tyranny yet vsed among the Turkes.

Pomponius Mela in lib.3.ca.7.

molation. *Pomponius Mela* ſpeaketh thus of the Gaules. *They are a proud Nation, ſuperſtitious, and cruell ſometimes: for they verily beleeue, that men are the beſt and moſt acceptable ſacrifices to the Gods.*

Of the ſtatues of the Gods of the Gaules. *Plin. in lib. 34. cap. 7.*

Neuertheleſſe, wee ſhall not thinke ſtrangely, that the Statues of the Gaules Gods were of ſuch exceſsiue height: if we but remember only what *Pliny* ſaith, in 34. Booke, and ſeuenth chapter. *We beheld* (ſaith hee) *huge maſsie Statues of new inuention, which they called Coloſſes, & were no lower then Towers, but of equall height.*

Of the height of diuers Coloſſes in ſundry places of the world.

In the ſame place hee ſpeaketh of a number, among which he nameth *Apollo Capitolinus*, being of thirty cubites in height: *Iupiter Tarentinus*, which was forty cubites high: The Rhodian Sunne, ſeuenty; the thumb wherof, few men were able to embrace. *Apollo* of *Tuſcanie*, which was in the Lybrary of the Temple of *Auguſtus*, contained fifty foote in height, from the feet vpward. That of *Nero*, was an hundred foote high. But ouer and beſide, *Zenodorus* ſaith, that in his time there was one made in the ſpace of ten yeares, ſurpaſsing all other Statues in height & bigneſſe: beeing the Statue of *Mercurie*, of ineſtimable value; and made in *Auuargne*, a Common-weale belonging vnto the Gaules, and it contained foure hundred foote in height. Thoſe Statues then of the Gaules Gods, were of wonderfull and extraordinary greatneſſe, according as *Cæſar* ſaith, which they filled full with liuing men, and ſo made offerings and ſacrifices of them.

The Image of Mercury, exceeding all other Statues.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 6.

But you will obiect vnto me, that this manner of religion was cruell and abhominable: whereto I muſt anſwer, that ſuch cruelty was common vnto all other Nations, or rather proper and peculiar to the dæmons, & familiar ſpirits of each country. *Titus Liuius* writeth, that ſuch ſacrifices were made at Rome, after the ouerthrow at *Cannas*. He ſaith more ouer, that in the interim while, certaine extraordinary & vnaccuſtomed ſacrifices were performed, by conſultation had with diuers fatall Bookes, wherein a Gaule-man and a Gaule woman, a Grecian man and Grecian woman, in the market appointed for Oxen at Rome, were laide along vpon the ground aliue, in a place round engirt with ſtones, which had neuer before beene ſullied with humane offerings or ſacrifices,

A cruell and abhominable kinde of Religion.

* A Towne in Apulia, where the Romanes had a great ouerthrow.

Humane ſacrifices performed at Rome.

and there they were ſacrificed after the Romane ceremoniall manner. This is the affirmation of *Titus Liuius*, and therfore I ſhall neede to make no further mention eyther of the *Arabians*, *Thracians*, *Scythians*, *Egiptians*, or *Grecians*: conſidering, that *Dyoniſius Halycarnaſſeus* ſheweth in the firſt Booke of Romane Antiquities, that *Iupiter* and *Apollo*, (becauſe the tenth borne of euery male childe was not ſacrificed to them) ſent great and greeuous calamities throughout all Italy. *Diodorus*, in the twentieth Booke of his hiſtory, declareth, that (in his time) there was at *Carthage*, a Statue of *Saturne*, and ſuch like ſacrifices. *And it was thought* (ſaith hee) *that Saturne was offended with the people, becauſe that in (former times) they were wont to ſacrifice to him, the moſt worthy and beſt borne of their children.* Furthermore, that by the ſucceſſe of times, inſtead of their owne children, they bought and entertained others, ſecretly nouriſhing thē, and afterward ſacrificed them vnto their Gods. This being cloſely and diligently diſcouered, & an infinite number of theſe ſuppoſed found out, which in that manner had beene ſacrificed, they were eaſily perſwaded to beleeue, that for this occaſion onely, the Gods beeing diſpleaſed, ſent enemies to take and ſacke their Cities, becauſe they had not continued thoſe honours, which from all antiquity had bin done to the Gods. Wherfore, the better to appeaſe them again; they ſacrificed publikely 200. yong men, ſuch as were the choyſeſt & beſt borne among all their Nobility, and found out three hundred more, which (with their owne good liking, becauſe they perceiued themſelues to be ſuſpected) gaue their liues freely to be ſacrificed.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 5. cap. 11.

Dyoniſ. Halicar. in An. Rom. Lib. 1.

Diod. in Lib. 10
A Statue of Saturne at Carthage.

Children ſacrificed to the Gods.

An eaſie perſwaſion to ouer-credulous people.

They had a Statue of Saturne, made of Braſſe, which was of wonderfull greatneſſe, the hands whereof were extended in round circling manner on the ground, and children, beeing followed with eager purſuite, were enforced to enter into the roundure, and then fell into a very deepe pit, full of fire. If any man be deſirous to haue more ample and certaine teſtimony heereof: *Euſebius*, in the fourth Booke & ſeuenth Chapter of his Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, recounteth many examples of this Religion, obſerued then in diuers Nations. Affirming further, that in the time of *Adrian*

Another Statue of Saturn, of admirable greatneſſe.

Euſeb. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. c. 7

Adrian, and when the Euangelicall doctrine began to appeare in some bright splendour: those abhominable cruelties were commonly abolished, albeit they remained still among the Celts. Neuertheless, *Mela* writeth, that they tooke ending in his time. Moreouer he saith, some markes of this brutish cruelty, formerly abolished, yet notwithstanding, whē they brought their offerings to their Altars, which were consecrated and dedicated to be sacrificed, they would make an essay or proofe of them, and with much deliberation. These then were the sinister & wicked sacrifices of the Gaules, whereof *Lucane* speaketh thus.

Pomponius Mela in lib. 3, cap. 1

You Druides, after you forsooke your Arms,
You fell to sauage and barbarous customes
Of wicked sacrifices. Only to you was giuen,
To know the Gods, and holinesse of Heauen,
Or not to know them.

Lucan: in lib. 1.

This shall suffice, for the manner of sacrifices obserued among the *Gauls*. What shall we now say, concerning the ceremonies of the Britaines and Germanes? Already we haue related, what was the manner of behauiour, as also the disciplines of the Britaines. *The Germanes* (saith *Cæsar*) *were farre differing from these customs and orders: For they had not their Druides to command in diuine matters, and to take care of their sacrifices. They held opinion of such as they beheld, and by whose aide they conceiued themselues to be succored manifestly; that they were worthy to be ranked in nũber among the Gods: As the Sunne, Vulcane, and the Moone, of others they neuer heard any speech.* These are the words of *Cæsar*. But *Tacitus*, ouer and beside these, speaking of the Germanes Gods, nameth *Tuiston*, or *Teuton*, a God borne of the earth, and of his Sonne * *Mannus*, who were the originall and beginners of their Nation. Then of the Sonnes of *Mannus*, by whose names, the neerest neighbours to the Ocean, called themselues *Ingenoues*; and they that dwelt neerer to the middle region, *Hermiones*; and the other *Istenoues*. Among other Gods, they worshipped *Mercury*, in the honour of whom, it was permitted them (on certaine dayes) to offer humane sacrifices. They also appeased *Hercules* and *Mars*, by the sacrifices of beasts, which likewise was permitted vnto them. A part or certaine number of the *Sweues*, performed their sacrifices, to * *Isis*; and yet, the cause and originall of such sacrificing, is not certainly knowne.

Of the ceremonies obserued among the Britaines & Germans. *Iul. Cæs. in commen. lib 4.*

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 2. cap. 1.

* Sonne to Teuton, of whom the Allemaignes descended.

Mercury their cheefest God in honour.

* Daughter to the Riuer Inachus.

Cæsar, in his first Booke, attributeth charmes, spels, & incantations to the *Germanes*, which were performed by women. For when *Cæsar* questioned with a prisoner, wherefore *Ariouistus* would not bid him battaile: he found it to be a custome among the *Germanes*, that the mothers in their seuerall families, did declare by spels and vaticinations, whether it were profitable to offer battaile, or not, and they would say that it was not possible for the *Germanes* to be Conquerers, if they gaue the battaile before the new Moone. *Tacitus* speaketh much more of these diuinations, & among the rest, relateth the presages and incantations which they most obserued. *The very simplest and most vulgar manner of their diuining* (saith he) *was, by taking a branch cut off from a fruite tree, which they would cut into diuers peeces, with certaine very knowledgable markes made vpon them, and afterward throw or scatter thē (casually, and without any regard at all) vpon some white garment. If the matter were to be consulted publikely, then it was done by the Priest of the City. But if it were in priuate, or particularly; the father of the family, hauing made his praiers to the Gods, and eleuating his eies vp to heauen, taketh the peeces of the branch by three and three, and when he hath lifted them aloft, he maketh his interpretation, according as he findeth the marks that were formerly engrauen. If he finde the case to be prohibited, he maketh no other consultation (concerning that matter) that day: but if he finde it to be permitted, then he seeketh further for the truth thereof, by other kindes of predictions, which giueth perfect knowledge in that place, both by questioned voices, and also by the flight of Birds.*

Iulius Cæsar in comment. lib. 1 Of Spelles, Charmes, and Incantations performed by the Germane women.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 2. cap. 1

The manner of their diuination, by any branch cut from a fruite Tree.

Moreouer, it was proper and particular to this Nation, to make experience of presages and aduertisements by horses, which publikely had beene bred in their Woods and Forrests, and were all wholly white, without any spotte vpon them, and had neuer beene labored or employed, or vsed in any seruice of man. The Priest, or the King, or else the Prince of the Cittie, fastening them vnto the sacred Chariot,

Presages made by horses bred in Forrests and Woods, by the manner of their neighing & noyse.

and going along with thē: did very heedfully regard their neighing and noyſes. And there was not any other preſage, whereto the people(but eſpecially the very principall perſons in the Citty,yea,and the Prieſts themſelues)did giue more credite,then to this: as perſwading thēſelues that they were the Miniſters of the Gods, and came neereſt in councell to thē. They had another obſeruation of preſaging, whereby they could foretell the iſſue of their warres,how cruell or dangerous ſoeuer they were, and how they ſhould ſucceed. They would take a priſoner of that Nation,with whō they intended to make warre, and he ſhould combate with one of the braueſt and moſt gallant ſpirits of all their owne people, & with thoſe weapons belonging to the Country. Afterward,the victory of the one or other,turned to the preiudice and diſaduantage of the vanquiſhed,and of his Nation.

A prediction for the ſucces of their dangerous wars.

CHAP. XV.

What Ceremonies were obſerued among the Gaules,at the times of their Burials,or Funerals,&c.

THE manner and Ceremonies of their Funerals, are ſet downe in *Cæſar*. *Their Funerals* (ſaith he) *are (after the Gauliſh brauery) magnificent and ſumptuous, with throwing all thoſe things (whatſoeuer) into the fire,which they imagined that the dead perſon (during his life time) moſt eſteemed and affected,eſpecially his Beaſts. And ſome ſhort while before this memory,ſuch ſeruants and domeſticke attendants,as were iudged to be dearely loued of their Maſters (to make the Funerall Ceremony the more intire and compleate) were burned together with the other things.* *Cæſar* hauing affirmed this, methinkes *Pauſanias* deſerueth to be laughed at, when hee ſaith in the tenth Booke of the warres of *Brennus*: *That the Gaules contemned, and held the buriall of their dead in diſdaine, becauſe, that by the opinion of ſuch cruelty,they might affright their enemies, not hauing any more pitty on the dead, then on other liuing perſons.* In this point *Cæſar* refuteth *Pauſanias* and *Titus Liuius* alſo, where he ſpeketh of the *Gaules* beſiedging Rome, his words, in the fift Booke of his third Decade,are theſe. *They heaped and piled men one vpon another, and ſo burned them indifferently together: becauſe they would not bury them each after other, whereby they ennobled the place magnificently,in imitation, and anſwerable to the name of the Gaules Sepulchers.*

Ti Liu in li.5 Dec.3.

As for that which *Cæſar* ſaith, *That all that which was pleaſing to the dead perſon, was caſt into the fire with him:* At Rome, into the fire made for *Iulius Cæſar* himſelf, the Trumpetters threw their torne garments; the Legionaries,their Armes; the Matrones their Chaines and Iewels, yea, and the precious purple deckings of their children. *Cæſar* doth not declare apparantly,whether the ſeruants & domeſticks were throwne into the fire,liuing or dead: but that he meant the liuing, may eaſily be conie&tured by that which *Mela* ſaith. *Ther wer ſuch* (ſaith he) *as voluntarily wold caſt themſelues into the fires made for their parents,kindred,and maſters, holding opinion, that ſo they were ſure to liue with them.* We haue ſuch another example,in the 5. of *Ciceroes Tuſculanes*,wher it is ſaid;*That the women of India,when their husbands died, had a cuſtome of combate and iudgment, to make proofe thereby, which of them was beſt beloued of her husband, for one man had many wiues. She that carried the honour of the combate, being followed and attended by her other companions, was (with great ioy) placed in the fire,and there burned with him: the other that had fought,and loſt the day,returned home mourning, and diſconſolate to her houſe.* This cruell manner of behauior, may well keepe company with the other ceremony, of immolating or ſacrificing humane oblations.

Such things as were burned with the dead perſon at Rome.

Pomponius Mela.in li.4.cap.5.

Cicero in Tuſculan. 5 A cuſtome among the women of India, to try who beſt affected her husband.

Tacitus ſpeaketh in this manner, concerning the Funeralles of the Germanes. *They bring the bodies of their companions into doubtfull battels, and that there may bee found no ambition of glory among them, for interring of their dead: they onely obſerue, that the bodies of the moſt noble, or of greateſt apparance, may be burned with certaine wood. They do not heape vpō the pile of wood, neither their garments,or any odours: but only allow to each man his proper Armes, & into the fire of ſome,they make addition of their horſes. One only ſod or turffe of earth, is building ſufficient for the Sepulcher, they contemne pompous workmanſhip and honourable labor*

The manner & ceremonies of their Funerals.

The manner of the Germans Funerals, according to *Corn. Tacitus*

Pauſan. in li.10 de Bel. Bren.

labor about Monuments, as being offensiue to the dead. Complaints and teares are soone ouerpast with them; but greefe & sadnesse is of longer continuance: for women to weepe is honest, onely men are to remember.

Plin. in lib. 3. cap. 1. His accusation against the Druides, concerning the Magick-Art.

But *Pliny* in his thirteenth book & first chapter, speaking of the Sacrifices, & the whol discipline of the ancient *Gaules*; frets himselfe against the Magick Arts, as fraudulous and deceitfull, seeming to reproue and accuse the discipline of our *Druides* with the same crime. Let no man meruail (saith he of the Art-Magicke) if great authority be giuen to such discipline. Because it onely will comprehend and redigest the three Sciences all into one, which haue most command ouer our humane will.

First of all, no one doubteth, but that it receiueth birth & beginning from Physick, and that vnder pretence of yeelding helpe by little and little: it hath vsurped the place, as feigning it selfe to be more high and healthfull, then Physicke, and with such entising and desirous promises, makes addition of some strength and power of Religion, whereby men (yet to this day) do abuse themselues. And yet to satisfie them better, they haue intermingled the Mathematicks, because there is not any one, but he is very couetous, and desirous to vnderstand future things concerning himselfe, and of his fortune, as beleeuing vndoubtedly, that such knowledge commeth from Heauen. Thus the reason and vnderstanding of men being surprized, and seriously busied in this manner: the discipline is fortified with a triple bond, and growne to such an encreasing greatnes; as euen in these dayes (in most parts of the world) it beares away the reputation from all other, commanding ouer the Kings and Princes of the East. From whence issued the Magicall faction, Persian, Mosaicall, and Ciprian. Finally, the sixe hundred, sixty & seuenth yeere from the building of Rome, *Cnens Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Publius Licinius Crassus* being thē Consuls, an Edict was made, that no man was to be offred in sacrifice, and assuredly, the celebration of such prodigious sacrifices vanished away. But contrariwise, the Gaules kept them, euen till our memory: For *Tyberius Cæsar* wholly abolished the *Druides*, & such kind of Prophets & Physitions. What mention shall I make of this discipline, which hath out-stept the bounds of the Ocean, entring into Britanny, where (at this day) it is celebrated with all reuerence, & such ceremonies, as it seemes that they haue taught it to the Persians? It hath attained to such consent with the whole vniuerse, (although it can grow to no agreement, or can well know it selfe:) as we do little conceiue, how highly we are beholding to the Romans, who vtterly abandoned al such monstrous behauior: being formerly fauoured (as a charitable work) to kill and sacrifice men, yea, and a very wholesome thing to eate them.

The Mathematicks made a colour to their deceiuing.

Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Licinius Crassus, Consulles of Rome.

Britaine embraced such sauage behauiour equall with the Gaules.

So far extend the words of *Pliny*, wherby ouer and beside the Arts formerly remembred, he attributeth Physicke also to the Gaulish *Druides*. But he greatly blameth the frauds therein concealed, & deseruedly commendeth the Romanes, for excluding such monstrous qualities out of their Empire. But would to God, that they had onely abolished the frauds and deceits in such Arts, and not the true Arts themselues, nor the Schooles and profession of them: For then vndoubtedly, wee should in duty thanke them, and crowne them with honour. But *Pliny* saith, that *Tyberius* wholly ouerthrew the *Druides*. Notwitstanding, the same man discouered Magicke, by some example of the *Druides*, as in the last Chapter of his seauenth Booke, speaking of Glew, or a certaine Gumme, hee hath these words.

Physicke attributed to the Druides, among the Gaules.

Plin. in li. 17 cap. vlt. Concerning the Glew and Gums esteemed among the Druides.

We may not omit (saith he) *in this case, one admirable matter of the Gaules. The Druides (by such name they terme their Magitians) esteeme nothing more precious then Glew and Gum, and that the Tree where it groweth, during the time it hath vigour: they themselues do then make choise in their Woods and Forrests, which haue such power to nourish those Gummes, that they will not offer any sacrifice, without the leaues of such a Tree. And it may be very likely, that from the Greeke interpretation, vpon this occasion, they were called Druides. In briefe, they hold opinion, that that which taketh birth or originall with those Trees, is sent from heauen, in signe, that such a Tree is chosen of the Gods. Such a Tree is very rare to finde, but being found; they take it with great ceremony and religion, & aboue al other, at the time of the Moons sextile, or sixt Moon, which is the beginning of their*

At what time the Druides vsed to gather their Gums & Glew.

Moneths and yeares, and of the world after thirty yeares. Because that then she is in her strength, not being in diminution of her moity, and they terme it by a word in their language, signifying; To be helping in all things. They prepare the sacrifice and a banquet vnder those Trees, bringing thether two Bulles wholly white, the hornes whereof are as yet scarse able to be bound. The Priest, cloathed in a white Robe, mounteth vp the Tree, and cutteth the branches with a Sickle of Gold, and such as fall, are receiued in a white cloth. Then they offer their sacrifices, making their prayers, that God will make their gift prosperous and happy, for them to whom they intend the giuing. They are of opinion, that such things being giuen in drinke to any sterile or barren body, either of women or beasts; will make them fruitfull, and beside, that it is a soueraigne remedy against all poisons. Thus sometimes a Religion is made among men, in matters meerely friuilous, and not of any importance.

The ceremonies in the sacrifice of the Druides.

A present remedy against barrennesse and poyson.

Thus you see what *Pliny* saith, concerning the mysteries of the Gaules Magick, wherein he findes the greeke etymology of the name of the *Druides* (although that it is a Gaulish name, to wit, of *Druyon*, as already hath beene said) as in all languages you may finde infinite words, which (by some conniuency) seeme to be deriued from another tongue: as in like manner the Mathematicians, in their moneths and yeares, and the Chronology of their ages, do declare sufficiently, that the Mathematicall disciplines, albeit after the Greekes descriptions, do not alwaies fall out to be one and the same. But let vs pursue some other examples of *Pliny*.

In his one and twentieth Booke, and the eleuenth Chapter, hee speaketh thus. *There is a certaine hearbe, like vnto Sabine, called* Selago, which is gathered without any yron weapon, by the right hand, thrust into some left-handed gloue or sleeue, in manner of a theefe. And the party must be cloathed with a white garment, hauing his feete naked and cleanly washed: and sacrifice must bee performed with Bread and Wine, before any offer of gathering, and modestly brought thether in a new Napkin. The Druides of the Gaules haue written, that this hearbe is very soueraigne against any perill or dreaded danger, and also that the smoke thereof is profitable for the diseases in the eies. They haue also another hearbe, which they call Samola, which groweth in moist and watterish places, and they vse to gather it alwaies with the left hand: it serueth against al diseases in Swine and Kine, and whosoeuer gathereth it, must not (by any meanes) be seene, neither must he bring it into any other place, then a gutter or brooke, and there breake or bruise it in the water, that the Beasts may swallow it in their drinking.*

Plin. in lib. 21. cap. 11.

* A hearb vsed much of the Druides, for all eye-sores, hedge-hysope

Another hearb for the help of cattel.

In the same place is recited another Magicke of the Gaulish *Druides*, whereunto (in the third Chapter of the twentieth Booke, written by the said Author) there is another very like euery way. *Moreouer* (saith hee) *there are a certaine kinde of Egges, wherof great account is made in Gaul, and whereof the Greekes haue not made any mention. Summer causeth an infinite number of Serpents to heape themselues together, writhing and embracing in a kinde of artificiall hugging: when either by the moisture issuing from their mouthes, or slimy scumme of their owne bodies, that which they call the Serpentine Egge is engendered. The Druides say, that (by their hissing or whistling) it is exalted vp into the Ayre, and in the meane while, it must be receiued downe in some robe or garment, because it may not touch the earth. But he that receiues it, must make great speed away vpon an horse, because the Serpents will pursue him swiftly, vntill they find hinderance by some Riuer or Water. The proofe and experience thereof, is, vvhen it floateth against the vvater, especially vvhen it is enchased in gold. But as the cunning of Magitians is vvell contriued, for the more ingenious couering of their fraud: so they say, that it must be taken in a certaine Moone, as if it were lawfull in humane iudgement, to accord such an operation of Serpents. Verily, I haue seene this kinde of Egge, of the bignesse of an indifferent round Apple, bearing a crust or shell like a gristle, seamed vvith little mouthes or openings, like to them vvhich are on the armes of the Polypus or Pourcontrell, and the Druides holde it for a most notable thing. It is highly esteemed, as for giuing victory in fights and combates, and to haue accesse to Kings & Princes: by such an abuse, and no other reason that I know, a Romane knight of the Vocontians, vvas put to death by the Emperor Claudius, onely in regard of fighting, for he alwaies carried such an Egge in his bosome. Neuerthelesse, the embracing and colligation of Serpents, and the alliance of the most cruell creatures, seemeth to haue beene*

Plin. in li. 20 cap. 3. Concerning the Egges of Serpents.

The Druides opinion of the Serpentine Egge.

The Author auoucheth to haue seene such an Egge.

A Romane Knight put to death by the Emperor, for the Serpentine Egge.

beene the cauſe, whereby ſtrange Nations (as an argument of peace) made a Caduceus of Serpents writhed round about, and it hath beene a cuſtome alſo, that they ſhould be creaſted on the Caduceus.

Thus hath *Pliny* noted the Serpentine Egge, to proceede from the Gaules Magicke, and that for this cauſe onely, the Knight was ſlaine by the Emperour, who ſtood in feare of this Magicke. Finally, the Romanes, to aboliſh vtterly the diſcipline of the *Druides*, tooke occaſion by this Magicall ſuperſtition: but though impiety, ſuperſtition, magicke and vices may be rooted out, yet vertue will continue ſtill ſound and intire. Would to God that the Romanes had maintained in like place, and in like number, the Gaules as the Greeks. The Empire hath bene ſnacht from the Greeks, but Learning and Artes was left with them ſtill. Greeke hath bene conſtrained to make way for the Latine tongue: but yet continually Grammer, Rhetorick and Philoſophy hath bene, and yet is taught in greeke. What greefe then was it to the Romanes, to expulſe not only the Gauliſh Iudges from their ſeates: but the profeſſors alſo, yea, the very ſciences & diſciplines of the *Gaules* out of their Schooles?

No force or violence can preuaile againſt vertue, let ſinne and ſhame be rooted vp.

Immortall Gods, the Gaules authentick race,
You thought to hold true eminence and place,
And ſo ſhould ſtill, were gifts in equall grace.

Partiality in affection, can neuer be an vpright Iudge in cenſure.

But we conuert our affections too earneſtly, to the glory and honour of our owne particular, which honour we may bemoane, being too greedily carried away with a mighty ſpleene againſt the name of the *Gaules*. But let vs now proceede to finiſh the reſt.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Iuſtice exerciſed in Ancient Gaule, compared with that of the Romanes, by diuiding the chiefe men into two degrees, of Druides and Knights, and two kindes of Magiſtrates, with the puniſhment of diſobedience to ſuperior Officers.

HItherto wee haue gone thorough three parts of the propoſed labour, to wit; The prudence of diſcipline; The entire knowledge of truth; and likewiſe of prouidence. There yet remaineth the fourth part, namely of Iuſtice, which is Princeſſe and Miſtreſſe of all other manners. It behoooueth vs then, to ſeeke for the principality of ancient *Gaule*, and what it was; what power the people had, and what policy was maintained among them: that which we terme the Platonicall good and benefit of Temperance, Fortitude, & of Prouidence, whereby each man hath that belonging to him, without vſurping on any thing appertayning to another.

The fourth part of the intended diſcourſe, namely of the Iuſtice of the Gaules.

The Common-wealth, at leaſt that of *Gaule*, whoſe lockes of hayre beeing long enough in *Cæſars* time; was meerly Timocraticall, and in many parts very like vnto the Roman liberty, as by that which followeth, hee which will examine things particularly, may eaſily perceiue. Let vs then obſerue what *Cæſar* hath ſaid, and eſpecially concerning cuſtomes and behauiour. *In all Gaule, or Gallia* (ſaith he in his ſixt Booke) *all men that are of any marke, or made any account of, are diuided into two ſorts; to wit, into Druides, and into Cheualiers: for the common people is of no other reckoning, but as varlets and ſlaues, not daring (of themſelues) to do any thing, neither are they admitted to councell in any matter.* Behold what partition *Iulius Cæſar* hath inſtituted of himſelfe, albeit it is not altogether true which he ſpeaketh of the people, as ſhall at large bee deliuered heereafter, in place more conuenient for the purpoſe.

The common-wealth of Gaule in the time of Cæſar.

Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 6.

In this partition of *Cæſar*, *There is one* (ſaith he) *that Preſideth, or is as Primate ouer all the other Druides, that hath cheefe command and authority of the reſt. He being dead, if there be any one among the other, that hath the aduantage in worthineſſe or deſert: he is to ſucceed. If there be many of equall parity and condition; he is to be choſen (by voices of the Druides) from among the reſt. Diuers times they contend for the ſoueraignty or Maſterſhip by weapons, and ſo ſtriue who ſhall haue the prime place.*

Iul. Cæſar in Com. Lib. 6. vt ſup.

Here *Cæſar* propoſeth two diſtinct kinds of Magiſtrats, one to rule or gouern in diuine things, ỹ other in ſuch as are humane and ciuill. Among the *Druides*, he inſtitu-

Two kindes of Magiſtrats propoſed by Cæſar in Gaul

teth one, to be as the high or cheef Prieſt, and he defineth his election, to bee eyther by Dignity, or by Suffrages, or by Arms. And there is no great difference, between the inſtitution of the Roman high Prieſt, and this other man: but onely, that at Rome he is annuall or yeerely, & in Gaul it ſeemeth he hath beene perpetuall. That the Druides haue beene ſpread ouer all Gaule, euen in Cities, Townes and Burroughs, their eſtates haue ſhewne ſufficient manifeſtation: for the *Druides* did euer command ouer the three principall parts of the Common-wealth: as in profeſsion of Artes, in iudgments, pleadings, and ceremonies belonging to their ſacrifices. *All the younger ſort* (ſaith *Cæſar*) *haue their recourſe to them, to be enſtructed by them, and to learne ſciences, as alſo a great number of verſes; ſo that ſome continue there twenty yeares, only to learne knowledge.* And ſurely, an honeſt ſtipend or recompence, can neuer want Maſters to giue enſtruction.

The yong mē reſort to the Druides, to learne of thē.

The Druides exempted from war & taxations.

The Druides (ſaith *Cæſar*) *are not wont to goe to warre, but ſtand exempted from it, and immunity of all other taxations & charges. So that in regard of ſuch faire acknowledgements and freedomes, there are many that come to bee ranked among them, and to follow the ſtudy of their diſciplines, they are ſent thither by their parents & kindred.* Let me now entreate yee, and (euen in honeſt charity) but to obſerue well this place alledged by *Cæſar*. Can there be any thing more excellent, or more magnificent, thē when the Primates of a Country, or the Gouernors and very greateſt Princes in a Common-wealth, do make profeſsion of diſciplines? Perhaps, ſome will conſider ſweatingly on this point, as though wee would haue the cheefeſt men, and thoſe that are the graueſt in our Citties, to keep Schooles, and apply their paines to enſtruct other. Notwithſtanding, let me tell ye, *Plato* would haue ſuch men (and no other) to take the charge of enſtructing, & deliuering the knowledge of Sciences: becauſe ſuch a place ſhould be as a Seminary or ſeed-plot, of great, iudicious, and learned men, meete to adminiſter and beare authority in a Common-wealth: wherein the grafts and plants muſt needs be the more rare and excellent; by how much the grafters and planters are moſt vertuous and honourable.

Plato, his aduice concerning men of iudgement & learning.

I wonder at the opinion of *Pliny*, in many paſſages alledged by him, and eſpecially in this, where he writes: *That with the ancient manners and faſhions of Rome, the Land abounded, & did daily bring forth double encreaſe. What was the cauſe* (ſaieth he) *of ſuch aboundance? The earth was then husbanded by the hands euen of the chiefeſt warriers, and, as it is credible, that the earth ioyed and reioyced, to be honoured with a ſhare or culture crowned with Laurell, and by the labour of a victorius triumphing conqueror: euen ſo did it trauaile and endeuour it ſelfe the more induſtriouſly, to produce the ſeed ſowne in that nature, as to proſper their other warlike proceedings. And the like diligence, for well husbanding the ground, as alſo to order and direct a potent Army, or elſe in all other things, which are performed by noble and honeſt hands: do encreaſe the more aboundantly, and become ſo much the more fertile, by how much they are the more carefully executed. But now adaies, this faire and honourable myſtery, is exerciſed by foule, infamous, and condemned hands, by men that are either theeues, or baniſht, or haue loſt their eares, or branded with ſome ſuch other wicked imputation. Notwithſtanding, the good earth is not deaffe, who being called Mother, and bids herſelfe to labour and fructifie, by a Latine word, called Coli, which ſignificth alſo to do honour, as beeing thence deriued: whereby it plainly appeareth, that whatſoeuer ſhe now doth or produceth, ſhe doth it but in meere diſdaine, and againſt her owne liking. And therefore we muſt needs meruaile, that no ſuch profits ariſe in the times of theſe labourers, as in the famous daies of thoſe floriſhing Captaines.* So farre extend the words of *Pliny*.

Plin. in lib. 22. cap. 4. Of the ancient manners and behauiours of Rome in the earths husbandry.

Good and commendable actions doe euer illuſtrate & manifeſt themſelues.

But by your fauour, do not we conceiue, that it is as conuenable for vs, to ſpeake of the exerciſe of diſciplines, as of thoſe which concerne the earth? Euen ſuch was the fertility and aboundance of the Gaules diſciplines, when in the times of our *Druides*, the Schooles of the Muſes, became the Pallaces of Kings; the chaires of Maſters, were the ſeates of Princes; the number of Students, was the company & following of honorable Lords. Then *Pallas* delighted to be in a royall Colledge, vſing one & the ſame Rector & gouernor in the common-wealths affaires, & to declare the Sciences and diſciplines, explicating thoſe enſtructions in one ſelf-ſame manner,

The Authors anſwer to the former allegation of Pliny, concerning the floriſhing condition of Rome.

manner, for gouerning their Commonweales. And by the ſame diſcretion and prouidence, they inſtituted the rules of Arts, Lawes, and Ordinances: wherein all things increaſed the more proſperouſly, and more aboundantly (by honeſt labours) as they were the more diligently and reſpectiuely followed. There were many in thoſe dayes, who being ſpurred on by ſuch recompences, and the expectation of thoſe propoſed honours; addicted themſelues (gladly) to apprehend thoſe diſciplines, being ſent to the ſame end & purpoſe (from the remoteſt parts) by their parents and kindred.

The voluntary inclination of the Gaules in former times.

Hereupon, and for the ſame occaſion, *Lucian* was the more willing to haue the Gauliſh and *Ogmian Hercules* depicted; not onely couered with the deſpoyle of a Lyon, and a maſſy Club: but alſo decrepite, bald, aged, wrinkled, and meager; drawing a great number of Conquered men after him, in chaines of gold faſtned to their eares. Their tongues alſo vvere pierced thorow, and at them hung little Chaines of gold, in ſuch ſort, that thoſe valiant diſpoſed and conquered gallants, followed the *Hercules* that drew them, he turning eftſoons his face and looks to behold them, with very milde & affable behauiour. And what elſe was all this, but the eloquence of the Bardes, as alſo the wiſedome of the *Sarronides* and *Druides*? which euen at the firſt ſight (without any more regarding) cauſed ſuch admirable affection to the ſame. The great number of Students, which ſubmitted themſelues vnder their charge, onely to learn their diſciplines and goodly knowledge in ſo many noble things: figured thoſe Chaines of golde. And euen ſo the Schollers, hung by the ears at the mouths of their Maſter, as being taken & bound by his rich words, and the ſweet doctrine flowing thence. Then did al diſciplines flouriſh, in regard that the profeſſors of them were rare and excellent. But ſo ſoon as by the Romaine Empire, the ſalary and honour of Learning was taken away and aboliſhed; euen as ſo dainly was the profeſsion of thoſe Diſciplines eſteemed and held to bee but a ſeruile and mechanicall thing. Which was the onely occaſion, that (neceſſarily as it were) thoſe honeſt and liberall ſtudies languiſhed for a long time; and by an ouer-tedious experience, hath approoued the ſaying of the Orator to be true; *That Honor is the Nurſe of arts, and all hearts are enflamed with the loue of the Sciences, onely in regard of their glorie.* For neuer ſhould any account bee made of ſuch things as are miſprized and condemned by euery man.

Lucian his picture of Hercules among the Gaules, & the alluſion thereof.

The extremity of the Roman Empire, againſt the Gaules Learning.

Thus the loſſe and burying of the Gauls diſciplines, are due to none but vnto the Romaines, by whoſe tyranny the honour of their profeſsion, and their liberty togither, was violently taken from the *Druides*. Wherefore *Mela* (who flouriſht vnder *Claudius* ſaith. *Now are not the braue and worthy Schooles of the Druydes; becauſe they are become clandeſtine, and ſuppreſſed by other, baniſhed into the deepeſt & furtheſt off Forreſts.* So that the Diſcipline of the *Druydes*, was not onely robbed of her former honour, but compelled in meere feare of danger, to hide her ſelfe in caues and thickeſt woodes. *Lucane* ſeemeth to take knowledge thereof with *Mela*, ſpeaking thus of the *Druydes*.

The Gaules diſcipline ouerthrown by the Romaines tyranny. *Pomp. Mela in lib. 4. c. 9.*

——Your dwelling now,
Is in the ſtrongeſt and profoundeſt Forreſts.

Cæſar alſo in his fift booke. *The* Gauls (ſaith hee) *perceiuing from whence the beginning of warres came, held their conſultations in the night time, and in deſert places.* Likewiſe in the ſeuenth booke. *The Princes of the* Gaules, *in their Councels (appointed in Woods and concealed places) complayned amongſt themſelues of their ſeruitude.* Neuertheleſſe, we conclude not, neither by the authority of *Mela*, nor of *Lucane*, nor of *Cæſar*, that the Colledges of the *Druydes*, that the aſſembly of Councell, and deliberation of their men of Warre, were in the woods: for that wold appeare rather to be a ſigne of ſeruitude and conſtraint, then of erudition or conſultation. But proceede we on to ſpeake of the ſallary, wages, and honeſt preſents, vſually giuen to the ancient *Druydes*. *The Druydes* (ſaith *Cæſar*) *doe not onely take the reward of their honeſt profeſsion, but ouer & beſide, the* Gaules *giue them great honor and reuerence. All caſes in controuerſie, bee they eyther publike or priuate, are referred to theyr iudgement. If there happen any thing to bee done amiſſe, or any murther committed: if there ariſe any diſſention, concerning inheritance, ſucceſsion, or bounds of Landes: they are*

Iul Cæſ in com. lib. 5. & lib. 7.

Of the wages and giftes to the ancient Druydes.

Iul. Cæſar in comment. Lib. 6

are the men that giue ſentence, and conſtitute the reward of well doing, and puniſhment of miſdemeanors. Strabo addeth heereto (I know not how) that by their Magical ſuperſtition, they iudge of the fertility of the yeare, according to the multitude of criminall cauſes.

Cæſ. in com. vbi ſupra. Interdiction from their ſacrifices.

But proceede we with the reſt of *Cæſar*. *If there be any man, either a priuate, or publique perſon among the common people, that wil not obey their ordinances & decrees: he is interdicted from comming to the ſacrifices, which is the moſt greeuous puniſhment in all their Nation. They that ſtand ſo interdicted from the ſacrifices, are reputed among the number of lewd and wicked people: All men flyes from them, and euery man ſtands in feare to ſpeake to them, or to keepe company with them, as dreading ſome Contagion or Plague ſhould happen to them by ſuch frequẽtation. And if they demand Law or Iuſtice, it is denyed, and may not be granted them, neyther may they enioy any preferment or honor, or the leaſt reuerence done vnto them by any.* But what manner of ſentences or iudgments do the Germaines obſerue? What penalties and puniſhments are amongſt them? *It appertaineth to none but Prieſts, who haue the full power of commaunding (ſaith Tacitus) to impoſe ſilence in publicke conſultation. Moreouer, it is not permitted but to Prieſts onely, to chaſtiſe, beate, or bind them, not as the paine or puniſhment of the offence, nor by the commaund of the Prince: but euen as by diuine permiſſion, & as a commandement giuen by God, whom they make account to be then in preſence, and to be aſſiſting in their fights. In Warre alſo they carry certaine Pictures and Images, vvhich they bring away from their hallowed places. The difference of punniſhment is anſwerable vnto the delict, Traytors, and ſuch as forſake their Captaines of their Nation, to doe any ſeruice vnto a Stranger-enemy, are hanged vp vpon the Trees. Vagabondes, Rogues, ydle liuers, and all ſuch as are noted of foule infamie, are drowned in mudde, or in ſome Mariſh place, & couered all ouer with filth. The variety of puniſhment is much reſpected there, to the end, that the enormity of the offence, may be knowne by the qualitie of the inſliction, and that vice may by no meanes be couered. But in crimes of leſſer nature, the parties which are conuinced, are condemned in Fines, of a certaine number of Horſſes, or other Beaſts, whereof one part of the forfeite is giuen vnto the King, or to the Cittie: and the other part is giuen to him, for whom the penaltie is done, or to his neereſt Kindred.*

The obſeruation amongſt the Germains

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap: 2.

Prieſts onely haue the preheminence to inflict puniſhment.

Puniſhment inflicted according to the quality of the offence.

Returne we now again vnto the *Druides* of the Gaules: for, *Cæſar* deſcribeth the times and the places, where they did vſe to keepe their Seſſions. *The Druides* (ſaith hee) *vpon certaine dayes in the yeare, and vpon the Borders of the* Caruntes *(the which Countrey is reputed to bee the verie middeſt of all Gaule or Gallia) do vſe to keep their great dayes meeting, in a certaine conſecrated place, where all ſortes of men, that hauc ſuites or Controuerſies, make their Aſſembly, being obedient vnto the ſentences & iudgements of the Druydes.* *Cæſar* doeth not diſtinguiſh the times of the yeare, but onely the place, which was on the Limites and Confines of the *Caruntes*, as being the Center and middle of Gaule, where the *Druides* of all the Countries of *Gaule* (euen as of all the world) were wont to meete together. Neuertheleſſe, the Cittie of the *Caruntes*, named *Chartres*, was (in thoſe ancient times) of much larger extendure, then now it is; and it is very likely, that it contained not onely the *Chartrain* Dioceſſe, but that alſo of *Orleance*. For before that *Cæſar* arriued there, it was a Realm, which afterward was put by *Cæſar* into the power of *Taſgetius* the *Carunt*, as himſelfe hath written in his 5. booke.

Iulius Cæſar in Com. lib 6

People about Chartres in Celtica.

The geuerall meeting of all the Druydes of Gaul together.

Iul. Cæſ. in Comment. lib. 5.

In breefe; it ſeemeth that the Realme of *Orleance*, which afterwards was a long time maintained to bee a Realme by the *Franconians*, was the very ſame of *Chartres*: Conſidering withall, that *Genabum* or *Genaba*, was one of the Townes in the *Caruntes* Kingdome, and ſeated vpon the Riuer of *Loire*, beeing in the time of *Cæſar* beyond *Orleance*, a farre off by a great many Miles, and which hindered him in his way, when hee went from [a] *Agendicum* to [b] *Gergobia*. But thoſe *Druydes* aſſembled themſelues together in that place from all partes, as in the Center of Gaule, according as *Cæſar* hath ſpoken. I ſay then, that in all Gaule, and in the Cities, Townes, and Villages of Gaule, there were *Druydes*, who gouerned in ſuites and Controuerſies, and likewiſe in the Ceremonies of Religion: In breefe, the care of all things was committed to them. The *Druydes* were then diſperſed thoroughout Gaule, as now adayes are the

a A Towne of Senons in Celtica, cald, Sens or Prouence.

b The Towne of Cleremont in Auuergne.

the men of the Church: notwithstanding the Princes were wont to refer to a common Councell (at certaine times of the yeare) all the suites of their Citizens and subiects, wherein the chiefe Priest of the *Druydes* gouerned onely.

A common Councell, or generall meeting for all suites.

Such (in elder times) was the Councel of the* *Amphictiones*, which during the liberty of Greece was kept in *Delphos* (as *Pausanias* reporteth in his Phociques) & in the middest of Greece. Whereby appeareth, that the *Druydes* of the Gaules, were like to the *Amphyctions* of Greece, & their place as sacred in the Chartraine Countrey, answerable to the Temple of Delphos, made so famous by the Oracles of *Apollo*. The matter would haue beene a little the more noble, if *Cæsar* had called the place *Delphos*, which was consecrated within the limites of the Countrie of *Chartres*. Heerein is shewen the authority, and (almost) royall power, which the *Druydes* not onely held in priuate and particular, but intirely ouer all the people. The profession of Disciplines was in great reputation; the estate of iudgment a most famous authority; the power to performe sacrifices, and to speake of Diuination, appertained vnto royall Maiestie.

*A noble Councell in Greece, so named of Amphictyon the son to Helenus, who appointed the same. *Paus. in lib. de Phocis.*

The royal power and authoritie of the Gaules Druydes.

The first degree of the Gallish Commonwealth, was that of the supreme Magistrate; next, the Princes; then, the Chevaliers; the people made election according to his aduice, and for his benefit, and the commodity in generall, the Princes gaue him order how to make his warres; and such as did not well by their instruction, they would expulse and banish thē. But you may demand of me, how this is to be proued? I will answer from *Cæsar*, who speaketh thus in his sixt Booke. *In Gaule* (saith he) *there are certaine factions, not onely in all Cities, Burroughes, and quarters, but also in euery particular Houshold, & the Princes or Heads of such Factions, are they whom they concciue (in their iudgment) to be the worthiest persons for authoritie: by whose aduice and determination, the verie greatest matters of waight or importance, either for publique affayres or Councell, are wholly disposed. Vpon which occasion it seemeth, that this matter hath bin thus ordered from reuerend Antiquity, that none of the meanest should be destitute of helpe, against a rich or potent superior. For there is no man, that will indure or suffer, that such as appertaine or depend vpon him, shall any way be oppressed or circumuented: for if he offered to do otherwise, hee shall not beare any sway among the people.*

The order & degree of the Gauls Commonwealth.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6.

Particular factions throughout Gaule, in euery City, Towne, and Village.

Thus you heare what *Cæsar* saith, whereby may be vnderstood, the *Timocraticall* gouernment of a Commonwealth, which *Plato* and *Aristotle* so much commended, and which Greece (being in her libertie, and Italy also) did keepe so carefully: wherein, all the kinds of a iust and equitable policy are comprehended. Note the selfesame reason, in the whole charge of the affaires of Gaule; for there was royalty in the annuall Magistrate, vvhereas *Aristocratie* was discerned in the Senate, and briefly, *Timocratie* in the plaine power & authority of the people, by whom the Senators and Magistrates were created. And therefore let vs goe somewhat neerer, and examine the testimonie of *Cæsar* a little more narrowly, speaking of the Common-wealth of our Ancestors.

The Timocraticall gouernment of a Common wealth allowed by Plato & Aristotle.

Cæsar in comment lib. 6

Such was the freedom and liberty of Gaul (saith *Cæsar*) *that in euery City, Towne, and Burrough, and almost in euery house, there were certaine factions, and it was in such sort, that euery one was permitted to deale closely and vnderhand, by voices and suffrages: so that the very meanest and simplest, had power to giue their sentence, and deliuer their voyces.* Heere then we are to vnderstand, that the Electors of the Magistrats amongst the Gaules, were such kinde of men. And heereby wee plainly perceiue, that the authority of the people was not small in their Commonwealth: in regard that by voices and suffrages of the people, the Magistrates were then created. But what was hee that had the power to make election of these men? *He that was reputed to be in the greatest authority, & beside, all the affayres of consequence, and the whole deliberation of the Councell came onely to him.* But why was it requisite, that so much authority should be in one Magistrate? *Cæsar* himselfe makes answer vnto this Obiection. *Because (vppon this occasion) it seemed that Antiquity (venerably) had so instituted it: to the end, that no man among the people (how meane or poore soeuer) should stand in neede of ayde against the richest oppressor. For he might not indure that any of his faction should be oppressed or circumuented.* This then was the end of the

Authority of the people amongst the Gauls in creation of their Magistrates.

The voyce of the people in election of their Magistrates.

the Magistrate, and the reason why the people said; *We will not haue this man, except by his vertue, and by his authority, he do defend that no man offer vs iniury. We will not haue this man, because he is both bad and ignorant.*

The punnishment of one that beginneth well, and neglecteth his care of the weal-publike.

But if a good Prince, who (at the beginning) hath made proofe of his vertue, happened afterwards to change his manners; and, as one that hath no longer care of the weale-publike, proposeth his owne particular profit before the publike, and carry himselfe otherwise then the Ordinances of the people haue commanded: he is excluded and banished, and (as *Cæsar* saith) *Depriued of all power and authority among his owne people.* And to the end that this might not be imagined to be obserued in some one Citty only, *The selfe-same course* (saith *Cæsar*) *is kept thorough-out all Gaule.* Heerein then may be noted,

The politicall authoritie of the people.

the politicall authority of the people, when Magistrates are not onely chosen by the people, but also deposed & expulsed. But *Cæsar* saith nothing, whether this principality was constituted in the authority of many, or of one onely, neither for how long time it continued. Neuertheless, *Strabo* (in his fourth book) defineth both the one and the other, saying: *There were many kinds of Aristocratical policy, in ancient times they elected euery yeare a Prince, as the people elected a Chiefe or Commander for the warre.* Thus wee see, what *Strabo* saith: but a matter so goodly and commendable, should bee enriched with some examples.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 7.

Cicero hath so highly extolled the commonwealth of the *Massylians*, that before the people of Rome, in the defence of *Fonteius*, hee sayde: That the Discipline and grauity of the Citty of * *Marsiles*, deserued not onely to bee preferred equall to Greece, but almost with all other Nations of the world. In that Citty (sayth *Strabo*) there were sixe hundred Senators, whome they tearmed *Timouches*, as men honourable, and who (all theyr life time) enioyed that honour: from foorth of which number, were elected and chosen fifteene Princes, to iudge such suits & causes, as happened day by day amongst them. And questionlesse, these were the sixe hundred *Marsilians*, and the fifteene cheefest men among them, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh in his first booke. But let vs

Marsiles in France, a citie in Prouence, which was as famous for Learning as Athens. Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 9.

Iul. Cæs. in comment. Lib. 1.

go on with the words of *Strabo*. *Out of these fifteene* (saith hee) *they elected three, which had the most authority and power.* In this manner *Strabo* describeth the Common-wealth of the *Massilians*, which neuertheles I alledge not as a name of *Gaule* onely, because it was better beloued and esteemed to be Greekish, rather thē Gaulish: but also, because none of those *Timouches* was to bee elected, that had not bin a childe borne there, and had not bene a Cittizen, euen to the third race or descent, as the same *Strabo* saith. Vpon this occasion, *Aristotle* (and very desertfully) calleth the Common-wealth of the *Massilians Oligarchia*, and not *Aristocratia*: for this declareth her Oligarchie, that Princes were not elected by their vertue, but in regard of their race.

The nature of the timouches election among the people.

I doe not alledge (I say) this Commonwealth, as an example of the Gaules Common-wealth: I desire to deliuer their owne true estates indeed, and those that truely were of Gaule, and first of all in generall of all Gaule; next, of the Nations, and then particularly of euery Cittie. The seauenth Booke of *Iulius Cæsar*, shall serue as a sufficient Testimonie in my common example, wherein Gaule is intirely described, both in orders, and all reuennewes: albeit in the seauenth yeare of the warres in Gaule, great store of the afflicted Townes and Citties, had diminished much of their reuennues. First (by a Common Councell) *Vercingetorix* was elected for cheefe Commaunder, as *Cæsar* himselfe saieth, when the *Heduans* fought, that the Empire might bee giuen to them, as the matter came then in controuersie. *The whole Councell of Gaul* (saith hee) *was called at* [a] Bibracte *or* Beaulne, *where arriued a great number of men, and the Election was appointed to the most voyces: but by generall consent it was concluded that Vercingetorix should be Emperor, & the chiefe Leader of their Armies.* Onely *Cæsar* saieth, that the men of *Rhems*, [b] the [c] *Lingones*, and the [d] *Treuiraines*, were not present at this Councell: but hee maketh no mention at all of the Aquitaines.

The Commō-wealths trulie of Gaule, and according as they were in the 7. yeare of the Gaulish warre,

a Bibrax the Towne of Bray, in the countrey of Rochell in France.

Afterward, when *Vercingetorix* was besiedged neere to [e] *Alexia*, the Gauls then called another Councel; wherein was ordained, that a certaine number of martial men should command ouer euery towne. And it was concluded, that fiue & thirtie thou-

b A Towne in Champaigne in Belgica.
c Langres in the iurisdiction of Tull in Celtica.
d Trieis, and the Countrey thereabout
e Now called Alfet, Lamfoys, or Alysa.

The powers that commanded ouer the seueral towns and Citties.

thousand men should command the *Heduans*, and their neighbors the *Secusians*, *Ambinarets*, *Aulerkes*, *Brannouikes*, & the *Brannonians*. The like number was appointed to the men of *Auuerne*, together with the *Cadurcians*, *Heluterians*, *Gaballes*, and *Vellaunians*, who were vnder the dominion of the *Auuernians*. To the *Sequanes*, *Senones*, *Biturigianes*, *Santorigeans*, *Ruthenes* and *Caruntes*, were appoynted twelue thousand men. To the *Bellouacanes* ten thousand, and as many to the *Limosines*. To the *Poicteuines*, *Tourangeans*, *Parisians*, and *Heluetians*, eight thousand to each. To the *Swessiones*, *Amiangeans*, *Mediomatricians*, *Petrocorians*, *Neruians*, *Morines*, and the *Nitiobrigrians*, fiue thousand to each. To the *Aulercians* and *Cenomanians* as many. To the *Atrebatians* four thousand. To the *Bellocassians*, *Lexobians*, and *Aulerks Eburones*, three thousand to each. To the *Rauracians* and *Boians*, two thousand a peece. To all the Citites that border vpon the Ocean, and (according to their manner) are called [a] *Armorica*, six thousand.

a The whole Countrey of little Britaine.

Heere we haue a view of the publique Councell, vniuersally obserued throughout Gaule, and one selfesame manner of behauiour, and answerable to the *Amphyctiones*, of assigning by a Councell publique, the estate and reuennewes of euery Citty. Notwithstanding, one onely man did not command ouer all these Companies: but there were foure captains, with whom were ioyned some Councellors of these Citties. *Cæsar* in the same place saieth; *That the whole charge of these affayres of the Empire, was giuen to Comius the* [b] *Atrebatian, to Viridomarus, to Eporedorix the Heduane, and to Vergasillanus of Auuergne, Cosine Germane to Vercingetorix by the mothers side: and vnto them were assigned certaine other chosen persons of the Citties, as Councellors for the warre.* Neuertheless, we may obserue, if in all the Gaulish Nations, the same estate of commonwealth was kept, as among the Celts, Belges, and Aquitanes.

4. Captains to ioyn with the other Councels.

b Artois in Belgica. *Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 7.*

In the time of the warre in Gaul, it neuer hapned, that the Celts kept the like ceremony of Councell: for the greater part of them wer associated with the Romaines, either by amity or alliance, or by what kind of dutie else, I know not. Notwithstanding, in the war of the [c] *Venetes*, a coniuration was made of the *Armorican* Citties, the [d] *Venetes*, the [e] *Ossisines*, the [f] *Lexobians*, the [g] *Nannets* or *Nannetians*; the [h] *Diablinters*, the [i] *Curiosolites*, the [k] *Vuellians*, the *Ambiliates*, and the *Eburones*. *Suddenly were Ambassadorus sent* (saieth *Iulius Cæsar* in his third booke) *and by aduice of their Princes & Noblemen, they conferred together, to do nothing without Councell, and to abide such disasters as Fortune should send vnto them, Soliciting the rest of the Cities, to choose rather to continue in the liberty which they had receyued from their Ancestors, then to endure the seruitude of the Romaines.* Neuertheless, the cheefe Head or Commander of all the Army, is not named by *Cæsar* in any part whatsoeuer. And yet in the publike councell of the *Belgians* (whereby was plainely and openly determined against *Cæsar*, the intire liberty of all *Gallia:*) the maine and eminent charge of the affaires (by the wil and consent of all men) was put on *Galba* King of the [k] *Swessiones*, as well in regard of his owne good deseruing, as for his wisedom and prouidence.

c The people of Vannes in Britaine.

d People of Landriguer in Britaine.

e Of Londull, in little Brittaine.

Of Nauntes in Britaine Britonant.

g Of Cornwel in little Brittaine.

h Of Perche.

i Of Aurãche in litle Brittaine.

k Of Liege in Belgica.

k The people of Soysons in Belgica.

In this warre at that time, the [l] *Bellouacanes* contributed to the number of three score thousand armed men; the *Swessions* fifty thousand; as many the *Neruians*; the *Atrebatians* fifteene; the *Ambians* ten; the *Morines* fiue and twenty; the [m] *Menapians* seuen; the *Caletines* ten; the *Velocassians* & *Veromanduans* as many; the *Aduaticians* nineteene; the *Condrusians*, *Eburones*, *Ceresians*, *Pemanians* (which al by one name are called *Germanes*) forty thousand. Here is to bee seene a Common Councell indeede, and therby likewise, the intire power and authority of euery Cittie. Such a coniuration also was amongst the Aquitaines, of whom *Cæsar* writeth thus. *Then the Aquitaines began to send foorth Ambassadors, and to enterchange Hostages, to muster men of warre, and to craue ayde of the* [n] Cantabrians *their Neighbors: as also to elect for their Captaines, certain men that had serued (all their time) with Q. Sertorius, & therefore were reputed to bee most expert in the actions of Armes.* It is then plaine and apparant by the places before alleadged; that the policy proposed by *Cæsar*, vvas not onely common to all Gaule: but likewise generally in recommendation to all the Nations.

l The people of Beauuoysin in Celtica.

m The people of Gelderlãd & Cleueland.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 4.

n The people of Biscay in Spaine.

The Celts did differ from the Gaules in the ceremony of Councell.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the forme of Gouernment obſerued in the Common-wealths of the ſeuerall Citties and Nations: and what their Rulers and Magiſtrates were: as alſo how they attayned to their authority.

The particular gouernement in euery Common-wealth of the Nations.

LET vs now particularly illuſtrate the Gouernments in the Commonwealths of the Nations and Citties of the people. And firſt of all, let vs ſpeake of the Celts, among whome the Heluetians haue beene reputed to be the moſt braue and valiant Nation. What adminiſtration & gouernment of Commonwealth hath beene obſerued in their cheefeſt City? The City of the *Heluetians* was ſituated betweene *Rhein* & *Rhone*, as alſo the Mountaine *Iura*, in a triangular forme or ſhape, hauing twelue towns, and foure hundred Villages, & the whole diuided into foure Regions: yet not for warre onely, but likewiſe for Iuſtice, and for doing right to all men. There were two, named by *Cæſar* himſelfe, * *Tigurine* and *Verbigenia*. Theſe Regions were as one Parliament, that had the whol charge of the affairs of the Realme, and for matters of conſequence, were wont to come into a publike Councell; where for the Election of a Prince, hapned a coniuration amongſt them of the Citie, to burne all their Townes, Burroughes, and Villages, to forſake their own limites, and by force to ſeize and ſurprize the kingdome of the Gaules.

The ſituation of the Heluetians in theyr Cities, townes and villages.

*The Canton of Zurich.

For the better execution of this enterprize, *Orgetorix*, one of the moſt apparant and Noblemen was made choiſe of; and this act declared at the firſt, euen a meere and certaine *Timocraticall* affliction. *Orgetorix* ouercome with a couetous affection of Soueraignty and reigning, imbraced this Conſpiracy: but the iſſue requireth obſeruation, after the matter came to be diſcouered. This happening to the knowledge of the Heluetians, by ſome preſumptions and coniectures; *Orgetorix* was taken priſoner, and they would haue compelled him (according to their manner) to confeſſe the truth: which if it fell out to be approued, their Law condemned him to be burned with fire. *Orgetorix* ſummoned to this Seſsions al his friends, kindred, and alliance, who were in number ten thouſand men, together with his ſeruants and debters, who were a great company, that they might aſsiſt in the caſe of iudgement. Hee preuayled ſo well by this multitude of men, that hee freed himſelfe from anſwering to his enditement, or diſcloſing vppon what occaſion hee was incited to this matter of conſpiracy.

Orgetorix ſupporteth his bad cauſe by power.

In the meane ſpace, while the Cittie (being offended) ſought to maintain the execution of their Lawes by the ſword, & the Magiſtrates muſtered men from all parts: *Orgetorix* dyed in priſon, not without ſuſpition (as the Heluetians imagined) of murthering himſelfe. *Kingdomes* (ſaith *Cæſar*) *were bought in Gaul, by ſuch as were moſt potent aud abounding in riches, and ſuch as had the meanes to command moſt men at their pay.* But what theſe kingdoms were, is eaſily to be coniectured, by the example of *Orgetorix*, and by others beſide, whereof we are to ſpeake hereafter. The Commonwealth then of the Heluetians, was parted in this manner by Regions, as at this day that of the Switzers is, who vſurp and make vſe of the borders of the Heluetians. Next, there were three great Cities of the *Heduans* and * *Aruernians*; let vs now ſuruey theſe Commonwealths, and firſt that of the *Heduanes*, who were the very braueſt and moſt valiant people, when *Cæſar* made his warre in Gaule. Let vs make a good obſeruation of this Common-wealth, and how (in three kindes of a iuſt and commendable gouernment) it was iudicially ordered & maintained.

Orgetorix thoght by the Heluetians to kil himſelfe in priſon. *Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib.* 1.

*People by the Riuer of Leyre in France

By a yearly election of Prieſts, in a certaine place, at a certaine time, & of diuers deſcents, amongſt the *Heduanes* was choſen one called a *Vergobret*, who had full power as a King, and abſolute authoritie of life and death; but he was not permitted to go forth of their iuriſdictions. *Cæſar* in his firſt booke, making mention of the *Heduanes*, ſpeaketh in this maner. *After he had ſummoned together the chiefe Noblemen and Princes in his Campe; amongſt whom were Diuitiacus and Liſcus, who at that*

The election year by yeare of a Vergobret among the Heduanes.

Iul. Cæſar in comment. Lib 1

that time was the cheefe Magistrate, and by the Heduanes called Vergobret, created yeare by yeare, & hauing power of life and death.

The Heduans in sedition about theyr Magistrate *Iul. Cæs. in comment. Lib. 7.*

The rest is reported in the seauenth Booke, where is declared how the Senate and people of the *Heduanes*, were in a great sedition about their Magistrate, for the appeasing whereof, *Cæsar* was called: these are his own words. *The Princes Ambassadors of the Heduanes, came to Cæsar & intreated him, that he would come to succour their Citie, especially in a time of such necessity, when their Common-wealth was in great danger. For whereas (in former time) they were wont to haue but one Magistrate yearely, who had authority Royall: now there were two that bare that Office, yet both making their vaunt, to bee created by order of Law. One of them was called* Conuictolitane, *a man in the floure of his youth, of great power, and well allyed: the other named himselfe* Cottus, *of a most ancient race, and one that was able to doe much: whose brother, named* Valetiacus, *had borne the same Office the yeare before. Moreouer they sayd, that all the Citty was vp in Armes, that the Senate and the people were diuided, each holding apart their seuerall factions: And if this mutinie should bee suffered for any long time among them, and no other means of help were affoorded, they would make prize and bootie of one another, and all must goe to generall ruine.*

Two Magistrates instead of one, Conuictolitane & Cottus.

Great dãgers grow out of particular variances.

Cæsar, though he knew it to be a dangerous matter, to forbeare his wars, and depart from his enemy: yet, in regard he was not ignorant what great inconueniences do grow out of such dissentions; and fearing withall, that such a Cittie, so well allyed to the Romane people, which he had alwayes maintained, and furnished with all things he could deuise; least also the part that was most distrustfull of him, should send for ayde to King *Vercingetorix*, he resolued to go thither, & preuent the perill betimes. And because, by the Lawes of the *Heduanes*, the cheefe Magistrate might not absent himself out of the countrey, as doubting thereby, that hee should diminish any part of their right & Lawes; hee went himselfe in person vnto them, and called before him al the Senat, and they also among whom the strife had happened. When the whole Cittie was (wel-neere) assembled together, and hee was fully informed, that by the consent of a few, priuily congregated together in an vnmeete place, and at an vnlawfull time; vnderstanding withal, that one brother had subrogated the other in his place, contrary to the lawes, which plainly did prohibite, that two of one Linage and family (being both liuing) should not onely bee disabled from creation in the Magistracie, but also not admitted into the Senat: *Cottus* was compelled to giue ouer his Office, and *Conuictolitane* (who according to the custome of the City, vpon the ceasing of the former Magistrats, had bene created by the Priestes) had the full authority appointed to him. *Cæsar* wrote all this himself, about the commotion of the *Heduanes*, whereby most clearly appeareth: that the royall dignitie was in the *Vergobret*, and the authority of the Seigneurie in the Senate; and finally, the *Democraticall* power in all the people.

Cæsar goeth in person, to appease the diffention amongst the Heduanes.

Cæsars sentence concerning this important difference.

But to know what, and how noble this City vvas, vve need no more then to look vpon so many Towns, as were in the protection of the *Heduanes*, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh in his Commentaries. Among them of greatest note in this Common-wealth, is *Bibract* named, whereunto *Cæsar* (as he writeth in his first booke) meant to go (as to the principal place of the *Heduane* Nation) to haue Corne of the *Heduanes*. And to this place (as it is recorded in his seauenth booke) *Litauicus* had withdrawne himselfe, because this vvas a Citie highly authorized among the *Heduanes*; and there the Magistrat *Conuictolitane*, with a great part of the Senat came vnto him. Thither also were all the hostages of Gaule brought, when *Cæsars* Guards vvere slaine at *Nouiodunum*. And there likewise vvas assigned the Councel of all Gaule, against *Cæsar:* and thither also (finally) *Cæsar*, after that he had recouered the *Heduanes*, betooke himselfe to winter for that season. This Citty (I say) was the very principal of the *Heduanes*, & (as the ambassador said in the Panegyrick of *Constantine*) it vvas after called *Iulia, Polia, Florencia, Flauia*. Moreouer (in his 7. book) [a] *Cabillone*, & [b] *Matiscon* on [c] *Arar*, are named among the *Heduanes*, and *Nouiodunũ* on [d] *Legere*. These that I haue named vvere their Tributaries, but their honors were the greatest in all Gaul. For the *Biturigias*, vvhere in elder times vvere the ancient Kings of the Gaules; the *Senones*,

Bibracte a cheefe Cittie among the Heduanes, & whereto Litauacus had made his retreate.

a The Towne of Chalons in Burgundy.
b The Riuer Soane.
c Matiscon, a city of Celtica by the Riuer Soane, now called Mascon, or Macon.
d Legere, Loyre.

§The People of Beauuoysine in Celtica.

and (by the same meanes) the *Parisians* (who were in the protection of the *Senones)* and the* *Bellouacanes*, are called by *Cæsar* their Clients, as being vnder their protection. So then, the City and Commonwealth of the *Heduanes*, had the most absolute authority in all Gaule anciently: according as hee hath written in his sixt Booke, but as wee may sooner see in his first booke; at all times it had the principality throughout Gaule, especially before it had aspired to the friendship of the Romane people. But after that the *Heduanes* were called Cosins and Brothers to the Romaines: what decrees of the Senate, how many times, and in what honourable manner were they pronounced on their behalfe? VVe see then, that such and so great a City of Celtick Gaul, hath had this *Democraticall* Common-wealth, and *Pliny* numbers it not among the Tributaries, but among the Cities allyed together.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6.

Plin. in Lib. 9. cap. 17. & 18

The Commonwealth of the Aruernians, and the extendure thereof.

Now, concerning the commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, it was sometime the cheefest of Gaule; for (anciently) there were two leagues throughout Gaule, as we reade in the first booke: the *Heduanes* were the ring-leaders of the one, and the *Aruernians* of the other. And *Strabo* hath related in his 4. booke, that that of the *Aruernians*, was more potent thē the other; extending their Seigneury so farre as the confines of the *Narbonians* and *Massilians* to the Pyrenean Mountaines, to the Ocean, and to the *Rheine*. In like manner he speaketh faithfully, concerning two cruell battailes of the Gaules, giuen vnder the conduct of *Bituitus* the *Aruernian:* and *Strabo* reporteth them in the same place, & *Titus Liuius* in his 61. booke. The one was against *Domitius*, at the confluent of *Sulgo* and of *Rhone*; and the other against *Fabius* at *Tisara* & the same *Rhone*: whereby we may plainly perceiue, that ther was the same forme of Common-wealth, as formerly we haue spoken of.

Strabo in lib 4. cap. 7.

The two famous batels of the Gaules.

Titus Liuius in lib. 61. cap. 10.

For the Romane Senate, as it is in the first booke, being willing that the vanquished Gauls, or repulsed (at least) from the confines of the Roman Prouince, should continue in their franchises and liberties: nay, which is more, to the end that Gaule might remaine in the greater libertie; ordained, that *Bituitus* himselfe (King of the *Aruernians*, according as *Titus Liuius* ter-

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 1.

meth him in his 61. book) who was gone to Rome to purge himselfe, shold be kept in guard within *Alba*: but *Congentiatus* his son was taken and brought to Rome. Afterward, *Celtilus* the Father of *Vercingetorix*, although he had held the principall place of all Gaule in a warre, yet notwithstanding, because hee pretended to make himselfe King, as it is the 7. booke, the City put him to death. *Vercingetorix*, by the meanes of his own people, was saluted as King of the *Aruernians*, and likewise it is said in the same book, that all the Gaules called him King: neuertheles, vpon the same occasion hee was charged with treason, and hee came in iudgement before them as soueraigne Iudges, and in the end, couetousnes in desire of rule, proued alike to the father and son.

Bituitus & his son Congentiatus sent to Rome to the Senate.

Vercingetorix and his father both put to death.

Thus the Kings were excluded out of the Commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, & they remained at liberty, euen to the time of *Cæsar*. And *Pliny* (in his time) remembreth it amongst the Cities of the *Celtes*, which were at freedom: and then it had no lesse protection, then they of the *Heduans* as is already made manifest by the numbring of military forces formerly declared. The city then of the *Aruernians* hath anciently bin the Lady ouer that of the *Heduanes*, and after that, the *Heduanes* affected rather to bee brethren and cosines of the *Romanes*, then of the *Aruernians:* they became like vnto them in habits and manners. And when at the last comming of *Cæsar*, the *Heduanes* were ouercome & spoiled by the Germaines, yet were they then far greater in forces. Finally, when (by the courtesie and fauor of *Cæsar)* the *Heduans* were not only replanted in their former condition, but it plainly appeared that they had more countenance and authority, then euer before: yet the other were equall to them, and alike in wealthie possessions. But in fauour and esteem thoroughout all Gaul, they were much greater, as the election of *Vercingetorix* hath sufficiently shewne. VVherefore we may perceiue, that the liberty of a Commonwelth remained in these two cities of *Celtike Gaul*. For the remainder of the other that were of meaner ranke, hee speaketh not so much as of any one King, or of a Prince: but only we heare no other name, then of the people, and of the City.

King expelled out of the Aruernians commonwealth.

The Heduans ransacked and spoiled by the Germaines.

The freedom of a commonwealth, in two Celtike Gaul Cities.

The city of the* *Senons*, was accounted among

*People of Sens in Celtica.

among the principals, and of great authority among the Celts. Of some store of Towns that were vnder it, *Cæsar* hath named two, *Agendecum* & * *Vellaunodunum*. *Cæsar* wrought by certaine meanes; that *Cauarinus* was their King; becauſe *Moritaſgus*, brother to *Cauarinus* and his anceſtors, had held the ſame authority in that realme; for *Cæsar* had vndertaken this colour, only to eſtabliſh a kingdome there. Neuertheleſſe, the *Senones*, although *Cæsar* was preſent, eſſayed by a counc l publike, to put *Cauarinus* to death. And as he (hauing intelligence thereof) fled away, they purſued him ſo far as the Frontiers, expelling him from his houſe & kingdom The commonwealth of the *Pariſians* was the like, by that which we reade in his 7. Booke. For the *Pariſians*, by a Common Councell of diuers Citties, vndertooke warre for the liberty of their country, electing *Camulogenus* to bee their commander, by reaſon of the experience he had in actions of Armes, and the good will they bare vnto him.

Carnutum alſo was a great City, as already hath bin ſhewn, & *Cæsar* wrought the like meanes to eſtabliſh a kingdome there. Among the *Carnutes* there was one *Taſgetius*, a mã deſcended of a great place and whoſe Anceſtors had held dominion in that City. *Cæsar* (as he ſaith himſelf) in regard of his vertue, and for the good wil he had found in him, becauſe he had bene a great helpe to him in all the wars, planted him in the ſame place which his Anceſtors had held. He had reigned but 3. yeeres, when his enemies being authorized by many men of the city, openly ſlew him. Theſe Cities then had their *Bruti*, as well as Rome. So *Cæsar* named the Senate of the *Eburones*, *Lexobians*, and *Venetes*. At the ſame time, *Teutomatus* vvas king of the * *Nitiobrigians*, but by a publike Councel of Gaul, hee yeelded obedience againſt *Cæsar*. This may ſerue as ſufficient, concerning the gouernment of the *Celts* Cities.

What then is to be ſaid of the Citties of the Belgians? By what manner of Empire were they particularly gouern'd? The extendure of the men of *Rhemes* was very great: becauſe it ioyned with the *Sequans*, *Mediomatrices*, *Treuirians*, *Veromanduans*, and the *Sweſſiones*. Notwithſtanding, in all theſe parts, he nameth but two towns or Cities, c *Durocottorum* and *Bibrax*. In the ſixt Booke, the councell of Gaule was aſsigned at *Durocottorum*; and in the ſecond booke *Bibrax* was beſiedged. Concerning the men of *Rhemes*, in the time of *Cæsar*, they hadde the managing of the Gauls, and held the ſecond place in dignity, next to the *Heduanes*. *Cæsar* nameth their Senate, and the Prince and Prouoſt of the city; as that *Vertiſcus*, whereof wee haue already ſpoken.

In the time of *Cæsar*, the *Sweſſiones* had *Diuitiacus* as their king, who was the moſt powerfull man in all Gaul, and who opened a great part on this ſide of the country which he helde, holding alſo the Empire of Great *Bretaigne*. After *Galba* (of whom he hath ſpoken) he ſucceeded. But vve may vvell perceiue hereby, what maner of kingdome this was: in regard that the *Sweſſions* (who vvere brothers & couſines to the men of *Rhemes*) vſed the ſame courſe of authority, and the ſame lawes, hauing one and the ſame Gouernement, and one Magiſtrate, as they had. For ſuch are the vvords of *Cæsar* himſelf, by vvhom one only Magiſtrate vvas allowed in their cities. But yet notwithſtanding, the *Sweſſiones*, although they were brethren; yet they had a field (apart) of great largeneſſe, and very fertile, and twelue towns, vvher of *Cæsar* nameth onely one, vvhich is *Noviodunum*, and vvhich *Cæsar* (after the *Belgians* vvere retired to him) paſsing thorough the countrey, eſſayed to ſurprize. But hee could not compaſſe it, by reaſon of the deepneſſe of the ditch, and heighth of the wall: and yet there vvere but verie few people to defend it.

We come now to the *Bellouacanse*, what kind of commonwealth vvas kept among them? Theſe men vvere highly eſteemed vvith the Belgians, for their vertue, authority & number of people. For their extendure vvas from the limits of the *Sweſſions*, & alſo frõ the *Normans*, ſo termed at this day (euen there vvhere the riuer of b *Seine*, throvves it ſelfe into the ſea) ſo far as *Calete*, knovvn by the name of *Callice*. *Cæsar* nameth *Bratuſpantium*, a city of the *Bellouacanes*. But by vvhat forme of commonvvealth did they gouern their city? They choſe their Princes, as (among other) *Corbus*, vvho though his Army had bin defeated; yet vvould he neuer for any diſcomfort hapning, or poſsible to befal hm; nei-

* Villenuf in Loraine.

Cauarinus K. of the Senons but expulſed by them.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. lib. 7.
The common wealth of the Pariſians.

The Citie Chartres in Lionnois.

Taſgetius K. of the Carnutes, ſlain by his enemies.

z People of Mount-pelier in Celtica.

The common wealth obſerued among the Belgians.

c The City of Rhemes in France.

Diuitiacus K. of the Sweſsiones, and held the Empire of Great Britain

A Towne in Belgica, neere to Paris, calld Noyon.

Belgart. 68. diſceſſum.

b Riſing nere the borders of Langres, and low Bourgundy.

ther forsake the fight, nor retire into the woods, but fought valiantly, & in wounding many, compelled his conquerors to runne in vpon him, and so to kill him in their rage and fury. *Cæsar* also maketh mention of the Senate of the *Bellouocanes*, and authority of the Comminalty: whēce ensued the excuse, which the Senate of the *Bellouacanes* made to *Cæsar*: *That during the life of Corbus the Senate had neuer the like power in the City, as the common ignorants had.*

The Senate & Comminaltie of the Bellouacanes.

But now concerning the most potent Cittie of the * *Neruians*, after what manner of order wer they gouerned? The body of the *Neruians*, is diuided into members of diuers names, as of *Hannonia*, *Flāders*, and *Brabant*, and the name of the *Neruians* signifieth no more then a Citie or Towne, including (as now adayes our words are) of *Hannoyers*, *Flemings*, & *Brabanders*. And why you may aske mee? Whereto I can make no other answere, then as already I haue done, when as the *Neruians* had neither Towne or City: but I will discourse the bounds and limites of that sometime most noble Citty, according as *Cæsar* himselfe hath described it; obserue then what I shall say vnto you.

*People inhabiting about Tournay in Belgica.

Hannoyers, Flemings and Brabanders.

When the *Ambians* had submitted themselues, *Cæsar* went thither, to goe to the *Neruians* which were theyr Neighbors. And hauing made three daies iourney into the Country of the *Neruians*, he found by report of some that hee had taken: that there was no more then tenne miles distance from his Campe to the riuer * *Scaldis*. This *Scaldis*, which passed thorough the middest of the Neruians Country, runneth now through the middest of *Henault*: wherefore the Countrey of the *Hannoyers*, is comprehended within ŷ of the *Neruians*. Of *Cæsar* himselfe wee may learne the limites of the countrey of *Flanders*, which is in firme land, and also of *Brabant*, for there is a passage in the fift book, which maketh well to this purpose. VVhen *Ambiorix* (after that *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, Lieutenants Generals, were ouercome with a Legion and fiue Companies neere to *Vatuca*, which is in the *Eburones* land) exhorted the *Neruians* to doe the like to the Legion that passed the winter season to their country, vnder the charge of *Quintus Cicero*. *Hee perswaded easily* (saieth *Cæsar*) the *Neruians*, *and thereupon dispatched messengers immediately to the Centrones, Grudians, Leuakes, Pleumosians and Gordunes, who were all vnder their obedience, and ioyned together the greatest forces that they were able to make*. These are the very words of *Cæsar*. But the *Grudians* & *Leuakes* were enskirted with *Louane*, in the Countrey of *Brabant*; and the *Gordunes* (as much to say as the men of *Gaunt*) were in the Mediterrane countrey of *Flanders*. Likewise the *Pleumosians*, whom some doe hold to be them of *Cortroy*: And they that are of this opinion, do plant the *Centrones* in the Dioceese of *Liege*.

Cæsar his iourny to the Neruians.

*The Riuer Skeld, running through Tornay & falling into the Maze.

Iul. Cæs. in com. ment. Lib. 5.

Centrones, Grudians, Leuakes, Pleumosians and Gordunes.

This so great Commonwealth of the *Neruians*, and which was of such large extendure, elected a Prince, such as *Boduognatus* was in the first warre of the *Neruians*. It had also a very great Senat, for *Cæsar* reckoneth vp sixe hundred Senators of the *Neruians*. After that the *Atrebatians* were vanquished, *Cæsar* gaue them *Comius* (who was of the same countrey) to bee their King: that is to say, that of a Prince, which was but for a time, he created one that should continue. Hee maintained the franchises of the City, & gaue to them their laws and rights, and annexed the * *Morines* to his Empire. Neuertheless, this King enioyed his authoritie no long while, for after that the *Atrebatians* had put themselues vnder *Cæsars* obeysance: his sway ceased, & *Comius* bare Armes against *Cæsar* again. The *Eburones* then also had two Kings, *Ambiorix* & *Catuulcus*; but their authority was such, that the commons had no lesse commād ouer them, then they had to contradict them.

The Prince & Senate of the Neruians.

*The people of Tirwin in Belgica, or (as Iosephus Molet sayth) the Flemings.

The commonwealth of the *Morines* was answerable to that of the Heluetians, althogh it was diuided by diuers villages, & had extendure farre off ftom them: as to *Callis*, and all along the coast of *Piccardie* and *Flanders*, in the Forrests & marishes; euen so far as the * *Menapians*, who dwell vppon the confluent of *Rheine*, as also of the *Meuze* or *Maze*, and who were their neighbors, as is to be seene in the *Teuctbers* war, in the 4. booke. But the *Treuirians*, as well for a kinde of gouernement, (wherein they were very skilfull) as also for the occasion of tumult and sedition, very frequent among them; resembled in quality the *Heduans*. *Cingetorix* and *Indiciomarus* quarrelled for the principalitie, euen

*The people of Gelderland & Cleueland, or of Iuliers in Belgia.

euen as did ỹ other two, *Conuictolitane* & *Cottus*, but *Cæsar* seated again *Cingetorix* as he had done *Conuictolitane*. Thus the gouernment of the Belgian Citties, were mingled with three formes of estates.

The* *Santone Aquitaines* seemed to bee gouerned by such a kind of cõmonwealth. For that City, when she made proofe of her own vertue, by fighting both on foot and horseback, and well to sustaine all assaults in her own defence: she rendred hir necke to such authority. But *Adcantuanus* their Prince (of his owne power) stept in to do his duty, and sallied forth with 600 **Soldures*, or *Soldurij*. Wherefore I think that the gouernment of the Gauls Commonweales, hath bin already sufficiently explicated, and by so many examples, as we may well conclude, that the principalities of the Gaules (according to *Cæsar*) were such, as wold not suffer that the subiects should be oppressed or circumuented; but if any Prince did otherwise, hee helde no authority amongst his subiects. VVe haue spoken then enough of the gouernment and authority obserued among the ancient Gaules.

Let vs now listen vnto the Commonwealth of *Great Britaine*, and that likewise of the Germains. There is mention made in the fourth Book, concerning the Princes of the Britains, with their conferences and consultations held among thẽselues, for the common good of *Great Britaine*. And in the fift booke, the common councell is obserued by *Cæsar*; and that the whole charge and command of warre against *Cæsar*, was put into the power of *Cassibelane*, and the diuersity of Kinges which were subiect vnto that common Councell, doe sufficiently declare, that *Great Britaine* vsed the same kinde of gouernment that Gaule did. *Cæsar* also deliuereth (almost) the very same gouernement of the Germaines. *When a Commonwealth* (sayth he) *either endured war made vpon it, or attempted any, Magistrates were elected to vndertake the charge of the war, and they might also take or saue life. In times of peace, there was no common Magistrate, but the Lordes of the Countries, and of the Burroughes, who exercised law to their vassals, and appeased all their contentions.*

In the time of *Tacitus*, *Germany* had some Kings: but they were such as had more honor then power; in other matters they were like to the Gauls manners. *They made Kings* (saith he) *for their Nobility, and Captaines for their vertue. Nor had those Kings any vndefined or free power, & the Captaines were obeyed more by example, then by command: either, whether they were deliberated; in sight, or doing their deuoyre vpon the point, making wonderfull proofe of their prowesse.* As concerning the Captaines or Princes (as the same Author relateth) & likewise for them, termed companions of the Princes, thus it followeth.

The Princes also they elect in the publike Councels, which doe hold the iurisdiction of Burroughes and villages. Euery man hath an hundred Companions, who are of the popularity, and doe giue assistance vnto them in Councell together, and also in their Authority. A Noble or generous stock of fame, whose high deserts of theyr Fore-fathers, doe challenge to haue the dignity of a Prince, amongst the younger sort of people: They are accompanied with other of more robust complexion; and such as haue had (long time) good proofe made of them: and yet they blush not a iotte, to bee seene amongest such Companions, albeit there are some degrees in this companie, according to his iudgement whom they follow. VVhy then I may safely say of the Germaines (according to *Tacitus*) that their Magistrates haue bin answerable to their Kings, Captaines, or Princes, and likewise to them called the Companions of Princes.

I come againe vnto the Knights of the Gaules, which (in the times of warre) haue the managing of the affayres. *And these Knights* (thus saith *Cæsar* in his fift book) *when there is neede, and any warre hapneth: they are all employed, and according as each man hath authority and meanes, so hath hee most seruants and clyents about him, & this is the onely fauour and power that they doe know.* Heerein is continued the ancient Gaules manner, for election of Magistrates, and we may learne by a new argument: that the Gaules Princes were chosen for their Vertues, and for their deserts towards the Common-wealth, and that this eminencie came from Vertue onely. *For euery Prince would not suffer his subiects to bee oppressed, nor deceyued* (so hath *Iulius Cæsar* formerly said) *but if hee should do otherwise, he must beare no authority among his people.* And hereto doth this

The people of Santone in Aquitaine.

*Soldurij (as Cæsar sayth) were in the Gaulish Language, such kinde of men, as destinied & vowed themselues to the amity of any, to take part in all their good or bad Fortunes.

Cæsar in comment lib 4. & 5

Great Britain had the same gouernement as Gaule, and the Germains very little differing.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap: 7.

Concerning Kings & Captaines among the Germans, and the Companions of Princes.

The election of their Princes.

The stronger ought alwaies to helpe the weaker.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. lib. 6. The knightes of the Gaules. The words of Cæsar himself

iuſtly make anſwer: That this is the onely fauour and power which the Knightes knowe, if according as they haue moſt meanes and authoritie, ſo they ſhall haue the more ſeruants, and the more Clients about them.

The differēce betweene ſeruants and clients.

By ſeruants or vaſſailes, are meant ſuch as ſtand obliged or indebted (of whom I haue formerly ſpoken) and who, vppon that occaſion are dedicated to the ſeruice of thoſe Knights: for, theſe vaſſals ſerue as Waggoners to their Maſters, and carry their ſhields. And the Clients (as it is in the ſeauenth Booke) neuer dare, euen in the extreamity of all misfortune, forſake or leaue their Lords. Thus then the vaſſals or ſeruants, do accompanie theyr Knights and Maſters in warre, and the Clients doe attend on their Lords, and theſe are the companions of the *Germans*, whereof *Tacitus* ſpeaketh, as already hath bene ſaide.

Strife for popularitie, and eminency in the Princes fauour.

There is great iealouſie amongſt theſe companions, who ſhall haue the cheefeſt place about his Prince: and amongſt the Princes, who ſhalbe followed by the moſt and beſt companions or attendants. It is held a high dignity, to bee dayly rounded with a great troope of young and choyſe men: it is an honour in time of peace, & ſecurity in time of warre. This honor, and this glorie is not onely in euerie Nation, but euen in the neighbouring Cities, coueting as much to be accompanied with ſuch a company of men, as with ſo manie vertues. Whereof practiſe is made by Ambaſſages, and plenty of preſents ſent; nay, oftentimes, they will vndertake Armes, for the bare name to be termed a ſouldier. When a man is in the fight, it is ſhame to a Prince to be ſurmounted in vertue: and it is a more ſhame to his follower, if he doe not equall the Vertue of his Prince. It is a moſt infamous & ſhame full thing, and not to be waſhed off in a mans whole life time, to return from the battell, his Prince being there ſlaine. The principall Oath that he takes, is to defend and ſuſtaine him, and if he doe any braue or worthy acte in his owne perſon, to referre it to his Princes glory onely. Princes fight for victory, companions and followers fight for their Prince. *Tacitus* writeth: *The Prince recompenceth ſuch as follow him: for they receiue* (ſaith he) *from the Princes liberality: this Horſe of ſeruice, that victorious and bloudied Sword: for ſuch Bankets, although they are not properly ſerued, yet are they ſumptuous to them, & men are well contented with ſuch wages.*

Princes and their followers ſhould be alike in theyr vertues.

Corn. Tacit. in l. 5. c. 11.

But can you tell me, what were the recompences of the Knights amongeſt the Gauls, and who managed this other part of their Common-wealth? As for the recompence of the *Druydes*, it hath bin ſpoken of already; which was honor, the greateſt payment that could be, and only proper to vertue. Neuertheleſſe, the Common-wealth it ſelfe could not be ingratefull towards them in recompences: conſidering that there were Impoſts & Tolles, which appertained to each Cittie, as is to be ſeene in the firſt Book, and their greatneſſe of Tribute, in the ſixt Booke. *Tacitus* hath declared among the Germaines, what worthy recompences were performed to Princes. Cities had a cuſtome, to collect (with their owne good liking) by the poll or head, either of their cattle, or of their fruites, to giue to their Princes: which being receiued as an honor, ſerued alſo to ſupply neceſsity. Aboue all, they tooke delight in preſents giuen by theyr neighbouring Nations, not onely by particular perſons, but in general: as of choiſe Horſes, faire Armours, trappings for ſeruice, and alſo of Chaines. And ſince then they haue taught vs to accept of mony.

Recompences to the Gaules Knightes for their ſeruices.

Recompences to Princes amongſt the Germaines.

But let vs purſue other manners of the Gaules Common-wealth. *Cæſar* doth often accuſe the infirmity of the Gauls, becauſe in aduice they were ſodain and mutable: but eſpecially in this place of his 4. Booke. *There is a common cuſtome* (ſayth he) *amongſt them, to compell paſſengers or way-faring men, to ſtay whether they will or no, and to enquire of them, what each man hath heard, or knoweth of euery matter what ſoeuer. The popular and common people, they flocke about Merchants in the Citie, and conſtrain them to tell, out of what countries they come, and what things they knowe, or haue heard of there.* The ancient Gauls, had not onely this wonderful deſire, to know matters of nouelty: but beſides, that they ſhould be imparted, and made knowne to them and theirs.

Cæſar his blaming the Gaules for their variablenes & raſhneſſe. *Iul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.*

I will ſet downe two examples of ſome admiration, the firſt is in the fift booke, of the victorie which *Iulius Cæſar* had againſt the Neruians. *During the bruite of Cæſars victory* (this he writes himſelfe) *the*

Cæsars victory of the Neruians. *Iul.Cæs.in com lib.5.*

the men of Rhemes (with incredible ſwiftneſſe) carried tidings thereof to Labienus, inſomuch, that whereas he was about threeſcore miles from the Garriſon of Cicero, and that Cæſar came thether after the ninth hour of the day: yet notwithſtanding, there aroſe ſuch a cry or noiſe before the gates of the Campe, and before it was midnight; that the men of Rhemes (onely thereby) gaue vnderſtanding to Labienus of the victory, & made a ſigne of their reioycing with him. But the other is an eſpeciall, and moſt notable cry or noiſe, when the Romanes were ouerthrowne at *Genabum* before Sun-ſetting: yet before the firſt watch was ſet, the cry was heard to the *Aruernians*, the noiſe running through all the Townes of *Gaul*, as *Cæſar* affirmeth in his ſeuenth Booke. For ſo ſoone as any important matter happened, by a cry they made it knowne in the fields, and ſo along thorough the Countries, and ſtill as it was heard, others ſent it in like manner to their neighbours, and according as it came to them. And that which had bene done at *Genabum* before Sun-ſetting, was knowne in the confines of *Aruerne* before the firſt watch, & yet the diſtance was aboue an hundred & ſixty miles. So ſaith *Cæſar*, and haply it may ſeeme, that that ſingular deſcription of Fame, which is ſet downe in *Virgill*, tooke hence the firſt originall.

Strange cries and noiſes obſerued among the Gaules.

Virg.in lib.9. de Aeneid.

Fame, an euill, vnmatchable in ſwiftneſſe,
Is ſudden, mouing, gadding with raſhneſſe.

Rumor is cõmonly a babling lyar.

Cæſar deſcribeth the like celerity and effect of this cry, as *Virgill* doth of Fame. This concerneth the bruite and cries among the *Gaules*, whereby being moued, they often held Councels of important matters: wherof (not long after) they repented themſelues, in regard they gaue credite to vncertaine novſes, and found them in the end to be nothing but fables, But hee that thus reproued the common people of Gaule of lightneſſe; commended their conſtant & politicall wiſedome.

Iulius Cæſar in comment. Lib.6

Thoſe Citties (ſaith he) *which are accounted to gouern beſt their Commõ-weals, haue their Lawes, which ordaine, that if a man that hath heard any thing of his neighbour (eyther by report or otherwiſe) concerning the eſtate of the Common-wealth: he is to impart the ſame to the Magiſtrate, and not to any other whatſoeuer. Becauſe it hath bin oftẽ ſeen, that raſh-headed men, and of ſmall vnderſtanding, are affrighted by falſe noiſes, or prouoked on to vnhappy attempts, and (dreadleſſe) enter into important enterprizes. The Magiſtrate concealeth what he thinketh fitteſt; and diſcouereth to the Commons, any matter needfull to be knowne.*

A good obſeruation to preuent ydle rumors.

This laſt paſſage of *Cæſar*, refuteth (very ſtrongly) popular ſeruitude, for it teſtifieth, that euen in thoſe Cities, which gouerned beſt their Common-weales: that yet the Commons haue their authority, becauſe the Magiſtrate imparteth to the people, what is neceſſary for thẽ to know. *Strabo* auoucheth in his fourth Book, that this was alſo vſed in the Councels of the Gaules. *If any one* (ſaith he) *did interrupt him that ſpake: the publike Miniſter ſtept vp with a drawne ſword, and vſing threatnings to the party, commanded him to hold his peace. If he would not do it, he aduertiſed him in the ſame manner a ſecond and third time. In the end, he would cut off ſuch a peece of his garment, as the reſt ſhould afterward do him no ſeruice.* *Tacitus* expreſſeth it more plainly, as hee doth many other things; concerning the manner of electing Magiſtrates, and the Councels kept among the Germanes.

Popular ſeruitude reproued by Cæſar

Strabo in Lib.4 cap.7.

The Princes (ſaith hee) *hold a Councell, wherein matters of meaneſt importance, and ſuch alſo as are of greateſt conſequence, are handled together: And yet in ſuch manner, that thoſe affaires which appertaine vnto the people, are managed and ordered by the Princes. They aſſemble together (if there happen no ſudden accident or aduenture) on certaine daies, either at the new Moone, or the full of the Moone: For they beleeue, that thoſe ſeaſons are moſt happy to treate on ther affaires. And they do not make their account by the daies, as we vſe to doe, but by the nights. The fault enſuing on their liberty, is, that they are not altogether on the day aſsigned: but two or three daies is loſt, to attend for ſuch as ſlacke to come.*

Corn. Tacit. in li.5.cap. 3

Ceremonial daies of meeting for generall conferẽce

The ſame Authour declareth another ſtrange thing of the Germanes, affirming, that many times they deliberate at Banquets, to reconcile enemies, to make alliances, and to gaine grace of Princes, yea, euen then to conſult of peace or warre: becauſe as then (rather then at any other time) they haue their ſpirits moſt open, eyther to ſimple thoughts, or more earneſt to them of greater importance. This Nation,

Matters conſulted on at Banquets by the Germans.

Nation, which is neyther ſubtile nor cautelous, will diſcouer the ſecrets of their ſoules in ieſting manner: for the minde being naked and diſcouered, bethinks it ſelfe better on the day following, & then hath more regard to eyther time. They deliberate when they know no diſſembling, and determine when they cannot erre. Such alſo was the cuſtome of the Country, when the Gaules helde their chiefeſt conſultations: as hath already bene declared, in the leuying of their men for warre.

Tit. Liu. in li. 31 Decad. 6.

Titus Liuius, ſpeaking of the Gaules, reporteth the ſame in his one and thirtieth Booke, ſaying. *Then is ſeene in them a new and terrible apparance, becauſe (according to the cuſtome of their Nation) they are armed when they come to Councell.*

The ancient Gaules came armed to Councell.

Why then the *Pallas* of the ancient Gauls, came herſelfe armed to the Councell: and becauſe they would not do any thing, but it ſhould expreſſe the courage of the *Gauls*, their aſſemblies were alwayes made by ſound of Trumpet. For *Hirtius* writeth ſo of the *Bellouacanes* Senate, hauing knowne their misfortunes by all contrary things. *Corbus* being ſlaine, all their Cauallery ouerthrowne, and the very valianteſt of their foote-ſouldiers, when they thought that the Romans drew nere vnto them; then ſuddenly they aſſembled a Councell by ſound of Trumpet, crying all with one voyce, to ſend Ambaſſadors and Hoſtages to *Cæſar*.

The garments of the german ſitting in coũcell.

What ſhall wee ſay of the Germanes? What garments did they weare whẽ they came to councell? *They did not any thing* (ſaith *Tacitus*) *neither in affaires publike or particular, but all in Armes. They went armed about their daily negotiations, and came in the ſame manner to their Banquets.* Blame not then the councels of the Gaules to be done in Armes: for the Romane Oratour could ſay in his owne Language.

Let Armes giue place to Gownes.

The habits of Warre and Peace.

Becauſe Armes are the accouſtrements of Warre, and the Gowne is the habite of Peace, followed and attended on by Eloquence. And when the Court of Rome was enuironed with ſouldiers of Armes, at the pleading of * *Milo*: the ſpirit therof was not onely terrified, but the whole body alſo trembled with feare. But Eloquence vnited it ſelfe with the Armes of the Gaules, ſo that there wanted not at one time and place, both Commanders of warre, and learned Orators: for the Gaules Orators (by the irradiation of Armes) were encouraged to ſpeake the more brauely. Princes were pleading Orators in the Gaules councels, where (in generall) all might heare, that had intereſt in the caſe in queſtion, as is euident by the examples of *Cæſar*.

Princes were pleading Orators.

Among the Germanes (ſaith *Tacitus*) *in publike Councels, the King or Prince, according to his age, according to Nobility, according to the place for warre, and according to his readineſſe in vtterance: was much rather heard for authority in perſwading, then any power in commanding. It was alſo permitted in a full Councell, to accuſe of crimes deſeruing death.* The cry or noiſe of the people, by liſtening fauourably, or otherwiſe: ſignified to the Romane Orators, that their Oration had found good or bad ſucceſſe. But the counſell of the Gaules, which was made in Arms, as it was reaſonable; made a ſigne by their Arms (although the clattering of weapons was a ſigne among the Gaules) how they tooke liking of that which had beene ſaid. *Cæſar* writeth ſo in his 7. Booke, ſpeaking of the Oration of *Vercingetorix*: *All the people made a cry* (ſaith he) *and according to their cuſtome, made a clattering with their Armes, as they do, when they approue the Oration of any man.*

Corn. Tacit. in li. 9. cap. 9

Iulius Cæſar in comment. Lib. 5

Marcellinus declareth in his 21. Booke, that after *Iulian* had made his Oration: the Army of the Gaules applauded him, and mingled dreadfull cries, among the loud claſhings of their Targets. The Gaules conſultations were in Armes; their Orations were approued by Armes, and the oath they take, was vpon Armes. The *Caruntes* (as it is in the 7. Booke) promiſed in a full councell of the Gaules, that they would be chiefeſt in the warre againſt *Cæſar*, and becauſe they could not in fielde giue aſſurance by the meanes of Hoſtages, fearing how matters might come about: to the end that all might be certaine and ſworne, after they had brought together al their Enſignes of warre (as alwaies they vſed to do in very ceremonious manner) they requeſted, that they wold begin the war, and the other would not forſake them. And in the ſame Booke there is a moſt holy oath, to aſſure the battel giuen by

Marcel. in l. 21.

The Caruntes in the war againſt Cæſar

* The Roman that was defended by *Tully.*

A sacred oath made in war in open field.

by the horsemen. They on horse cry altogether, that this holy oath may be imposed on euery man: Neuer to be receiued into his house; neuer to goe backe to his parents, nor to his wife, vntill hee haue twice thwarted ouer the enemies armies. Wherto that of *Marcellinus* conformeth, speaking of *Iulian*: All were commanded to sweare in his Name, & setting solemnly the points of their swords vnto their throtes, made execrable oathes and curses on themselues, if they brake their vowes.

But now it is time to finish our discourse. Hauing thus reported the manners and customes of ancient Gaule, the temperance of the peoples liues, their assurance in dangers, their wisedome in artes and disciplines, their iustice, in ruling and establishing the best meanes, for good ordering and gouerning their common-wealth: There remaineth now no more, but if we can recouer the like leysure (hauing finished some other studies already entred on) we hope to proceed in the manners and customes of our new Gaules or Frenchmen, which will yeelde the more delight and pleasure, because the subiect is of a farre more excellent nature.

The Authors conclusion of his long labor

The End of the first Booke.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the new Gaules, or thoſe that are called (now adaies) Frenchmen, or the people of France, ſucceeding after their Predeceſſors, the Ancient Gaules.

AS among all parts of the Earth, *Europe*, (though it is the leaſt) holdeth the verie cheefeſt rancke, as beeing the principall, and moſt worthy: So it is not to bee doubted, but that among all the Countries of Europe, *France* muſt needs be the moſt excellent in al reſpects. The people of *Arabia* that now are, haue a cuſtomary kinde of ſaying, that if the world were a Ring, the Citty of *Ormuz* muſt bee the Beaziell, Collet or Head, wherein the moſt precious Stone is to be enchaſed. By much better reaſon then, may it lawfully be ſaide of *France*, and a true ſaying:

France the cheefeſt country of Europe

Ronſard in Cant. 5.

It is the leſſer eye, & the Pearle of the world.

As one of her owne Poets formerly hath ſung. Which no way can be accounted ſtrange, when conſideration is iuſtly made, of the great bleſsings, commodities, and graces of Heauen, wherwith the Land is and hath beene endowed. For there is nothing elſe found to be compared therewith; be it if we regard the fertility and aboundance of all things, not onely neceſſary for the life of man, but alſo for all ſorts of pleaſures and delights. Bee it alſo, for the ſweetneſſe, temperature, & amenity of the Ayre: not hauing any other, more graciouſly regarded by the eie of the Sunne. No leſſe commendable (for valour) is the courage and ſpirit of the people, which haue inhabited there to this preſent time, who not onely haue extended their renowne through all Lands habitable: but alſo haue excelled in whatſoeuer can bee applied to the height of minde.

France aboũding in the fertility of all things.

Aboue all (as moſt admirable) is the dignity, greatneſſe, and Maieſty of their Kings, redoubtable and exalted (for their vertues truely heroycall) aboue all other on the earth. In this excellency then, ther are three things to be diſcourſed: the firſt is that of the Land it ſelfe; the ſecond is of the People; and the third is of their Kings, which reſult as well from the two Precedents, as from their owne proper vertue.

The Maieſty and dignity of the Kings of France.

The three arguments of this inſtant diſcourſe.

Concerning the goodnes of the Land, it were an infinite labour to expreſſe ſo many bleſsings, and all things elſe which it produceth, euen of beſt vſe for the life of man, and that in ſuch aboundance, as ſufficeth not only for the people; but alſo are imparted and diſperſed to other Nations, without any incommodity to it ſelfe, and (in a manner) not to bee diſcerned. The fat fields, couered with good wheate and all graines elſe of any kinde, filles the Graũges & Garners euery harueſt ſeaſon. The Mountaines and Hilles, cloathed with goodly Vineyards, which bring foorth moſt healthfull and delicate wines: & almoſt euery where ſtored with all kinde of fruite trees. There is not a iote of vnprofitable Land, all is laboured and husbanded, or ſerues for paſturage for feeding beaſts, which cauſeth ſuch plenty of all ſorts of fleſh. There ye may likewiſe behold goodly VVoods & Forreſts, filled with all kinde of game and Veniſon. Moſt excellent Flax & Hempe, wherof cloth is made in great aboundance. Dyers woad alſo, Scarlet holme-oake, Saffron, with many

The goodnes and excellency of the Country.

Cornes.

Wines.

Fruites.

Paſtures.

Woods and Forreſts.

Flax & Hemp.

many ſingular Plants and Hearbs, not onely for Medicine, but alſo nouriſhable.

Nauigable & fiſhing riuers.

Heereto I may adde, the admirable ſight of great and goodly Riuers, both nauigable, and abounding with fiſh, diſperſing themſelues through France, as veines in the body of man: making the mid-land Regions as apt for commerce, as thoſe on the Sea-coaſts. Beſide a great number of other waters, great Pooles & Pondes, Fountaines, and cleere running Riuers, all meruailous and delectable.

Houſes, Cities, Townes, and Villages.

Then haue yee goodly houſes and buildings; an infinite number of rich and great Cities, Townes, Burroughs, Villages, Caſtels, and other Edifices. Moreouer, greater plenty of people, then in any other Region of the world.

The great plenty of people.

This is that which is ſo much wondred at by ſtrangers, who haue thought France to bee a terreſtriall Paradiſe: making more account (in this caſe) then Frenchmen do themſelues, becauſe it is ſo ordinary and frequent vnto them. But to ſuch as haue ſayled into farre remote ſtrange Countries, or otherwiſe haue had intelligence of them: they hold it a happineſſe to themſelues, to ſee the felicity of France ſo farre beyond other, and therby to know their owne good. All theſe graces might much better bee acknowledged, if we did but ſeuer and conſider them particularly.

Of Wheate & other Corne.

Firſt, for Wheate and other Corne, which is the principall ſuſtentation, to maintaine and ſtrengthen the bodye of man: it encreaſeth and aboundeth ſo in *France* (and that of the beſt that can bee) more then in any part of the world, and likewiſe all other ſorts of graine. It is not a time now to acknowledge ſo great a happineſſe, for wee ſee that our Elders haue better knowne and felt it, when the Land was not throughly ſo well husbanded and tilled. As wee diſcerne by that which is written by *Strabo*, *Iulius Solinus Polyhiſtor*, & *Pomponius Mela*, who ſpeake thereof expreſſely. Alſo *Cicero* reporteth, that (in his time) was brought to Rome, and into Italy, great quantities of Corne from the Gaules. *Pliny* the Great hath alſo obſerued the ſame, for ſpeaking of the Corne of *France*, he ſaith: *That it was moſt cleane Corne, and that it yeelded foure pound of Bread, more then any other.* It is well known in theſe dayes, that *Spaine* furniſheth herſelfe with the Wheate and Graine of *France*, and that it is to her as a nurſing Mother. And *Portugall* it ſelfe, which is deſcribed to bee one of the moſt happy and fertile countries of the Spains, hath recourſe to *France*: as we may ſee by ỳ which *Ozorius* ſaith, a Portugall Biſhop of *Sylues*; & the ſame is reported likewiſe by others, who haue written of Relations.

Strabo in lib. 4. Polyhiſt: cap. 44 Pomponius Mela in lib. 3. ca. 2 Cicero pro Fonteio.

Plin. in lib. 18. cap. 7. Nitidiſſimi grani, & quatuor libris plus panis reddere, quam far aliud.

Of the plenty of Wines.

And for Wines, the country is no leſſe fruitfull, in producing ſuch as are very good, and in great affluence. This hath alſo beene confeſſed by our Ancients, according to the teſtimonie of *Solinus* and *Pliny*, who renowne *Bituricam vitem*. Perhaps this may be interpreted, not of *Bourges*: but of the wine about *Bordeaux*, whereof the people are called *Bituriges Viuiſci*. He ſpeaketh alſo of the wine of *Beziers*, whereto hee giueth the cheefeſt place among all them of Gaule. And *Iulian* the Emperor ſaid, that there were good vines in the grounds of *Paris*. Behold how *Columella* makes his moane, at that which the Italians did, for planting of Vines: forſaking their owne country, they went to ſeek in the delicate grounds of *France*, in the Iſles *Cyclades*, and thoſe of *Andolouzia*. Whereby we may perceiue, that he equalleth the grounds of France and their wines, with them of *Muſcadella*, *Greeke*, and of *Spaine*.

Of the plenty of Wines. Polybiſt cap. 24 Biturican vitẽ. Plin. in li. 14 cap. 2. Bituriges Viuiſci. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 6.

In Miſopogone. ρύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄμπελος ἀγαθή. In præfat. lib 1. de re Ruſt. Vindemias condimus ex inſulis Cycladibus ac regionibus Gallicis Ecticiſq;

Pliny ſaieth, that in Italy they highly eſteemed the Grapes of France, making mention alſo of a certaine kinde of admirable Grape there growing; which daily turneth it ſelfe to the Sunne, like as the *Heliotropium* doth, and therefore is called after the Greeke word *Streptos*. Wine is tranſported from France to Rome, which is there accounted very delicious: eſpecially, that which is gathered in the grounds of *Vienna*, which they call *Picatum*, as *Plutarch* declareth in his *Sympoſiaques*. Notwithſtanding, there is a difficulty found in theſe words, as namely, that which *Vopiſcus* ſaith, in the life of the Emperour *Probus*. *That he had permitted to the Frenchmen to haue and plant Vines.* Notwithſtanding, it appeareth, that they were in France before his time.

Plin. lib. 14. c. 3 Mirum vbique cum Sole circumagi vuam quæ ob id Streptos dicitur & in Italia Gallicam placere trans Alpes vero Picenam.

Plut. Lib. 5. queſt. 3.

The reſolution of this, dependeth thus; that by the Edict of the Emperor *Domitian*, he had enioyned to the inhabitants of the Prouinces, to cut all the Vines, fewe excep-

Sueton.in Domit.cap.7.

excepted. Induced so to do, because vpon view taken, that some yeares there was abundance of Wine, & scarsity of Corne: he conceiued, that the eare-able Landes were left barren, in regard of the Vines. The former doubt resolued. Afterward, the Emperor *Probus* tooke off those inhibitions in Gaule, permitting them to haue Vines. And so to this day, the wines of *France* are transported by great quantity into *England*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Germany*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, and into other Notherne Regions.

Of the plenty of fruit-trees. Moreouer, *France* produceth store of fruite Trees, bearing (in abounding affluence) most excellent, dainty and delicious fruites: as well stone-fruite of all sorts, as those of other nature. And yet notwithstanding, *Italy* and *Spaine* cannot vaunt to haue any that come not into *France*: as Oranges, Citrones, Pomegranates, Oliues, &c. For though the Land doth not produce these euery where: yet notwithstanding, *Prouence* & *Languedock*, which is the Narbone Gaule of our Ancients, do beare the same fruites, yea, and much better, as hath beene noted by experience. Also *Strabo* obserued it well enough. *The Country of Narbone* (saith he) *produceth all the same fruites as Italy doth.*

Strabo in Lib.4. τὲς ὄλυτας ἐκφέρει καρπὲς ἡ Ναρβωνὶς ἅπασι σαπερ ἡ Ιταλία

Our Ancients haue also giuen thereto another commendation, to haue great store of pasture grounds, and so (by consequence) plenty of beasts to feed in thē. Plenty of Pasturages. *Strabo* testifieth as much, making so good esteeme of the woolles and clothes of this Country: that they are carried thence to diuers parts, and therewith all *Italy* is sufficiently furnished. *Strabo in Lib.4* But ouer and beside the great commodity, ensuing by the flesh of domesticke creatures: there are Deare in abundance, as also all kinde of game, & Fowles in no meane plenty. Plenty of Deare and other game.

And to the ende that nothing should be wanting, in necessary matters for support of life: the Country is not destitute of good, proper and profitable horses, as well for ordinary trauell, as also for combates, fights, and battels; bred in the Nation, and continually nourished. The Romanes were thereto addicted, but principally to the horses of *France*: as is to bee seene in *Trebellius Pollio*, who saith, *That the Horses of the Celts, were renowned aboue all other.* *Pollux* the Grammarian, interlaceth (among the rest) dogges of a good and gallant breede, apt for the *Celts* hunting, or such dogs as the Gauls vsed. Plenty of good horses.

In Claudio. Quid equarum quas fama nobilitat Celticarum? Gnomast. lib.5. cap.5.

This may serue sufficiently for terrestriall creatures, because to number thē particularly, would require an infinite labor: let vs come now to them that liue in the waters. It is apparantly knowne, that the coasts of the Sea which enuirone France, are richly stored with fish, and the fish also to be delicate and excellent, better thē elsewhere is to be found. And as for the mid-land Regions, where Sea-fish is wanting: the fresh and sweete waters are most copiously stored. For the Riuers, Streams Pooles, Ponds and Riuolets haue most dainty fresh-fish, and countlesse in number. Daily experience makes proofe thereof, *Strabo* auoucheth it, and *Ausonius* sings it, making mention thereof in his worke called *Mosella.* Abounding plenty of fish. *Strabo in lib. 4. Ausonius in Mosella.*

There are many other commodities, which come and encrease vnder this ayre, for the necessity, vtility and ornament of mans life. Among other, Flax and Hemp, and the cloathes made of them, are labored and sought for by strangers: whereof great traffique and transportation goes to other Nations, & returnes home store of money to *France*: In briefe, it is one of her best wealths and riches. Of the Flaxe and Hempe.

In this place, to stay no longer on a matter so frequent, and ordinary in vse, as cloathes and other works, it may appeare lawfull (with *Pliny*) to enter into consideration (it may bee) of one of the most admired things that is in nature: To say, that so small a plant should bee the cause, that the Sea cannot bound men within limits, nor separate their Countries, but suffers herselfe (thereby) to bee vanquished. This is that hearb that drawes *Syria* neere to vs, *Egipt* to *Italy*, and *Affrica* and *America* to *France*. In a word, it is that which makes man tread vnder his feete, and trauerse ouer that dreadfull gulfe, the heape, or pile of the whole Element of water, the vaste and profound Ocean; wherein principally appeareth the admirable workes of the high and Soueraigne Creator of all things. And the same *Pliny* wondreth not a little, that (of so small a graine) such a matter should come, as carries men through all the Cantons of the world. Which onely is by the meanes of Sayles & Cordages, the principall helpes and wings of nauigation. Such workmanships are performed in *France* in mighty quanti-

Plin. Lib. 19. in Præfat. Quodue miraculum maius herbam esse, quæ admoueat Egiptum Italiæ Et infra Denique tam paruo semine nasci, quod orbem terrarum vltro citroque portet.

quantities, and thence transported to infinite other Countries: especally into *Spaine*, where they haue greateſt need, to arme and prepare their Ships for ſeruice. And this is that which hath ſo often ſerued them, and yet daily doth in their greateſt nauigations: beſide their very fineſt clothes, and others of all faſhions, brought thether to them. *Pliny* alſo recordeth, that (in his time) the Gaules were eſteemed and renowned for this reuenue.

Plin. lib. 19 cap. 1. Itane Galliæ cenſentur hoc reditu? Et infra. Vniuerſæ Galliæ vela texunt.

France produceth alſo Woad, apt and needfull for al good Dyers; and the grain for Scarlet dye, anciently called *Coccus*, which groweth in the Country of *Narbone*, and Saffron likewiſe, with infinite other ſhrubs & hearbs of great vſe, eſpecially in Phyſicke. *Boterus*, *Beneſus*, and other ſtrangers haue obſerued and reported, that there is a Mount in *Auuergne*, called the Mount of gold, full of an infinite number of rare and ſingular ſimples, proper for Phyſicke, which nature there produceth liberally, & without any conſtraint. So that to ſpeake no more then truth, *France* hath no neede of the rich Eaſt & Weſt Indiaes. It is a little world, a collection and an abridgment of the happineſſe and felicity of all Lands: not onely for neceſſity and profite, but alſo for the delicacy of life. And if we goe ſo farre as medicaments themſelues, ſuch Simples are there to be found, as equall the drugs of ſtrange Countries, which yeeld nothing elſe.

Woad growing in France

A Mount of gold in Auuergne.

France hath no need of the Indiaes.

Ther are alſo goodly Thickets, Woods and Forreſts, to furniſh whatſoeuer is requiſite (beſide fewell) for building, engines for warre, fabrication of ſhips, and other veſſels, as alſo for mooueables and houſhold-ſtuffe. Heerewithall one of the cheefeſt conſiderations which cauſeth *France* to be eſteemed, is, that it is wholly inhabited and well husbanded: not a iote of deſert or waſte ground, no place empty, nor any thing but hath his vſe. Heare what *Strabo* acknowledged in his time, vnder the Empire of *Auguſtus*. *There is not any thing vnprofitable* (ſaith he) *nor any idle grounds: except ſuch as are hindred & vſed with Pooles and Forreſts.* By much more reaſon may we now ſay, ỳ al grounds there are better tilled and husbanded, thẽ in thoſe times they were: & that ỳ Pooles and Forreſts yet remaining, are not a iote the leſſe beneficiall, but rather more then ſome other grounds be.

Of Woods & Forreſts.

Strabo in lib. 4.

But no man can better breefely figure foorth the felicity of this goodly peece of Landſhip, ſeeming heere to be done but in diſtemper or dry colours: then it hath bin already wrought by two Ancients, *Iulius Solinus Polyhiſtor*, and *Pomponius Mela*; the one of thẽ deſcribing it thus. *Happy Gaules, in fatted Lands, wholly proper and commodious, in bringing the reuennues of fruites: A great part planted with Vines, ſhrubs, and fruit-trees. Moſt happy and rich, to produce all kindes of creatures, and that which is needfull for them: waſhed with cleere wyters of Riuers and Fountaines.*

Sol in poly. c. 22. Felices præpinguibus glebis, accomodæ prouentibus fructuaris: plere quæ conſitæ vitibus & arbuſtis, omni ad vſum animantium fœtu beatiſsimæ. Riguæ aquis fluminum & fontium.

Pomponius Mela ſpeaks thus. *Terra eſt frumenti præcipuè & pabuli ferax, & amœna lucis immanibus: noxio genere anamaliũ minimè frequens. It is a land principally fertile, and abounding in Corne & paſture grounds: pleaſant and delightfull for goodly and great Woods, and wherein few liuing creatures are to be found hurtfull, or doing any harme.*

Pomponius Mela in lib. 3, cap. 2

In like manner, *Meſsire Michell Suriano*, a Venetian Lord, and one of the *Clariſsimes*; hauing bene Ambaſſador from the high and honourable Common-wealth of *Venice*, in France, in the time of King *Charles* the 9. left vs this figure, of his own skilfull handy-worke.

Fù ſempre riputata la Francia richiſsima, & piena d'ogni commodita, & abondantiſsima di tutte le coſe ne eſſarie alla vita huna: perche eſſendo quaſi nel mezzo della piu nobil parte del mondo, che è l'Europa, ha il cielo molto temperato & benigno, libero da quei freddi grandiſsimi di Allemagna & da gli eccesſiui caldi di Spagn. L'aere benche ſia alquanto ventoſo, é però ſalubre & ſottile, & non ha del groſſo & paludoſo come la Fiandra vicina. Il paeſe è amœno & piaceuole, pieno di fiumi, & tutti nauigabili: non ha monti aſpri, ſaluo nel eſtremità de' confini: ma nel mezzo per tutto ſono colline & pianure, tutte fertili & lauorate. Et fa tanta copia di biade, & do vini, di lini & canepe, di guadi & di altre coſe, che non ſolamente baſtano per vſo del regno, ma ſerue ancora a mandarne fino in Spagna, Portogallo, in Inghilterra, Soria, Danemarka & altri paeſi piu lontani.

France was alwaies reputed to be moſt rich and full of all commodities, and abounding in all thoſe things neceſſary for the life of man. For (beeing as it were) in the middeſt of the moſt noble part of the world, which is Europe: it hath the heauens very temperate

and benigne, free from those mighty coldes of Germany, and the excessiue heates of Spaine. The Aire, although it be somewhat windy, is therefore healthfull and subtile, and hath no grosse & paludus moistures, as nere neighboring Flanders hath. The Country is milde & pleasing, full of Riuers, and all nauigable. It hath no sharpe Mountaines, except on the extremity of the Confines: but in the middest, euery where are little hillocks & plaine champaigne grounds, all fertile, and husbanded or tilled. And yeeldeth such plenty of Corne & Wine, of Flax and Hempe, of Woad, and of other things: as not onely serue for the vse of the kingdome, but also sufficeth to send into Spaine, Portugall, into England, Scotland, Denmarke, and other Countries farther off. The same *Suriano*, hauing bene (before that time) Ambassador in *Spaine*, & made there his Relation: speaketh not in the same manner, but in other tearmes farre different.

Among the causes of this fertility, and delicious aboundance in so happy a seating: one part of this felicity may bee referred to the temperature of the Ayre, & the Climate of Heauen, vnder which it is scituated: Being iustly the midst of one of the temperate Zoanes, to wit, the 42. degree of Latitude, about which is *Marseillis*, and the coast of *Prouence* and *Languedock*, so farre as about the 50. degree towards the North; which is the breadth of *France*. Whereunto in like manner do contribute, the great number of waters wherewith it is bedewed: which serue as well for the generation of fruites, as pleasure and amenity, beside (in greater manner) for commerce and traffique. For Gaule hath beene alwayes (throughout) furnished with sprightly Fountaines, and cleare running Riuers, with some of small and greater current, yet very nauigable, for the carriage and recarriage of Merchandizes, and communication of the Prouinces one with another; a mighty commodity, and (then which) there is not a greater in the world.

This is that also, which makes the midland Regions, and the Cities & Townes there seated, as Merchantable as the Sea coasts, as strangers themselues haue both knowne & reported; that there are more great and nauigable Riuers in *France*, thē in all other parts of the earth; & though they speak it as an hyperbole, yet nothing commeth neerer to truth. For in all *Italy*, hardly can any nauigable Riuer be found beside that of *Poe*: and likewise in *Spaine* almost as few, at lest that haue any course (how little soeuer) in length. *Strabo* hath made good obseruation therof, as before is saide, and that in euery Country heere, are Riuers, which come and returne to all parts, coasting the very principall places. But (aboue all) that of * *Seine* is to be admired, a sweet Riuer, the most profitable and commodious for nauigation, & this only (among all those in the world) is best bounded and restrained within his bed, sildome or little ouerflowing, and when it ouerfloweth, doth little or no harme at all, yeelding (beside) a most cleare water, and fit to be drunke; abounding also with plenty of fish.

Strabo in lib. 4. ἔστιν οὖν ποταμοῖς κατάῤῥυτα ἅπαντα χαὶ ἐχ, τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Αλπέων, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν Κεμμένων καὶ τῆς Πυρήνης.

* A Riuer rising neere the borders of Langres, and lowe Bourgundy, in the country of Alcet. It runneth through Paris, & diuiding Celtica from Belgia, falleth into the British Ocean by New-hauen.

In Misopogōe

Which moued the Emperor *Iulian* to speake in this manner. *Very sildome* (saith he) *doth this Riuer exalt or abase it selfe, & it keepeth (almost) one ordinary course in winter, as it doth in summer: furnishing generally with a most neate water, sweet & cleare to the eie, and wholsome to be drunk by such as will.* And although this should not be alwayes certaine: yet notwithstanding, there are few to be spoken of, concerning other Riuers to be seene, in comparison of this. Whereto may be added, that which is spoken by *Botero Benese* the *Italian*, these are his owne words. *It beareth such great Ships, and sustaineth so mighty burthens, as they that see it, will not beleeue it, and there is no Riuer, that (in proportion) gouernes an equall weight: so that although it exceedeth not mediocrity, yet admirably it supplieth the businesse and the necessities of Paris, &c.*

In lib. 1. delle cause della grādezzo delle citā Porta nauigli iante grossi & sostiene carichi tanto grandi, & non e fiume che a proportione regga a pesi vguali; si che quantunque nō ecceda la mediocrita: supplice però mirabilmēte alle necessita & a bisogni di Parigi, &c.

I might also make some reckoning of diuers waters there, producing effects admirable and prodigious: but because it would be a labour long and infinite, to stand vpon all their particularities; I will satisfie my selfe, to touch that which concerneth matters wholesome and medicinall, wherewith the fauour of Heauen hath in like manner graced this Region, to the ende it shoulde not faile in any thing.

Wels and Springs of sundry vertues.

Botero in Relat. vniuers. Par. 2.

Ther are many Wels or Springs, which are found in diuers parts of *France*, that haue certaine properties and vertues, as receiuing a iuyce & taste, by the mixtion of Niter, Sulpher, and Allum, which are vnder-

vnderneath, and entred into their sourse: in regard whereof, they haue power to remedy many great diseases, iudged otherwise incurable; as dropsies, and the stone in the reines, and others, the causes whereof are vnknowne, and ordinary remedies vtterly vnprofitable for them.

Quæsitæque nocent artes, cessere magistri.

Such are the famous Wels of *Pougues* in *Niuernoys*, and of *Forges* in *Normandy*. Such also are many other, especially towards the *Pyrenean* Mountaines, which haue the vertue to stay the bloody flixe; to soften and make come forth (in forme of paste) the stone that is in the bladder or reines; to fetch again sight almost lost; to warme and strengthen the nerues; and to cure the gout. In the time of *Pliny*, he had then discouered something, for hee makes mention of a certaine Well, in the Towne of *Tongri* among the *Gaules*; the water whereof sauoured like yron (as all other Wels almost doe) which healed Tertian Feuers, and the diseases of the stone, as also the running of the reines.

Wels that cure very strange diseases, onely by the vertue of their water.

Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 9.

Now, to speake of Mettals and Mineralles, *France* cannot be destitute, neither can other Nations make vaunt of any aduantage aboue it, if due search might bee made. *Strabo* declareth, that in his time, the Gaules affirmed themselues, to haue the best in the *Cemenes* and *Pyreneans*: and that therefore they would not giue place to any other people, especially the *Spaniards*, who made their glory, in hauing great quantities. Gold, which is held and esteemed to bee the most precious, shining, resplending, and domineering aboue all other, yea, qualifying the Sunnes bright beames, is to bee found in *France*. For *Strabo* testifieth, that there was excellent Gold, and in great quantity, in *Cemenus*. To which purpose, we reade in *Procopius*, a Greeke Historian, that the Kings of *France* caused mony to be stãped of Gold, with their marke and character, found in *France*: reporting withall, that other barbarous Kings had not that prerogatiue, no, not the Kings themselues of the Persians.

Of Mettals and Minerals in France.

Of Gold.

Strabo in Lib. 4

[z] A hil by the Alpes, not far from the Riuer Varus.

Procop. in lib. 3. Belli Goth

In like manner, *France* hath Riuers, among whose sandes, gold is mingled, as being excoriated from the Mines vnder their current, according to the opinion of the most learned Philosophers. And they further say, that this gold commeth, as being deriued by continuall agitation of the waters rowling, and maketh it so much the purer, aboue the Marcasity or Rocke, yea, or that in the earth. Among other Ancients, *Diodorus Siculus* assureth vs, that there are many of these Riuers in *France*. *Ausonius* (by his verses) celebrates his golden *Tarne*: and (euen now) it is a matter most certaine, that there are such Riuers in *Gascoigne*, which descend, either from the *Pyreneans*, or the *Cemenes*. Let the *Cappadocians* cease thẽ, to make vaunt of their *Pactolus*; the *Thracians*, of their *Hebrus* or *Marissa*; the *Colchians* of their *Phasis* the *Italians*, of their *Eridanus* or *Poe*; and the *Spaniards*, of their *Tagus*.

Gold in Riuers of *France*.

Diodor. Siculus in lib. 5. cap. 7.

Ausonius.

And as for Mettall, whereunto the second value is giuen next to gold; *Strabo* affirmeth, that there are many Mines in *France*, as *Cæsar* himselfe also doth the like; and (at this day) good proofe and experience hath bin made thereof. *Cæsar* saith, there is found Copper and Brasse in large aboundance. But aboue all, there is great plenty of excellent Iron & Steele: whence it came, that reuerend Antiquity so highly commended the Swords and Courtelasses of the ancient Gaules. Let the skilfull *Iulius Pollux* be credited, who saith; that the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* made his choyse of such a man to bee Schoolemaster to his Sonne, who preferred the Gaules Courtelasse, among those other weapon that were most excellent. This Mettall highly aboundeth there, & is the most common in *France*. Beside, it best agreeth with the Frenchmens generosity, who haue euermore made themselues famous by Armes, and bin knowne by their manhood, to all the vtmost parts of the world.

Mettall in worth next to Gold.

Strabo in lib. 4.

Cæsar Bel. Gal. lib. 7.

Iron & steele.

Onomast. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Gold and Siluer, so much esteemed among vs to be precious, are no more apt for Armes, then other instruments and vtensilles for the commodity of men, and the great account we make of gold, proceedeth onely from the rarity thereof. But we ought rather, to value things by their vtility & vse, although they be common, as *Aristotle* saith; among which is Iron, the most profitable Mettall of all other, & not by thẽ to be surmounted: so ỳ (without it) with great difficulty can gold (more harmefull and lesse beneficiall) be

The Frenchmen haue euer bin worthy souldiers.

Gold onely esteemed for the rarity.

Arist: in Ethic.

Herodot. in l.3.

obtained. The Ethiopians (saith *Herodotus*) contemning gold, doe value copper beyond all other; and at this instant, siluer is made more account of in *China*, thē gold is. The people dwelling in the Isle *De Los Ladrones*, in the Sea called *Su*, although they haue no more store of gold, then of other mettals: yet notwithstanding, they couet not, or demaund any of passengers Ships saying by them; but call to them with loud cries, to let them haue yron, which they acknowledge to be most necessary.

Isle De Los Ladrones.

It is to be credited, that there are no lesse store of Mines (both of gold and siluer) at this day in France, then formerly hath beene knowne, and spoken of by our Ancients: as daily might bee discouered, if men would giue their mindes to search and breake open the ground for them. But the French wer neuer affected to such greedy desires, the earth yeelds and casts them vp commodities sufficient, goods & treasures in abounding plenty: without violencing or deluing into the earths entrailes, and very profoundest deeps, euen (as if we should say) to burye men aliue, renting and tearing hard Rockes in peeces, leuelling high Mountaines, to melte and fine them, with the losse of an infinite number of liues. Day and night is spent in these extreme passions, to get this vile mettall, and then to adore it as a God, being the true cause & originall of the greatest miseries that can happen to man: albeit Nature (in her purity of wisedome) placed it to be trodden on vnder our feet, and hid it close in the earth, as a thing vnworthy to be seene.

The French were neuer couetous of gold or siluer.

To get gold, hath bene the losse of many liues.

There are many other treasures & gifts of Nature, which are affoorded vs by France. *Quantum apud nos margaritis Indicis precium est, tantum apud Indos in Coralio: gignitur in Rubro mari, laudatissimum verò in Gallico sinu ad Stœchades. Looke how much (in these quarters) we esteeme the Pearles & precious Stones of India; as much reckoning there is made of our Corall. And though it encreaseth in the gulffe of Arabia; yet notwithstanding, the most excellent commeth from the Isles Stoechades*, now called the Isles of *Ieres*; so saith *Pliny*.

Plin. lib. 32. cap. 2.

Of Salt.

Among so many benefits and commodities, Salt likewise is one, the best & most wholesome that can be in any Country: in which regard, it is sought for by strangers, euen whence commeth great store of gold and siluer into France, beside that which is of her owne ordinary vse. *Botero* ranketh it among the foure things which aboundeth in France, tearmed by him Adamants, as drawing to them the gold of strangers countries. *These foure Adamants* (saith he) *are Corne, Wine, Flax and Hempe, and Salt.*

In lib. 1. delle cause della grādezzo delle citta

Of hard stone

In diuers parts of France, are the materials fit for all kindes of building. Hard stone and other matters, wherof infinite are to be seene in goodly, great, and rich buildings, Castles, and publike Edifices, wherewith the Country is wel filled, and cities beautified. Nor is it destitute of the fairest Marbles, in which respect, wee may not omit that which hath beene obserued by our Ancients, as a thing particular giuen to Gaule: that those Stones and materials do encrease in the Quarries, how liberally soeuer dispersed abroad, as *Vlpian* the Lawyer hath left vs in writing.

The faireſt Marbles.

L. Fructus 55. ſiuir. D. ſoluto matrim.

It was not then without great reason, that the Poet *Manilius* calld France *Rich*. And *Dion* tearmes it Florishing in riches. It seemeth also to be knowne to *Iosephus*, who declareth, how King *Agrippa* deliuering to the Iewes, what inconueniences might come vnto them, by reuolting against the Romanes: demanded of them if they could speake of more wealth then the Gaules had; more strength then the Allemaignes or Germanes; and better vnity and vnderstanding, then among the Greekes, all which (neuertheless) were vnder the dominion of the Romans. And the better to perswade them, in the commodities and aduantages of all those people, being vnder their yoke & obedience: he saith of the Gaules, that they were (in multitude) three hundred & fiue kindes of people. *And had among them (by his maner of speaking) Welles and Springs of all happines and felicity, watering and bedewing the whole Land habitable, with riches and good blessings.* He addeth beside, that ther were then in Gaule, aboue twelue hundred Townes and Cities.

Dion in lib. 4. Astron.

Ioseph. in lib. 2. de Bel. Iudai. Γαλατας πέντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πλήθυ γινομένους τας ἁπάσας ἐθνῶν διαφορὰς ὡς ἂν τις εἰ πεῖ τὴν εὐδαιμονίας ἐπὶ χωρίοις ἔχοντας καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐφ' ὁκάστοις ἐπικλύζοντας τὴν οἰκουμένην.

In like manner, *Cæsar* hauing bent all his hopes one day to make himselfe Master and Monarch of the whole estate, power and dignity of the Romane Empire. and finding himselfe in want of money, charged with great debts, and yet (necessarily) to lay out greater largesse and expences,

Cæsars intent to make himselfe the Roman Monarch

pences: to compasse the maine Masterpeece wherat he aimed; *Among the multitude of mighty Prouinces, hee chose principally the Gaules* (saith *Suetonius*) *whose profite, riches, occasion, and opportunity, was to him subiect & matter sufficient, apt & conuenable for so great triumphing.* Shewing thereby, that it was the goodliest, richest, most potent, and worthy Prouince of the Romane Empire, & thought it there the fittest, to exalt himselfe to the Maiesty of Rome. Which accordingly came to passe, for by themeans of the Gaules riches, not onely he discharged himselfe of his great debts: but enriched likewise al his friends, practising with diuers, & winning an infinite number of Lords in Rome, yea, they that were the cheefest Magistrates: In briefe, hee omitted not any kinde of bounty, as well publike as particular,

Suetonius in Iulio cap. 22. Ex omni prouinciarum copia Gallias potissimum elegit, cuius emolumento & opportunitate idonea esset materia triumphorum.

The cunning of Cæsar to compasse that which he aymed at.

Among other matters, hee attempted the building of a Pallace, for the iudging of causes, the meere place costing him aboue 1400000 crownes, and al this came from the pillage of the Gauls. He feasted all the people of *Rome*, which was a thing (well neere) impossible and infinite. He doubled the pay of his Legions & companies of soldiers, to perpetuity; enriching the rest with good gifts, beside great distributions, as well of monies as slaues, as also lands and victuals, which he caused to be giuen to euery Citizen of Rome, & likewise to his Captains & Soldiers. For *Plutarke* saith; *He emptied out of his owne Coffers, the riches of the Gaules, to such as holp him to the publike gouernment of Rome, euen what they would haue. He acquited Curio the Tribune, of a great sum of mony, which he ought him: And gaue to the Consull Paulus*, 1500. *Talents, amounting to* 900000. *Crownes of french coine.*

Sueton. cap. 26. in Iulio.

Plut. in vit. Cæsar. ἀλλ' Καίσαρος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πλοῦτον ἄρρυτα διαρρύδην ἀφειδῶς πᾶσι τοῖς πολιτευομένοις,

The bounty & liberality of Cæsar.

All this bounty, all these goods & treasure, were taken in Gaule, & (as *Suetonius* saith) without any spare of the Temples, which he knew to be rich in gifts: & many times sacking Cities, rather for the greedy desire of booty, then any other iust cause. And *Cicero* saith: *That he had ouercome Nations, abounding in all things & in all the seueral kinds of power*; this he meant of the Gaules. For, not only was that true which *Procopius* saide; *That Gaule is much more powerfull then Spaine*: but also aboue all the other Prouinces of the Romane Empire, according to the iudgement of *Cæsar*. So then, it may iustly be saide, that *Gaule*, as well for riches, as for the mē that he found ther, gaue entrance to the great power of *Cæsar*, & was the cause, means, and instrument of his designes, & obtaining the Empire of the world, which hee enioyed, in despight of so many Romane Lords, his aduersaries and competitors.

Sueton. in Iulio. cap. 53.

Pro. M. Marcello. Gentes omni copiarum genere abundantes.

Procop. in lib. 1. de Bel. Got.

But among so many prosperities, it is a matter both rare & admirable, that ther are to be found few or no discomodities at all, wherwith the land should be annoied. There is not any Region in the world, how goodly or happy soeuer it may bee said to be, but is subiect to sundry inconueniences, that make a counterpoise to the felicity therof. *Arabia*, which carrieth the surname of *Happy*, wherein, beside so many blessings it affoordeth, the odors & perfumes there growing, maketh the aire all embalmed, as it were: yet in counterchange, it hath two very great discommodities. One is, that in those Forrests of most odoriferous trees, throughout in euery place, are found a great number of small and short serpents, of the same colour as the earth is, that subtilly sting and byte men, before they haue any power to perceiue it, or defend themselues against it; and being thus bitten, they cause their death in a million of torments. The other is that these so happy people are subiect to a strange disease, proceeding frō their ouermuch ease, and hot perfumes of the country: so that to helpe themselues, they are enforced to find out all kinds of stinking and infectious smels, euen the foulest that can be, so saith *Diodorus*. So that ther is no happinesse in any part, neither any such pleasing sweetnes; but it is conioynd & neighbored with one greefe or other.

No matter of discommodity to be found in France.

The inconueniences that are in Arabia Fœlix.

Small stinging Serpents.

Diod. Sic. in lib. 3. cap. 18.

The Regions of *Affrica*, those that are the most delicious of al, are ordinarily assailed with an infinite number of wilde beasts, horrible Dragons, Serpents, & other venomous creatures: beside Lions, Leopards, Panthers, Ounces, & prodigious monsters, which *Affrica* produceth from time to time, often raysing siedge against the inhabitants, compelling thē to seeke out new dwellings. *China*, which is described to vs to be so fortunate, and abounding in all things: hath many afflictions. Fire falles frō heauen there vsually and such wonderfull rauage is made, that not only it embraceth & consumes parti-

The infelicities of Affrica Dragons, Serpents, & dangerous wilde Beasts.

A strange sickneſſe.

The afflictions of China.

Fire from heauen.

cular houſes; but Villages, Burroughs, & great Cities altogether, yea, many times whole Prouinces. Deluges and inundations haue alſo wrought there ſtrange effects, ſpoyling, ouerthrowing, and defacing whole Countries, & that very often Earthquakes, ingulfings, and impetuous ſhowres of raine, are (as a man ſhould ſay) there daily: thus you ſee what delight and happineſſe, is in the greateſt & moſt renowned kingdome of the Eaſt.

Inundations of water.

Earthquakes.

* There are Countries, which ſuffer colds and inſupportable freezings: as other are meerely burnt and waſted with heates. Witneſſe the * *Naſamones*, who in regard of this heate (they dwelling beyond the Torride Zoane) do curſe the Sunne when it paſſeth ouer them. Thus then other Regions, being eſteemed ſo happy for perfumes, odours, & ſuch kinde of delights: doe ſometime pay very dearely for their pleaſures; perill is euermore neighbour to ioy, and contentment is cloſe followed at the heeles, with ſome or other miſhap.

* People of Libya abiding on the ſand neere the Syrts. *Herodot. in li. 4.*

Seldome is any delight without danger.

Whoſoeuer thinketh to gather the ſweets of their faireſt flowers, or the iuyce of their moſt delicious plants; may as ſoone meete with deadly poyſon, and in ſtead of ſweetneſſe, finde ſuch bitterneſſe, as quickly will bring him to his graue. Either by the Aſpicke lying cloſe hidden, whoſe pricking cauſeth ſudden ſleepe, & procureth death in that ſleeping. The Snakes byting, bringeth a deadly drought with it. The Viper filleth the whole body full with venome, by his byting. The Baſilike ſlayeth by his very ſight onely. The earth by quaking, endangereth to ſwallow men vp, or ouerthrow and kill them in their houſes. A deluge ſuddenly carrieth away, and couers all with water. The Lyon or the Tyger comes onely to deuoure.

Perill of the Aſpicke.

The Snake.

The Viper.

The Baſiliske

Earthquake.

Deluge. *Herodot. in l. 3.*

Strabo hauing related the goodneſſe of *Bætica* in *Spaine*, which is now *Granada* & *Andalouſia*, ſaith withall; that the country is perſecuted with an afflictiõ very ſtrange yet reputed to be ridiculous. It is by the great and immenſe multitude of Conies or Rabbets, which feede on, and conſume their ſeedes, plants, and rootes of trees. He alſo ſaith, it hence enſueth, that almoſt throughout *Spaine*, yea, and the neighboring Iſles, are thereby afflicted. Adding beſide, that the inhabitants of the Iſles *Gymnaſiaes* or *Baleares*, now called *Maiorque* and *Minorque*, ſent Ambaſſadors, to requeſt ayd of the Romanes, againſt theſe hurtfull creatures, and to chaſe them out of their country, as beeing vnable to endure their multitude. And ſuccour was neceſſarily required in ſo great a warre, which doth not alwayes happen (ſaieth he) but when the country is ſubiect to be infected with ſome plague of peſtilence, famine, or ſuch other affliction and puniſhment ſent from Heauen.

The miſery of Bætica in Spaine. *Strabo in Lib.3*

The Gymnaſian Iſlands or Baleares plagued with Conies.

Marcus Varro writeth, that a Towne in *Spaine* was wholly vndermined, and ruined by thoſe Conies, & another in *Theſſalie*, by Moales. Some that haue bene diſpeopled & forſaken, in regard of the great multitude of Frogs. Another in *Affrica*, by Locuſts. Alſo, that the inhabitants of the City * *Gyaros*, now called *Gura*, in one of the *Cyclades*; were expulſed thence by Rats: and that in *Italy*, an ancient Citty called *Amyclea*, was vtterly ruined and loſt by Serpents. There is a Region in *Affrica*, where a great extendure of the country is become deſert, the people which dwelled there being driuen to all extremities, and quite exterminated, onely by Scorpions and Piſſemires, which are a kinde of venomous Ants. *Theophraſtus* reporteth, that others were expulſed by * *Scolopendraes*. And *Strabo* ſaith, that *Spaine* was ordinarily infected with a ſtrange multitude of Rats: whereupon (oftentimes) followed contagious diſeaſes. The like happened once to the Romanes, when they were in the countries of the *Baſques* and *Aſtures*: ſo that they wer glad to hire men to chaſe them away, the Rats came ſo faſt vppon them, and hardly could they ſaue themſelues from them. An ancient Philoſopher, named * *Dicæarchus*, wrote a Book, of the ruine of men, and had collected together, how many ruines had happened in diuers countries, by reaſon of the inopinate multitude of beaſts: by whoſe impetuous violence, he ſheweth, that ſome Nations haue bene loſt and conſumed.

Plin. in li. 8. cap. 29. Diod. in Lib. 3. cap. 13.

* An Iſle in the Aegium ſea, one of the Sporades.

* A worme that hath many feete, and is very venomous. *Strabo in lib. 3.*

* A Silician Philoſopher, Ariſtotles Scholler.

France, on the contrary (God be praiſed for it) neuer was ſubiected to ſo many miſeries, & there is not any Region found in all the habitable world, ſ being ſo happy, taſteth leſſe inconueniences. Deadly poiſon cannot deceiue him that gathereth there her wholeſome flowers & hearbs, or perfumes. The Lyon or Tyger, the rauenous Beare or Panther, cometh not to ſet vpon the traueller, or driue the husband-

France may compare with any Region whatſoeuer in the world.

man

No venomous creatures in all France.

man from his home. The Serpent cannot annoy the passenger or harueſt Reaper by his byting, becauſe there is none at all to be found there. A man may ſafely take the Euening or Mornings benefit on the greene graſſe, without dread of any venomous creature, which are moſt dangerous in other countries. But admit that there were ſome kinde of Serpents or Snakes in ſome peculiar parts: yet are they very few, and no harme at all diſcerned to come from them. No Egyptian Aſpicke is there to bee found, and that which is termed in *France* an Aſpicke: it is no Aſpicke at all but rather a Viper, as is verified in the Obſeruations of *P. Bolonius*. Neuertheleſſe, it is rare or ſildome to be ſeene there, and benefit (rather then any harme) is to be receiued therby. And ſay that this Serpent were very venomous: yet notwithſtāding, it ſerueth moſt commodiouſly for the life of man, and Treacle is compounded thereof. The verie learnedſt Phyſitians do hold, that the fleſh thereof is ſoueraigne for many diſeaſes; and, that which is much more, it hath power to lengthen the life of man, in ſuch as make ordinary vſe of it, as manie of our Ancients did, and other healthfull people yet liuing, who haue heretofore referred the cauſe of their ſo long healthfull continuance. Thus our Ancients, and eſpecially the learned Egyptians, vſed the Snake as an Hieroglyphick, marke and ſigne of health: preſenting it to theyr Goddeſſe *Sanitas*, rouled about with other creatures.

Of the Aſpick in France.

In lib. 1 cap. 2.

The fleſh is ſoueraign for diſeaſes. *Bold. Ang. Abbatius lib. de Vipera.*

The Egyptian hieroglyphick of health.

Moreouer, *France* is not ſubiect to the miſeries and horrors of earth-quakes. Neuer ſhall ye there heare the earth grone, bellow, then tremble, ſhake, and ſwallow vp houſes, Burroughes, & whol Townes, making groweth of Mountaines, by leuelling and plaining other places, to drie vp waters and riuers, and then ſodainly to let looſe Flood-gates of Noueltries; to ſtay their violent courſe of a ſtreame, and then to make it run directly againſt his currēt: to let foorth flaming fires, to finiſh that with greater deſolation, which the former Earth-quake had left behinde it. By an eſpeciall priuiledge of heauen, *France* ſtands exempted from all theſe; experience hath made it apparant, & *Pliny* long ago witneſſed it, when he ſaide: *That the Gaules were not ſhaken by tremblings of the earth.*

None of theſe noueltries are in France.

Lib. 7. cap. 80. Galliæ terræmotu minime quatiuntur.

To know the quiet condition and felicity of *France* in this caſe, wee may compare and conſider other Nations & Prouinces, and what great afflictions and ruines haue inſued to them by ſuch harmes, in moſt part of the worlds Regions. We finde, that in *Italy* and other Countries, in the time of the Punicke warres, the people were tormented with Earth-quakes, ſeuen and fifty times in one yeare. VVho would not be amazed, to heare that two hilles ſhould approach neere each to other, to iuſtle (as it were) together; then, to retire and auancer on againe, after the manner of fight, ſtirring and mouing furiouſly, with an horrible noiſe and breaking? A great fire and ſmoake roſe vp betweene them; and by this their rude encounter, houſes and villages (ſeated in the valley) were bruiſed and beaten downe, & both men and beaſts ſmothered to death: euen as it happened in the Territorie of *Modena*, in the yeere 622. and in the City of Rome, in the time of the wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*. This was ſeene in broad day time, by a great number of paſſengers & Romane Citties, who beheld this wofull ſpectacle, from the neere-neighbouring high-way, or hill aſcending to the Capitoll.

Plin. l. 2. cap. 84

Two great mountaines met together.

Plin. l. 2. cap. 83

It was a ſtrange thing, that trembling or Earth-quake, which happened vnder the Emperor *Tiberius*, and in the 5. yeare of his Empire (to the end we may not, as *Oroſius* doth, confound it with that which chanced twelue years after, miraculouſly, euen at the paſſion of our Sauiour:) *Tacitus* reporteth, that in this yeere (which was the 770. of the City of Rome) in one night, twelue great and famous Cittes of *Natolia*, were ruined and vtterly ouerthrowne; ſuch as was *Epheſus*, *Sardis*, *Cuma*, *Philadelphia*, and other of the ſame ranke. And that which vvas moſt terrible, they had not the meanes of open flight, an ordinary ſuccour in ſuch misfortunes: yet thereof they were depriued, becauſe the earth ſhrunke and opened vnder their feete, and ſwallowed them vp immediately. Herewithall aroſe ſhinings and flames of fire among the ruines; and that which vvas plaine champaigne grounde before, was exalted to Mountaines, and contrarywiſe, Mountaines became euen and leuell ground.

Corn. Tacit. Annal. 2.

Plin. in l. cap. 84. Euſeb. in Chron.

Heere might alſo bee alledged, the vſuall

Strange earth quakes at Constantinople. *Paul. Diac. hist. Miscell. lib. 14.*

ſuall and frequent earthquakes at *Constantinople*, and whereto it hath bene alwayes ſubiect. And in ſuch manner, as during the reigne of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, there happened ſuch an Earth-quake, as laſted foure moneths continually: the people beeing conſtrained to flye out of the Citty, not daring to return in againe. There was another as ſtrange, which chāced in ſome yeares before, in the City of *Nicea* in *Natolia*, which was ruined; and the dreadfull effectes thereof are particularly written by *Amianus Marcellinus*, and vnder the reigne of the Emperor *Conſtantine*. *Zonarus* reporteth, that thirteene great Townes of Champaigne ground in *Italy*, or in the ſoyle called *Terra di Lauora*, were vtterly ouerthrowne. But among other, the City of *Antioche* was wonderfully afflicted. In the reigne of the Emperor *Iuſtinian*, it was ouerthrowne; and an infinite number of men therein ſwallowed. Soone after, it was re-builded by the liberality of the Emperor, and two yeares were not fully expired, when this goodlie and flouriſhing Cittie had beene newly finiſhed; but againe in like manner it was wholly ruined, and the greater part of the inhabitants buried in the downfall. This was in the beginning of *Iuſtinians* empire. Such miſeries neuer hapned in the Kingdome of France: *Galliæ terræmotibus minimè quatiuntur.*

Marcel. lib. 17.

Paul. Diac. hiſt. Miſc. lib. 15. & *Cedrenus. l.* 16.

Plin. lib. 7. *c.* 60.

It is likewiſe a happineſſe particular to France, that the ſweetneſſe and temperature of the Ayre is ſuch; as, in compariſon of that in other Prouinces, there is neyther exceſſiue colds, nor inſupportable heats. And if in ſome yeare it happen otherwiſe, it is but once in an hundred yeeres, and of ſo ſmall continuance, that it is onely but as a ſcantling: therby to let the Frenchmen know, the ſharpe rigour and diſcommodity that other people endure, to the end they may the better vnderſtand their owne felicity, and ſhape their comforts anſwerable therto. Length of Winters, and of Nightes; the bitter North-eaſt windes of Scythia; Mountaines of Ice and Snow, neuer hindereth their Commerce, nor their Voyages at all ſeaſons of the yeare. Theyr Seas doe not freeze, as often it dooeth in *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Mare maior*, euen ſo farre as the ſtreights of *Conſtantinople*. On the contrarie ſide, extreamity of heate conſtraines not men to keepe them a long while hidden vnder ground, without daring to come forth but in the night time: neyther to ſleepe in the water, and like the *Amphibij* or halfe Fiſhes, to dvvell there the moſt part of their time. That which is reported of many people, & particularly of the dwellers in *Barbarie*, *Ormuz*, and them of *Taprobane*, now called **Samotra*: not any thing heere is like vnto them, but all moſt temperate. From ſo ſweete an Ayre, can proceede nothing but healthfulneſſe, the Heauens being no way ſubiect to ingender frequent and irkſome Diſeaſes. Therefore did *Cæſar* deſeruedly ſet this commendation on France: *To be a Countrey moſt ſweete and healthfull.* And ſo the Engliſh-men likewiſe, in the recitall of *Froiſſard*, doe note France, *To be a moſt ſafe Country, and very ſweete, a courteous Country, with mild aire, and delicate Riuers.*

The temperature and mildnes of the aire.

That liue moſt of their time in the water.

* In the Indian ſea, beeing in lēgth 1000. miles, and in bredth 625.

Lib. 3. *Bel. Ciuil.*

Froiſſ. in vol. 3.

It is an admirable matter alſo, that France produceth ſuch diuerſity of things and in ſuch aboundance: there being no Countrey throughout the World more commixed, and that hath leſſe meanes of ſubiect, for recourſe vnto other. It is by a priuiledge and particular right, and againſt the Law vvhich Nature hath giuen vnto other landes; but to ſpeake vprightly of France, it is proper to all, and in ſuch ſort, as there is not any thing particular to other, which is not common in it. In regard whereof, and conſidering what hath formerly bene ſaid, there needs no doubt to bee made: but that which *Virgil* meant to ſay in commendation of his *Italy*, was much more fitting for the Land of *France*.

The plenty & abundance in France.

Hîc ver aſſiduum, atq; alienis menſibus æſtas,
Bis grauidæ pecudes, bis pomis vtilis arbos,
Ac rabidæ Tigres abſunt, & ſæua Leonum
Semina, nec miſeros fallunt aconita legentes:
Nec rapit immenſos orbes per humum, neq; tanto
Squameus in ſpiram tractu ſe colligit anguis.
Adde tot egregias vrbes, operumq; laborem.

Virg. Georgic. 2.

No Mountaines of Ice and Snow in France.

Beſide, that which he could ſay concerning the amenity or delectablenes of *Italy*, was but for ſome certaine places; & the *Italians* themſelues do know wel enough, that vvhatſoeuer they do admire or commend, in any particular part of Italie, it is

Botero. Rel. vniuerſal. part. 2.

How France is seated for Nauigation.

is to be found euery where in *France*, and is meerely common there.

Moreouer, the Kingdome is most absolutely seated for Nauigation: because on the one side it hath the Mediterranean sea, and the Ocean sea on the other, enuironing it by a long extendure, and wherein are many goodly and commodious Ports and Hauens. As for the Land it selfe, it is as in the very middest or hart of Europe. *Suriano*, in his relation of *France*, hath well obserued it, and makes great reckoning of the commodiousnesse of the situation, vsing these very words.

Il regno di Francia, come quello che è in mezo de la Christiantià, è commodo & oportuno piu d'ogn'altro per vnire & diuidere a sua volontà le forze de i piu gran Principi, & de i popoli piu bellicosi, perche à dinanzi l'Italia, & l'Inghilterra a le spalle, a man destra la Spagna, da sinistra è la Germania, di qua Suizzeri, di qua Flamenghi, & oltra di questo è fra due mari, il Mediterraneo dell' vna parte, & l'Oceano d'all' altra: onde per mare & per terra puo facilmente fauorire tutte le imprese & tutti li disegni di ciascun Principe & Potentato del mondo. Et quanto a se è sicarissimo di ogni banda & per Natura, & per Arte.

The Kingdome of France, as that which is in the midst of Christendome, is oportune & commodious (more then all other) to vnite and diuide (at her owne will) the forces of the very greatest Princes, and of the most warlike people. Because it hath Italy before it, England to shoulder it, Spain on the right hand, Germany on the left: on this side the Switzers, on that side the Flemings. And beside all this, it is betweene two Seas, the Mediterranean on the one part, & the Ocean on the other: so that by sea and land, she may easily fauour all the enterprizes, and all the deseigns of euery Prince and Potentate in the World. And as for her selfe, she is most secure on euery side, both by Nature, and by Art.

Let no man then thinke strangely of it, if France be endowed with so many celestiall graces and fauours, and so wel peopled and inhabited, that any thing can be compareable thereto, in all other Countreyes whatsoeuer. There is not a iotte of voyde or waste ground; the goodly and great Citties and Townes, are all well filled with inhabitants, and very neer neighbouring one to another. Trauailing vpon the common high-wayes, from any part whither you please: you shal finde them bordered with great villages, faire Houses and Castles, and the people swarming euery where, euen as if al France were but one City.

The iniuries that are in other countries different from France.

It is not so in other regions, for in some there are immense Forrests, Lakes, and Marish grounds, taking vp immeasurable roome; as in Germany, and in the Low Countries. In other places, are great and sterile Mountaines, which take vppe no meane part of the Countrey: as *Botero* acknowledgeth, that the *Apennines* vsurpe a whole quarter of Italy. There can you not behold (as you may in France) small hils and dales, sweetly cloathed, and flourishing with delicate fruite trees, or vvealthie Vineyards, or else employed to some other profitable vse. As for the Alpes and Apennines, for the most part, there is nothing to be seene but sharpe and craggie rockes, bearing their heads vp vnto the clouds, couered with Mosse & Saltpeter, and hauing very dreadfull downefalles. There is nothing but hardnesse, rocks full of horror, places vnaccessable, vnprofitable, and fruiteless, eyther for Men or Beasts,

Spain no way compareable to France.

Concerning *Spaine*, so much as it is far off from this happinesse of France, euen so (in comparison) is it as slenderly peopled. Behold the perspectiue thereof, according as *Strabo* hath drawne it downe for vs. *Spaine* (saith he) *for the most part is very ill inhabited. For the Mountaines, Forrests, and Plaines (wherby the earth is dried, meager and barren, being but slenderly holpen with waters) takes vp too much ground.* The same Author saith in another place; that hee cannot beleeue that there hath bin so many Citties or Townes in Spain, as some haue reported, or else they counted Villages for Townes. For (saith hee) *The Nature of the Countrey cannot receyue any number of Townes, in regard of the barrennesse of the ground; by being farre off, & retired from one of the worlds corners: and also the ayre breathing not gracious & agreeable.* Thus you see the true description of *Spaine*, and this hee sayeth, because it is found in som Authors of Antiquity, who haue tearmed it to be happy and fertile: it is to be vnderstood of the Seashores, and some Countries, where (in trueth) it is so. As in *Batica*, containing nowe the Pro-

Strabo in lib. 3 Τῆς Ἰβηρίας, τὸ μὲν πλέον ἀοικήτου φαύλως, ὄρη γὰρ καὶ δρυμὰς καὶ πεδία λεπτὰ ὀλίγου ἔχοντα γῆν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὀλιγανθρώπου· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ οἰκουμένου τισὶ πολλήν

Strabo in lib. 3 ἔτι τὸ μὴ ἂν χωρεῖν φύσιν πόλεων πολλῶν διὰ τὴν ἀκαρπίαν καὶ πολλαχοῦ διὰ τὸ λυπρόπεδα, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀκτημοσύνην τὸ αἰθέριον.

What happinesse and fertility is in Spaine.

prouinces of *Granado* and *Andalouzia*, and part of *Portugall*, whereto *Strabo* giueth the same commendation.

The sharpnes of the North-parts of Spain

But hee omitteth not also, to describe the rigour, hardnesse and sharpenesse of the very greatest part, which turneth towards the North: answerable to that now still there to be seene. For *Andalouzia* is knowne to be fertile; but the Spanyards thẽselues do tell vs, what store they haue (beside) of Mountaines and smal deserts, w they terme *Sierras*, as keeping still the ancient *Arabian* word. *Froissard* relateth, that the English, who had bin at the succour of the King of *Portugall*, vnder conduct of the Duke of *Lancaster*; would returne no more thither, saying: *In Castile there is nothing but Rockes, which are not good to bee eaten with Veriuyce: verie high Mountaines, a hard Ayre, troubled Riuers & grosse victuals; the people poore and slouenly, ill nurtured, and worse habited, beside great dearth of all wholesome viands.*

Froiss. vol. 3. in pr.

Heere is to be obserued, that Spaine must needs giue place (by ods) to France for healthfulnesse, when the ayre is there so hard, the riuers troubled, and the waters naught: whence insueth the inflations, swellings, and euils in their throats, commonly termed the Kings euill, and ouer-frequent among them, so that they are enforced to seeke helpe in France, by the hands of the most Christian King. Beside, France hath alwayes had the prayse to be well peopled, and to produce men at due seasons. *Cæsar* himselfe speakes it, saying; *A most fruitfull mother of men.* And *Strabo* writeth, *That the women are apt to beare children, and to nouriſh & bring them vp.* In another place hee confesseth, *That there is a certaine kinde of vertue and propriety, particular to the women of France, both in their teeming, and giuing sucke vnto their children.*

Spaine inferiour to France for healthfulnesse.

In lib. 2. Bel. Gal Fertiliſsima hominum genetrix Strab. in lib. 4 τὰς δὲς αι γυναῖκες καὶ τρέφειν ἀγαθαί. Item ἀρετή τις γυναικεία πρὸς τὸ τίκτειν καὶ ἀνατρέφειν τὰς παῖδας.

Botero and other *Italians*, being desirous to make a curious inquisition (so nere as possibly might be) to know what number of men each countrey contained, although it is a matter (from time to time) subiect to change: setteth downe, that in France were fifteene millions. In Germany, with the Lowe Countries, and the Switzers Cantons (although they exceeded France twice or thrice in extendure of ground) they grant no more. In Spaine, which is very great, they number but three Millions: whereby appeareth one of the principall prerogatiues of France.

Botero in Relat. vniuerſ. part. 2.

Number of people in diuers Countries.

The glory and honor of any kingdom, and of the King commaunding ouer it, consisteth (to speak truely) in the peoples multitude. The Emperour *Adrian* said; *That he desired to see his Empire amplified with multitudes of men, rather then with abundance of money and riches.* This was it also that mooued the wise King to say; *In the multitude of the people, is the honor of a King: and for the want of people commeth shame and ignominy to a Prince.* The Kingdome of *Iudea*, which hath heretofore beene so famous, and made choise of for the inheritance of Gods people, it vvas not in regard of her great extendure; for there was none smaller; containing not aboue forty miles in length, & in bredth much lesse in many places.

L. Cum ratio D. De bon. damnat

Prou. 14,28. *In multitudine populi dignitas Regis, & in paucitate plebis ignominia Principis.*

Likewise, the promise that God made to *Abraham*, was; *That he would make him the cheefe of a great people: and his seede to be as the dust of the earth: so that if one could number the dust of the earth, so likewise shold his seede be numbred.* At another time hee sayde vnto him; *Lift vp thine eyes to Heauen, and tell the starres, if thou bee able to number them; in such number shall thy seede be.* The same promise he reiterated againe to his yongest sonne *Iacob*. And this vvas it, that excited the hatred and enuy of the Egyptians, against this people of Israel; becaus they saw their number to multiply, and for that reason they oppressed them: but the more they were oppressed so much the more were they encreased and multiplyed. But *Dauid* exalting himselfe beyond measure, and glorying in the number of his people, would needs haue them counted, to knowe their iust number: whereby he prouoked God to anger against him, there beeing found in Israel eight hundred thousand strong men, able to beare armes and weapons, and in *Iuda* fiue hundred thousand fighting men.

Gen. 12,2. Gen. 13,6.

Genes. 15,5.

Genes. 28,14.

Exod. 1,9.

Reg. 2. cap. vlt

In the Romane history, when wee obserue the encreasing of that Commonwealth from time to time: it was by the number of the Cittizens, which were downe registred by the Censors. Kings are Kings of men, and not of Lands. For no account is made of a King, by possessing a large length of vaine lands, barren, waste, vnprofitable, and vnpeopled; nor for his multitude of high Mountains, desert

The encreasing of the Romane Commonwealth.

The true dignity of a king.

sert rockes, wild Forrests, which haue no other Inhabitants but sauage beasts. But rather, by commanding infinite numbers of people, that acknowledge him as their Soueraigne, willingly obey him, and reuerently respect him for their own good. This is that which maketh his state assured, and maketh him dreadfull to neighbours or enemies.

The plentie of peopleamong the ancient Gaules, and the new.

Moreouer, what great numbers of people *Gaule* hath produced at all times, yeelds proofes sufficient, as well by the troopes heeretofore parting thence, the Countrey being vncapeable to containe them; as also others, that haue gone and filled all other regions on the earth, aswel by Colonies and plantations in their coming thither, as some other Countries still inhabited by them, whereof we shall haue cause to speake more particularlie heereafter.

The number of Cities whē Cæsar inuaded Gaule.

This great number of men is the cause that France is adorned with so many faire and goodly Cities, as alwayes it hath bin, and at this day more then euer. *Iosephus* maketh mention, that at the time as *Cæsar* inuaded *Gaule*, there were then aboue twelue hundred. Among them that are now at this present, there are three hundred; wherein there are three and thirtie Byshops Sees, and fourteene Metropolitane or Archbyshopprickes; besides, an infinite number of other, a great company whereof are so potent in extendure & dignity, as they equall the verie capitall Cities of strange Nations, sparing here (beside) to speake of their strength.

33. Bishopprickes, & 14 Archbyshopprickes.

I forbeare also a matter remarkable in France, that there hath beene (and some say now is) seauen and twentie thousand Burroughes or Townes, being Parishes, and hauing Steeples, and amongst them Villages so great and wealthy, as may compare with good Townes in other Countries; not bringing within the Lists of this account, all the Hamlets, Graunges, and particular houses, because they are innumerable.

The Authors modestie, in speaking of the City of Paris.

Heere giue me leaue to sit downe and rest, as not knowing how to bee silent, or in what manner to speake, of the great, puissant, and opulent Cittie of *Paris*, which hath exalted her head aboue all other of the world. To forget it, I cannot; to speak worthily, or to describe and present it to the life indeede, it is impossible for me. It is the seat of the Kings of *Frãce*, it is the principall residence of their Maiesties; it is the dwelling of their Soueraigne Iustice: which is there rendred & distributed by the Court of Parliament, being called the Court of Peeres; from whence all other are deriued; the same is the Chamber of Accompts, or of the Exchequer, and the arriuall for all the reuennewes of the Realme whatsoeuer.

The famous vniuersitie of Paris.

Also in this Citie, is that most ancient Vniuersity, so famously renowned thorough the world. All there is admirable, either in regard of the greatnesse and extent, or for the infinit structure of so many buildings, both publike and particular: but aboue all, the preasse and throngs of people wherewith it is inhabited, and which commeth thither from all parts, so that the like can hardly be spoken of in any place elsse. Beside, it is seconded vvith aboundance of all things, that can be desired for happinesse of life.

Paris est en scauoir vne Grece feconde,
Vne Rome en grandeur Paris on peut nõmer.
Vne Asie en richesse on le peut estimer,
En rares nouueautez vne Afrique seconde.

That is;

Paris in knowledge may be Greece, as wise;
A Rome for greatnes, Paris may be nam'd:
An Asia in wealth it may be found;
A second Affricke, for rare nouelties.

The situation of the City of Paris, most pleasant and wholesome.

Heereto might be added the grace of the situation, the fairest and fittest that is to be seene: for being as pleasing and delectable, as commodious and profitable. In the very middest of rich Prouinces, enuironed with many Nauigable riuers that come and render their riches to *Seine*: passing thorow the middle of the Cittie, to gather and bring thither commodities from all the Countryes round about, coming from, and into an Ayre so good & healthfull. In which respect, though hauing such mightie accesse of people: it is lesse subiect to contagious diseases, then other the greatest Citties are ordinarily afflicted withall. And when any do happen, the effects are much more moderate, of far lesse danger and contagion, then is to be seene in other places.

Hist. Miscel. lib. 14. cap. 9.

It is reported of the Citty of *Constantinople*, that from three yeeres to 3. yeeres, (without fayle) it is most strangely tormented

Strãge plague in Constantinople, and in the Graund Caire.

mented with a peſtilence, vvhich doeth greatly diſpeople it: to the no meane amazement of many, that haue made deep ſearch into the cauſe. So it is in like manner affirmed by diuers, that the *Grand Cairo* is euery yeare afflicted with the Peſtilence. Vndoubtedly, when I conſider with my ſelfe, that great *Louys*, vulgarly called *Chlouis*, ſtayed his opinion, and made *Paris* the ſeat of his kingdome, leauing many other Cities which were then far greater: and that before him, the Emperor *Iulian* (being come into France) eſtabliſhed there his ordinary aboade, and called it *Amiable* or *Louely*. I am compelled to admire therein, their great Wiſedome and vnderſtanding, in chooſing a place ſo commodious, ſo pleaſant and anſwerable; although then it ſeemed to bee one of the leaſt Citties of Gaul. It would require an entire volumne to ſpeak thereof; and yet none will credit vvhat it is, except they haue the happineſſe to ſee it: & the ſight may much better ſatisfye them, then all that can be ſayde or written of it. Therefore I wil end this diſcourſe, adding onely that which is ſayde by *Botero Parigi*, *In Miſopogne.*

Lib. 1. Delle cauſe della grandzza delle Cita.

Città che di popolo, & di abbondanza d'ogni coſa, auanza di gran lunga tutte l'altre di Chriſtianita. Paris, a City that in people and abundance of all things, goeth farre beyond all the reſt of Chriſtendome.

CHAP. II.

Of the People dwelling in this fruitfull Land of France, what they were being ancientlie Gaules, and afterwards Frenchmen: their Manhood, Valour, and ſucceſſefull Fortunes.

He proceedeth on with his ſecond diſcourſe.

THough hathbene ſayde (though too vnskilfully and altogether weakly) concerning the beauty, bountie, perfections & excellencies of the Land it ſelfe in all things: let vs now ſee (according vnto our intended purpoſe) what the people haue beene and are in their condition. Such as haue heard of ſo extraordinary felicity, perhappes may quickly condemne mee, by alledging it as a matter impoſsible: that in a Region ſo pleaſant, gracefull, and abounding in all kindes of goodneſſe: the inhabitants can any way be vertuous, valiant, and couragious. Great *Cyrus* was of that Opinion, when his victorious *Perſians* laboured to change their Countrey, in regard it vvas ſharpe, rough, rude, and Mountainous; for one of them which they had conquered, that was more pleaſant, conſiſting of goodly plaines, and euen Champaigne grounds. Which hee would not ſuffer them to doe, but ſhewed them, that like vnto ſeeds and plants, ſo are the liues of men made conformeable vnto thoſe Regions where they abide. As if hee would haue ſayd, that in a fair & fortunate countrey, the mindes of men alter, and quickly become effeminate.

The wiſedom of Cyrus againſt the folly of his ſoldiers.

Hanniball, not onely inuincible by the Armies of the Romaines, but alſo by ſo many victories ouer them, bringing them neerer to their vtter ruine, then euer they were or had bene: was ouerthrowne and confounded, by the ſoft and eaſefull delights of *Capua*. The ſweets of his winter ſoiourning there, did eneruate and weaken both him and all his army, which the rough Alpes and freezing ſnowes, had formerly made vnconquerable. Euen ſo we may ſay, and very truely, that the high and mighty courage of *Alexander*, was ſoftned by the luxury, ſumptuouſnes, and diſſolutions among the Perſians.

Hanniball victorious againſt the Romaines, loſt al his honor at Capua.

Alexanders diſſolutions in Perſia.

It is a matter verie frequent and ordinarie, that the Prouinces of greateſt happineſſe, become a prey to others, in beeing voluntarily deſtitute of couragious men, For, a more warlike people coming to inuade them, after they haue continued there for ſome time: they forget their former generoſity, as if they were wholly changed, and with the very ayre of the countrey, had deriued to themſelues the verie ſame Nature. *Sicily* hath alwaies bin the butte and ayme of all warlike people, as of the *Grecians*, the *Carthagenians*, and the *Romaines*, and of many other beſide.

Sicily the aim of warlike nations.

Alſo in Egypt, which is one of the verie choiſeſt, fertileſt, and richeſt Nations of the worlde: the moſt martiall people that come to ſtay there, doe after enter into ſuch a lazie condition, that they ſtand in neede of chaſing thence, euen as they

The fruitfulnes of Egypt, and hurt it doth to martiall people.

they did to the first inhabitants. The like great and frequent changes haue bin often obserued, as well in ancient as more moderne times; and namely, vnder the Mahometane *Calyffes*. It is reported of the Wel* *Salmacis* in *Caria* (which is one of the regions of *Natolia*) that such as drinke the water thereof; of men, doe immediately become women. But the truth is, according to the relation of *Vitruuius*, that it is a place so goodly, pleasant, and where the people liue in such delights and dissolutions; that the courages of men, after they haue liued there any long while, becommeth altogither effemmate or womanish; which gaue such a subiect to the Fable, as if they had beene changed into women, and receyued into another Nature. Some haue attributed (to the selfesame reason) the vnmanlinesse of the latter Grecian Emperors of *Constantinople*, through the ouer-much delicacie of the Countrey.

*A ging neere to Halycarnassus.

All this is contrary in France, for amidst such a great affluence, and euen among a world of pleasures; generous spirits are borne, truly warriors, and of men excelling in all vertues, it yeeldeth withall the like abundance of euery other thing; yea, euen among those Frenchmen as suffer themselues to be led into all pleasures, in peaceful & vndisturbed times; yet are they not thereby softned a iotte, neyther loose any of their courage, valour, and addresse to actions of Armes. But euen, as if they were meerely borne thereto, nor euer learned any other kinde of exercise: beeing euermore readie to giue ouer all pleasures, to follow the warres, march to fights, and throw themselues first into the mouth of danger. This is their true exercise, their naturall inclination, vvhich they knowe not how to forget or giue ouer: and whensoeuer they delight in hunting, yet are they more readie to returne to Armes.

A morall Allusion of the Fable.

Frenchmen are truly born warriors.

The like naturall disposition is described by *Zozimus*, of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who although hee was a man giuen to much pleasure, and addicted himselfe thereto at due seasons: yet notwithstanding, when occasion required, he was alwayes readie to vndertake Armes, whereof as patiently hee endured all the paines, toiles, and incommodities, euen as if hee had taken a great pleasure and felicitie therein. Such a man was *Demetrius* King of Macedon among the Grecians, and *Marcus Antonius* among the Romaines; and *Scipio* giues very little ground vnto them in martial disposition. *Cæsar* also, speaking of his Army (composed for the most part of Gaules) saide: *That his Souldiers, howsoeuer they were perfumed, yet they left not (for all that) to fight valiantly and couragiously. Milites suos etiam vnguentatos, bene pugnare.* The like account vvas heretofore made, that the Belgians were the most hardiest and valiant amongst the Gaules: because, they would permit no Merchandizes to bee brought into theyr Countrey, that any way might serue to soften the naturall inclination of Men. But he knew well enough soon after, that valiancie and Militarie vertue was so natural, vnto them that were borne and norished vnder the ayre of Gaul, as it could not by any meanes bee quailed in them, or separated from them, by the plentie of any thing seruing vnto voluptuousnesse.

Zozim. in vit. Imp. Valentin.

Some haue held opinion, that the rigour and austerity of the Persian youths, and their continuall manner of liuing in so stricte a kinde; prooued to be the onely cause, that they were much better men of warre, then their neighbours. And surely, the Lacedemonians differed not from this coniecture of them, when they saide: They made no great meruaile why they went so boldly to warre, and exposed themselues vnto death; considering, what small delight and contentment they tooke in life, in regard of the harsh and rigorous discipline of their lawes. But the Gentlemen of France, although they be borne and bred delicately, they do neuer fayle in generous courage: Armes, and verie hard Trauailes in Warre, are vnto them as sportes and pastimes; and, to speake iustly, they are born thereto, without neede of so much cunning and instruction, as others haue to exercise and prepare them.

Those people that Fraunce hath bred and yeelded, haue alwayes bene redoubtable for their Armes, to all other Nations of the world. The Romaines well felte it, when they were hewed in peeces by the Gaules, on the day at *Allia*. And afterward, when (vpon their sodaine coming on them) they were constrained

Sueton in Iulio, Cap. 67.

en addict-d to armes y nature.

The stricte forme of life obserued amongest the young men of Persia, wondred at amongest the Lacedemonians.

The Romains felt the manhoode of the Gaules to their cost.

to hide themselues in their Capitoll; the which yet was not sufficient to saue them till (in the end) they were gladde to pay a great quantity of golde and siluer to the Gauls, for their ransom. And althogh their historians labour to make men beleeue, that *Camillus* the Dictator exterminated the greater part of the Gaules, & brought back againe that which was giuen for ransome; yet notwithstanding, *Polybius* a very ancient Author, neere enough to those times, well experienced in the history, & being an excellent writer beside, hee declareth the contrary, saying: *The Gaules went away victorious, hauing granted peace to the Romanes, by meanes of a great summe of gold, which they brought thence with thē.* Which is moreouer confirmed by *Suetonius*, who sayeth; *One of the house of the Neroes, Ancestors to the Emperor Tiberius, hauing made warre on the Gaules called Senones, descending from them that surprized Rome: brought backe the gold of the ransom which had bin payed them, & that it was not recouered by Camillus, as the rumour ranne.* And beside, those very men that sacked Rome, returning thorow Italy, made alliance with the elder *Dionisius*, the Tyrant of Siracusa, and aided him vvith theyr troopes against the Locrians and Crotones his enemies, as it is auouched by *Trogus Pompeius*.

The errour of the Romane historians.

Polyb. hist. in l. 1

Suet. in vit. Tiberio cap. 3.

In Lib. 1.

If the losse of the Gauls had bin so notable, as *Liuius* hath described it: they could not haue peopled a greater country in Italy, & made war so often on the Romans, as at diuers times they did. *Wee had enough to do* (saith *Cicero*) *to resist them & to defend our selues, being continually assailed by them. And our Captaines and Commanders in war perpetually accounted, that it was fitter to defend & beare off their blowes in such a war, then to set on or assault them.* It is wel known of great *Marius*, when he opposed himselfe against the effortes and stratagems of the Gaules, that hee neuer durst attempt to enter their Lands. They to whome all other war was easie, lost all their fencing trickes against the Gaules. *Hitherto* (saith *Salust*) *the Romans euermore conceiued, that all things gaue way, and were to be yoaked by their vertue. But only against the Gaules, when they were to fight with thē, not for honour and glory, but for defence of their liues.*

Cicero in Orat. De prouincijs consularibus.

In fine Bel. Iug. Vsque ad nostrā memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti suæ prona esse, cū Gallis pro salute, nō pro gloria certari.

Nor did they tearme this warre but tumult & insurrection, because that by the promptitude of the Frēch, in vsing arms; they had not the leisure to beate their drum, to raise or call their companies; but suddenly, without any choise, tooke such for soldiers as could carry Armes. They had a particular Exchequer or Treasurie by it selfe, destined to be imployed onely about the charges of the Gallish warres, whensoeuer they hapned: as being one of the greatest & most extreame necessities belonging to their City. And though in all other wars some stood exempted from going to them, as such as had spent their time in war, being called *Veteranes*, or ancient seruitors; yet (in such a case) they much needs march, without any regard at all of such exemption. *Vt oportet bello Gallico vt maiorū iura moresq; præscribunt, nemo est Ciuis Romanus, qui sibi vlla excusatione vtendum putet. According to the Lawes of our Ancestors* (saith *Cicero*) *and according vnto ordinary custome, there is not any Romane Citizen, that must think onely to propound any exemption, when there happeneth any war with the French.*

An Exchequer in Lne onely for Gauls war.

Cicero pro Fonteio.

Nay, that which is more, the *Romaines* quitted and gaue them freely the honour belonging to actions of arms. *Cato* voluntarily confesseth in *Salust*, *That the Grecians had gone beyond the Romans in eloquēce, and the Gauls them, in the glory of war.* And this is the reason, why they alwaies stood in feare of the country that brought forth a people naturally warriors, & in so great a number. When they named that Prouince, they would say, *It was too fearefull for the Romaines.* Neuer was any speech of the least stir or tumult in Gaule, but they would all tremble. And thereupon, immediately after the death of great *Cæsar* the Dictator, it was propounded to the Senate to giue ouer Gaule, leauing it to full liberty, although it was formerly conquered and assured. These are the very words of *Appian: There was* (saith hee) *made a Decree and arrest to the Senate, concerning Gaule: all the Senators being possessed with feare.* A little lower hee saith: *Some amongst them were of the minde, That they must needes giue ouer, and forsake all the whole Countrey and People, leauing them at libertie, and to enfranchise them from subiection vnto the Empire. So much they stood in feare and dread of the Neighbourhoode of Gaule.*

In Coniurat. Catilin. Facunaia Græcos, gloriā belli Gallos Romanos ante fuisse.

Cicer. de prouincijs Consularib. Gallia Romanis adeo timenda.

In lib. 3. de Bel. Ciuil.

And

And *Cicero* saith; *Nature hath munited Italy with a rampier of Alpes, not without diuine prouidence. For if that entrãce* (sayth he) *were laid open to the fury and multitude of the Gaules: euer would the Citty of Rome, the seate and dwelling place of the Empyre, onely Soueraigne of the worlde, bee besiedged.*

In Orat. de prouinc. Consu.. Alpibus Italiam munierat ante natura, non sine aliquo diuino numine: nam si ille aditus Gallorum immanitati multitudini que patuisset, nunquam hæc vrbs summo Imperio domicilium ac sedem præbuisset.

It is not to the Romains only, that the French haue made knowne their vnconquerable corage, and to feel the strength of dreadles armes; what Canton? what quarter of the world is there, where they haue not planted their conquering Ensigns? The Celts (for so the Grecians termed the French) are found to dwell in most parts of the vniuerse, as hauing lefte France, in regard of their ouer-great multitude, to seeke new countries elsewhere, which they conquered with their swords, and became Mastersofthem. They are dispersed ouer al Europe, and hardly is there any quarter, where they haue not left the markes of their victories, and records of their name. Spaine is full of such Colonies, whose names would bee considered out of diuers countries, according as ancient Geographers haue stiled them. And first to speake of the *Celtiberians, who are proofe sufficient to our purpose, and accounted to be the most valiant people in Spaine. No doubt, as they stil retaine the name, so doe they (in like manner) keepe the vertue and valour of the Gaules their Ancestors, that came to inhabite there, and also to make a Plantation of theyr name.

*People of the Celtes in France, planting themselues by the Riuer Iberus.

Some foure thousand of those *Celtiberians*, defended most couragiously the citty of * *Numantia*, and sustained the siege for fourteene years, against the Effortes of many Roman armies, yea, and of theyr very cheefest Captaines, vntill such time as they were inforced to send their *Scipio* thither. In the end, the so long besiedged Celtiberians, chose rather to burn themselues and their Citty together, then to yeeld to their implacable Enemies, vnto whom they left nothing to adorne theyr triumph, but their very name onely.

*A Citie of Celtiberia in Spain, besiedged 14 yeares by the Romaines.

At this very day, *Portugal* and *Gallizia* do carry the names of their first founders the Gaules. They entred also vpon a great part of *Italy*, comprehending (in the same respect) the name of *Gallia Cisalpina*, wher they first entred in the reigne of *Tarquinius Priscus*, King of the Romaines, about the year of the world, MMM.CCC.LX. There they founded *Millain*, & afterward *Brescia*, *Verona* and other Cities: this courragious, hardy, and warlike Nation (I vse the very wordes of *Trogus*) the cheefest next to *Hercules*, and iustly deseruing to be called immortal; they (I say) ouerwent the sharpnesse and bitternes of the Alps, vnpasible for the snowes & colds. They are found to dwell thorow all Germanie, where are the *Boemes* and *Carnes*; in *Pannonia* or *Austria*, and *Hongaria*; in *Transyluania*, *Valachia*, and *Albania*; in *Thrace*, where they haue reigned a sufficient lẽgth of time. This may be the reason, why som of our Ancients named Europe, *Celtica*, Κελτικὴν, becaus that the most part of the inhabitants, called themselues Celtes or Gauls, as is plainly auouched.

Called also Gallia Togata, and Citerior Gallia, now named Lombardie.

Trog. Pomp. in lib. 24.

Many Lands inhabited by the Celtes.

Ptolom lib. 2. Quadripert.

For the same respect, an ancient Geographer saide, that the Northerne part of the earth, was inhabited by the Scithians; the Eastern by the Indians, the Southerne by the Æthyopians; and the Occidentall or Western by the Celts or Gaules: each place and part of the world taking first denomination, according to the excellency of the people, that were the principal and most renowned in euerie part. The verie same Gaules haue made all Macedon and Greece to tremble, and haue solde peace to all other people, who came to buy it, before they were any way assailed, as affrighted with the name of the Gauls onely. *Trogus* reportetn it in this manner: *Tantus terror Gallici nominis erat, vt etiam Reges non lacessiti, vltro pacem ingenti pecunia mercarentur. Such was* (saith he) *the terrour of the Frenchmens name, that Kings neuer beeing encountred, came of themselues, and by theyr owne meere motion, to purchase their peace with great summes of Money.*

The foure quarters of the world, and how inhabited.

Trog Pomp. l. 24

All the lesser *Asia* were as slenderly able to resist them, for it hath bin wholly subdued by them. In like manner, such account was made of their man-hoode, that there hapned not any war in the East, but they were the forwardest partakers therein. It was euermore to them, that afflicted Princes fled for succour, as it is declared by the same *Trogus*, and heere you may reade his owne verie Words. *Gallorum ea Tempestate tantæ fœcunditatis iuuentus fuit, vt Asiam omnem velut exanime*

The lesser Asia subdued by the Frẽch.

Trog. Pomp. l. 15

aliquo implerent: Deniq; neq; Reges Orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu vlla bella gesserint, neq; pulsi regno ad alios quam ad Gallos confugerint. Tantus terror Gallici nominis siue armorum inuicta felicitas erat, vt aliter neq; Maiestatem suam tutam, neque amissam recuperare se posse, sine Gallica virtute arbitrarentur. Deniq; in auxilium à Bythiniæ Rege inuocati, regnum cum eo parta victoria diuiserunt, eamq; regionem Gallo-Græciam cognominauerunt. There was then such an aboundance of youthfull French, that they filled Asia, euen as if it had bin swarms of Bees: in such sort, that the Kings of those quarters of the East, attempted not any war, wherein they had not Frenchmen vnder pay. And if they chāced to be expulsed from their estates, they had no other recourse, but to throwe themselues into the armes of the French. Such was the terror of the Frenchmens Name, or the inuincible felicity of their Armes; that Kings knew not howe to prouide, nor conserue their Maiestie, or to recouer it againe being lost, without the valor of the French. To conclude, being called by the King of Bithinia, to lend him succour, after they had parted away with victory; they also parted or diuided his kingdom with thē, and surnamed the Countrey Gallo-Græcia, or French-Greece.

Gallo-Grecia so named of the valiant Gaules, that declared their valour there.

Those verie Gaules whereof we now speake, were come away from Thrace, where they (before) had established a Kingdome: which continued afterward, till the time of *Clyarus* their last king, according to the report of *Polybius*. The people of *Thrace*, of *Bizantium*, and of *Cherronesus*, being then their tributaries. All this is affirmed and maintained of the ancient Gaules.

Polyb. in lib. 4.

Nowe, as concerning such as haue caried the name of Frenchmen or Gauls, ancient standers, and dwellers in partes neerer hand, as well on this side, as beyond the *Rheine*: they long time made warre with the Romanes, pursuing them with their Armies, and ouer-labouring them by so many courses; that at length they expulsed them quite from amongst the Gaules. They were first obserued to appeare vnder that name of Frenchmen, in the time of the Emperor *Galien*; and from thence onward, the Romane Histories are copious, how manie times they passed and repassed the *Rheine*, to make warre with the Romaines, vvhen

The ancient Gaules inhabiting on eyther side the Rheine.

The valour of the Gaules in the Emperor Galiens time.

they thought to teare away Gaule out of their hands. Panegyricall Authors, exalting those Emperors with praises to heauen, that had in any encounter (how silly soeuer) got any aduantage against the French; do yet make it sufficiently known what great account was made of this people and generous Nation, yea, more then of any other, as being most fearefull to them, and to whome (for this cause) they yeelded themselues tributaries.

Vnder the Emperor *Claudius* the II. they inuaded *Holland*, and other neighboring Countries, and made thence theyr courses and wonted expeditions, as well by Land as Sea; vntill they extended their power so onward, that they entred somewhat farre into Spaine. *Zozimus* and the Rhetorician *Eumenius*, doe report a certaine voyage of theirs, and a chance well deseruing memory. The Emperor *Probus* hauing made warre on them, and wonne the vpper-hand in some encounter; hee tooke diuers of them prisoners, which he led away into Asia. Soon after, they made an escape, & being imbarked in certaine smal vessels, which they found fitting for their purpose: they ouer-ran and rauaged the coasts of Greece, and the Isles of the Ionian sea, besieging and taking Siracusa; and afterward passing the straites of Gebaltare, returned home againe into theyr owne country. The verie greatest affairs, that euer the Romanes had with Straungers, were alwaies against the Gaules, or French, who neuer would suffer them to liue in quiet.

The inuasion of Holland, & other places of the Gaules.

The succesſe of the Gaules that were led prisoners into Asia.

In the end, the Emperors well vnderstood their valour, and made vse thereof to their seruice. *Constantine* the Great, in the warre hee made against *Licinius*: had great store of them in his Armie, vnder conduct of a verie valiant French Captaine, named *Bonicius*, whose manhood is well noted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*. At the same time, partly by conquest, partly by conniuence of the Emperours; they extended the Gaules name very farre, and did so great seruices to the Romains, that they filled whole Legions of them. Especially, vnder the Emperors *Constans*, *Constantius*, *Valens* and *Valentinian*, as is to be seene in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Zozimus*, and diuers other Historians of those times.

The warre of Constantine against Licinius, and seruice of the French to him

Marcel. in lib. 7.

Afterwards, *Gratian*, hauing sworne more

Mellobands. The affection of the Emperor Gratian to the Gauls for his own good.

more ſtrict alliance with them, could find out a *Mellobands*, Prince of the French, beſide many other Captaines and Soldiers: by whoſe meanes he aſſured his owne eſtate, and carried away great Victories from the Germanes, whereof thirty thouſand were ſlaine in the field. This Prince did ſo highly eſteeme of them, as they ſerued him in all occaſions: yea, they filled vp the Army which he gaue to *Theodoſius*, to make quietneſſe in the Eaſt, and to repulſe thence the Gothes. Moreouer, he fauoured and aduanced them to great charges of his Court, and euen (as if (in reſpect of them) he began to grow in diſtaſte with his Romanes; ſo prooued it (partly) to be the cauſe of death.

Claudian his words of the Gaules.

It is moſt plaine and apparant, that for the ſpace of about 200. yeares, they were the threſhing Flaile, the terror & amazement of the Romane Empire: wherto (to vſe the ſame words that *Claudian* ſayth of them) *They ſolde peace and quietneſſe at the prizes of money, and tooke great recompences to ceaſe their fights.* The Epithets vvhich the Authors of thoſe times gaue them, were the names of *Terrible, dreadfull, and redoubted Warriors*; as being the onely nation, that (more then all other elſe could do) amated, bruiſed, yea, & vtterly brake in peeces the Romane forces.

The paſſage of the Gaules into Aſia and Affrica.

After that this Monarchy of the French in Gaule was fully eſtabliſhed: they could then vndertake other great enterptizes & voyages. How many times did they paſſe in Armes, both into Aſia and Affrica, to chaſe thence the Infidels, Sarazens, and Turkes, to deliuer the Holy land, and the Chriſtians that were there in their ſeruitude? There hath not bene any expedition in Chriſtendome, wherein they haue not bene heads and conducters, yea euen the better part it ſelfe. Many times haue they ſuccoured & re-eſtabliſhed the Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. And in the end, to reuenge the death of *Iſaacius Angelus*, (whom they had reſeated ſom ſhort time before) cruelly murdred by the Tyrant *Murſuffle*: they took in their aſſault) that great City, where they commanded (almoſt) foure hundred yeares. They made themſelues ſo knowne thoroughout the Eaſt and South parts, and haue ſo liuely engrauen there the memorie of theyr name: that (euen to this day) all the Orientals terme the inhabitants of Europe, by the word *Franki*, as thinking that name to be vniuerſall. As in like manner the Arabians and the Abyſſines, who call Europe by the name of *Frankia*.

The Gaules gaue great ſuccour to the Emperors of Conſtantinople. *Nicet. Choniates*

Ozorius, the learned byſhop of *Sylues* reporteth, that the *Indians* when the Portugals make warre againſt them: they call them by no other name then *Francki*, as confeſſing naturally, that ſince the braue expeditions of the French, againſt the Turkes and Sarazins; this name (full of admiration among thoſe people) had ſo ſpread it ſelfe thoroughout all Aſia and Affrica, that alwayes afterward, the ſame was to be attributed vnto all the Weſtern people.

The Portugals warring on the Indias.

But to deliberate no longer at this time on all the expeditions of warre, and voyages attempted by the French for the chriſtian name, for the defence of religion & the Church, againſt Moores, Sarazins, Turkes, and other Mahometanes, in diuers Countries of the world, and the glorious and goodly actions there by them performed: Can any thing bee tearmed more hardy, valiant and generous, then that which they did for conqueſt of the holy Land? Vndertaking ſo long a Voyage, croſſing ſo many Countries, & with ſuch ſtore of difficulties: Nothing could dant or turne them; nothing ſeemed impoſſible to them, beeing altogether inflamed with a zealous & diuine deſire. They expoſed themſelues to all kindes of dangers, iuconuenience of places and paſſages, famine, thirſt, peſtilence and warre: meerly prodigal of their liues, for religious zeale. In whatſoeuer we read concerning antiquity, yea euen of the fabulous ages, neuer are to be found ſuch deedes of proweſſe, as they did in that conqueſt.

The painefull trauailes of the French, for conqueſt of the Holy Land.

Let *Godfrey of Bullen* ſet himſelf before you, with his gallant French troopes, trauerſing al *Germany & Hungaria*, & ariuing at *Conſtantinople*; there is aſſailed by diuers ambuſcadoes on the Emperors behalf, yet ouercoming them al, euen as if it were againſt his wil to preuaile. Then looke on him paſsing the ſtraits of the *Helleſpont*, beſieging the city of *Nicea*, one of the ſtrongeſt in all the Eaſt, munited with al things ſuſtained and defended by a people reſolued, as wel for aſſaults giuen, as ſallies repulſed, or by any cunning to bee circumuented. During this ſiedge, the Army of *Soliman*, conſiſting of 500000. men,

Guliel. Tyrius in Lib. 1, 2, 3, &c. De Bello Sacro.

Nicea taken by the Frēchi

comming expreſſely to rayſe the ſiedge, is ouercom, broken, and cut in peeces, & the City ſurprized in the end.

A battell giuē by the French in Caramania againſt Soliman and his Turkes.

After this, behold another battel giuen in *Cicilia* or *Caramania*, by thirty thouſand French onely, againſt an Armie of tvvo hundred thouſand Turkes and Mahometanes, led by the ſame *Soliman*, and the Sultane of *Perſia*. Theſe two hundred thouſand Turkes, hauing (at theyr firſt charge from farre off) couered all the Chriſtian Army with a cloud of Arrows; and making a counterfet ſhew of flight, ſent another ſhower of ſhafts in the ſame maner, and then a third, they not hauing any meanes to ioyne or come nere them. So that there was ſcarſely one man among the Chriſtians, but was wounded with their ſteeled Arrowes, ſome in the armes, others in the legges, and many in diuers parts of their bodies, notwithſtanding the helpe of their Targets: euen as if we ſaw the like Army of the Romanes led by *M. Craſſus* againſt the Parthians. Vntill ſuch time as *Godfrey* reſolued to make a pretence of flight, and (indeed) retyred; as if he had bene no longer able to endure them. Which moued the Turkes to purſue after them out of order, as if they were altogether ouerthrown and diſhartned. But when the French behelde them within their compaſſe, that they might deale with them by handy ſtroakes: all wounded as they were, they giue ſuch a couragious charge vpon the Infidels, that they foiled and vanquiſhed the whole Army. So proceeding on, the Citties of *Tharſus* and of *Edeſſa*, and all the other betweene them, were likewiſe taken.

A worthy ſtratagem of Godfrey of Bullen, in an vrgent neceſſity.

The ſharpe & ſeuere beſiedging of the City of Antioche by Godfrey of Bullen.

Antioche beſiedged by a long ſiedge, the beſiegers being inceſſantly aſſayled, as well with the yſſuing foorth of an Army that was vvithin, as by the ambuſcadoes of many troopes at liberty abroad, beſides cutting off victuals, and all other commodities from them. In theſe extremities they were alſo oppreſſed with contagious diſeaſes, famine, and other kindes of neceſsities and miſeries, euery thing being oppoſite and contrary to them, and the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, doing his very vttermoſt to endamage them. All which notwithſtanding, they loſt not a iot of courage, or became any way at all diſheartned in this theyr enterprize, although to make their miſery much more: there came alſo on them another dreadfull Army, containing all the powers of the Eaſt, and appearing impoſſible to bee reſiſted. But the Chriſtians conducted by *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, ouer-ſpent and wearied as they were, hauing giuen the battaile; ouercame the great Armies, and droue them to flight.

The happie ſucceſſe of the Chriſtiās againſt the Infidels.

I let paſſe an infinite number of particular charges, encounters, combates, fights, ambuſhes, ſurprizes and aſſaults, to come to the ſiedge of Ieruſalem, where they met with all reſiſtance poſſible, both by force and cunning: which neuertheleſſe (in the ende) after infinite famous actions of Armes, was wonne by liuely force, and in a generall aſſault. All this was done in leſſe then two yeares, from the yeare 1097. to the yeare 1099. when Ieruſalem was wonne, and in the Moneth of Iuly. Then was *Godfrey* choſen King of Ieruſalem, who yet refuſed the crowne of gold, ſaying; *It fitted not him to weare that pompe, where his Lord and Sauior wore one of ſharpe pricking thornes*. Euery one of the other Princes & French Lords, which made vp the body of the Army, were alſo partakers in the chiefe poſſeſsion of Citties and Prouinces thereabout; & there was not a man among them, but was capable of holding the Empire of the world, and by farre greater reaſon, then is reported of *Alexanders* Captaines. And this may iuſtly be the cauſe (in part) that the ſucceſſe was not ſo great as it might haue bene: they beeing able to haue paſſed on, ſo farre as the extremeſt parts of the Eaſt, to conquer all the Country, and plant their Enſignes on the banks of the Indian Seas. In briefe, there was neuer any thing comparable thereto, neither for religious piety, nor manhood in Armes.

The conqueſt of Ieruſalem by Godfrey of Bullen.

It was alſo a matter admirable in *Godfrey*, that being Souldier; he ſhould bee culpable of ſo great prouidence, iuſtice, and moderation of ſpirit. It is reported of him, that although he was King; yet he cloathed himſelfe, and liued ſo ſimply, as the very meaneſt Souldier about him. So that vpon a certain day, diuers Lords of the Country being come vnto him, to preſent him with gifts, but (to ſpeak truly) to eſpie and take knowledge of what they could: being brought before him, they found him ſitting on a Sacke ful of ſtraw, & vpon the ground. After they had well obſerued

The honor & rewards of ſo great deſeruing.

Guliel. Tyrius in lib 7. cap. 20

The admirable humility and moderation of Godfrey of Bullen & his answer to certaine Lords.

obserued it, beeing driuen to no meane admiration, they made enquiry; how so great a Prince, beeing a Lord of such matchlesse merit, hauing shaken all the East, and seized on the very greatest kingdome, should be seated so poorely, without any pompe, no rich hangings, nor any Guard about him, to make him dreadfull to such as should come neere him. But he demanding what they had saide, replied thus: *It is the best seate for a mortall man, and by good right the earth should suffer and serue to beare him for a time: in regard that (afterward) it must be the house for his body to dwell in.* Which when the Lords had heard, admiring his answer, humility, and wisedome, they returned thence, saying: *This is (indeede) such a man, as ought to rule ouer all these Regions: and to him (in equity of desert) it belongeth, to commaund ouer all other people whatsoeuer.*

How long time the frēch held the kingdome of Ierusalem.

Thus the kingdome of *Ierusalem* was held for the space of about fourescore & tenne yeares by the French, who (in the meane while) made warre vpon the Infidels, being succoured from time to time by the Kings of France: among whom, *Lewes* the seuenth, called the young, and *Philip Augustus* went thither in person. But afterward, this kingdome was conquered by *Saladine*, first *Souldan* of *Egipt*: And then the French, vnder conduct of their Kings, ceassed not alwayes to attempt voyages and expeditions, as shall be declared in place more conuenient. Heere I forbeare to speake of the great warres and goodly exploits in Armes, of the French against the Allemaignes, Hunnes, Danes, Normans, Saxons, Sarrazins, Gothes, Lombards, and English, which are to be discourssed heereafter.

The apparant singularity of the French, aboue all other Nations.

There is not any other people, that haue caused themselues more to bee spoken of, to spread their renowne so far, and enterprise matters more great, goodly, & difficult, then they haue done. Other Nations neuer could come neere them, no, not the *Spaniards*, of whom *Strabo* yeeldeth testimony, that they neuer did, or euer durst vndertake great occasions. *They beeing* (saith he) *exercised and inured to slender exploits, & lowe or base enterprises; as some light ambuscadoes, courses, and brigandages or theeueries.* But concerning the valour of the French, and the greatnesse of their courage; there remaineth very sufficient proofes in antiquity. Some haue attributed this quality to them, to be voyd of feare, and boldly to cast themselues into the midst of dangers. *Strabo* reporteth, that certaine Frenchmen beeing brought to *Alexander* the Great; when hee demanded of them, what it was they most feared; made this answer: *Nothing at all, except the Heauens should fall on our heads.* Signifying by this manly reply, that feare had no power to freeze their blood, or vsurpe any place in their warlike soules.

Strabo in lib. 7.

A braue answer of the French to Alexander the Great.

In like manner, they neuer knew what it was to flye, or turne their backs in the most dangerous fights; neither to giue so much as the least inch of ground: as the Emperour *Leo* declareth in his Art Military or *Tacticks*, and *Chalcondilus* the Grecian, in his Turkish History. Both of these Authors do affirme, that they hold this the heauiest sinne, which can happen to be committed by them. The selfesame is also auouched by *Aelianus*, who delineareth these very words. *Among all men, they that most affect dangers, and most valiantly expose their liues to perilles; I vnderstand them to be the Gaules. The whole subiect of their Songs, is of such men of vertue, as died valiantly in foughten battels. Crowned they combate, and adorned with Markes & Trophees of their victories: as well to honor the worthy acts which they haue done, as to serue for memory to posterity, according to the manner of the Grecians. But aboue all, flight is held so dishonest and shameful among them, that very many times, they will not get them gone, or make escape away from a tottering house, though it be ready to fall vppon them, or all on a flame, and themselues in immediare danger to be burned.* This may seeme very strange, and rather blame worthy, then commendable: yet it is done in no other regard, but only to shew what their resolution hath alwaies bene, as shunning all occasions, whereby they might bee reputed timorous.

Leo Imp. in Tac. Chalcond. in Hist. Turk.

Aelian. De var Hist. lib. 12.

In like manner, the Emperor *Iulian*, speaking of his soiourning among the Gaules, saieth; *That it was with the most warlike, and onely couragious people of all other Nations.* *Pausanias* declareth, that although they were wounded quite thorough their bodies with the sword, and euen cleft in twaine with axes sharpe slices; yet notwithstanding, not a iote of their

In Misopogone. παρα τοὶς μαχιμωτατοις, καὶ θυμικωτατοις πασι ἐθνων.

Strabo in Lib. 3 ἐπιδεικτικὸς δ' καὶ λησμικὸς τοῖς βίοις ἐστὶ τοῦτο, τὰ μικρὰ πλεωντες, μεγάλοις δ' οὐκ ἐπιβαλομενοι.

Pausan Phocicis

their courage abated. And when they wer ſhot through with darts and arrowes, ſo long as any reſpite of life remained, or the very laſt gaſpe or breathing; they fought ſtil manfully, and made a maſſacre among their enemies: yea, there were many among them that ſnatched the Arrowes & Darts out of their own wounds, and ſhot them backe againſt the Greeks, or, being neerer hand, ſlew them with the ſame Arrowes and Darts, euen by meere ſtabs. Whereat the Greekes being amazed, to behold ſuch wilfulneſſe in fight, ſuch courage, contempt of death, & prodigality of life; not knowing whereto they ſhould attribute it, nor (to ſpeake truely) what to ſay of it, (beeing wont to commend no men but themſelues) they ſaide; *This goes quite beyond the nature of men.*

Vnconquerable reſolution in the French and what opinion the Greekes had of them.

Ariſt in Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 7.

In the ſame caſe and reſpect, *Ariſtotle*, imagining that ſuch ſtrength and valiancy was without example, and aboue the capacity of any humane ſpirit: attributed this viuacite of ſoule, to a kinde of furious and naturall inſenſibility, not fearfull of any thing; neither earthquakes, nor the rougheſt ſtormes or tempeſts: *Euen like* (ſaieth hee) *as it is reported of the Celts or Gaules.* Warre was their true trade & exerciſe, there was not a man among them, that would excuſe himſelfe from marching to the field, without any diſtinction of ages. The olde man, wearied and ſpent as he was, went to it as cheerefully, as hee that farre greater force and vigor. A yong lad, euen in the firſt floure of his time, found therein no difficulty at all; he made offer of his youthfull members freely, to be hardened by colds, and inured to trauailes, alwayes diſpoſed and ready to ſupport moſt difficult occaſions, yea, and the very dreadfulleſt accidents of war.

No diſtinction of yeares among the Gaules from marching in Armes.

Marcel: in l. 15.

In briefe, as it is confirmed by *Marcellinus*, a faithfull Author, a Souldier or mã fit for the warre, who hath liued any time among them; ſhall neuer be there mette withall, as among the Romanes: where there were ſome, that to ſhun the warres, wold cut off ſome member of their owne, eſpecially their thumbs; *Whom we termed* (ſaith he) *in deriſion and mockery*, * *Murci.* To men of ſuch baſe and ſeruile condition, as will thus cut off a ioynt, to make themſelues vncapable of being Soldiers, may bee referred that iniurious French diſgrace, *Poltron*, *à police trunco*; *A knaue hath his thumbe cut off.*

* One that cutteth off his thumb, becauſe he will not go to war.

This generoſity and greatneſſe of courage, is likewiſe familiar among the womẽ of France, whereof we haue teſtimony in the ſame Author *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who writeth thus. *If a man of Gaule enter into a quarrell, his wife being with him; there is not any troupe of ſtrangers able to reſiſt or ſtand againſt their ſtrength. Eſpecially, when the women are moued & enflamed with choller, ſtretching foorth their brawny armes, griping their ſtrong knit hands together, great and white as ſnow: ſo that both with feet & fiſts, they diſcharge blowes as liberally, as if they wer ſtones from ſlings, or quarrels from Croſſebowes.* And as they are thus excelling in magnanimity, ſo are they as complete in other perfections: but cheefely in prouidence, diſcretion, and good aduice.

The ſprightly courage of the Gauliſh women. *Marcel. in l. 14.*

VVe reade, that before the Gaules paſſed into Italy, a ſtrong ſedition happened to grow among them, which diſperſed it ſelfe into a ciuill warre. But the women, euen as the two Armies were ready to meete each other; threw themſelues into the middeſt betweene them, and queſtioning the reaſon of their difference, drew them to ſo great equity, and fulneſſe of content on eyther ſide; that they begat admirable and reciprocall loue and kindneſſe among them, not onely betweene the Townes and Cities, but alſo in the houſes neighbouring together. Wherupon, after that time, they continued all conſultations of their affaires (as well concerning warre as peace) with theyr wiues, and pacified all quarrels and differences with their neighbors and kindred, onely by their meanes. And therefore, in the compoſition which they made with *Hannibal*, when he paſſed by the Gaules, they concluded (among other Articles) in this manner. That if it ſo came to paſſe that if the Gaules pretended any wrong to be done them by the Carthegenians; the Carthagenian Captaines and Gouernours (which were in Spaine) ſhould be the Iudges thereof. Contrariwiſe, if the Carthagenians could alleadge, that the Gaules had offered them any iniury; the women of Gaule ſhould bee Iudges therein. And therfore *Plutarke* had great reaſon, to ranke thoſe Ladyes in number, among them reputed to be vertuous women.

Plut. in De clar. Mulier.

The compoſition that was made betweene Hanniball & the Gaules.

The

The Gaules euer called them to their councels and consultations, as well for warre as peace, becauſe they knew their naturall diſpoſition to be ſuch; as not a woman among them, would ſeeke any to ſoften and weaken (willingly) the boldeſt or moſt couragious enterprize her husband could vndertake. And this may be the cauſe, why the ancient Romane Soldiers would not be maried: As now at this day, there are certaine kingdomes of the Indiaes, where the Noble-men will by no meanes admit mariage. But the Gaules knew well enough, that this ſexe were ſo farre off, from any way hindring their Martiall deſignes; that they would by no meanes permit the very leaſt inclination to negligence or cowardiſe; they rather ſerued as ſharpe ſpurres to their vertue, to excite, encourage, and animate them more and more.

The Gaules called their wiues to conſultations and councels.

Kingdomes in India where Noble men admit not mariage.

To this purpoſe, I may not omit a notable example, though not of the ancient Gauliſh women; but of a French Lady, as yet recent and freſh in memory. *Bertrand du Gueſclin* had beene alwayes a moſt valiant Knight, and one highly renowned in all Hiſtories. After he had performed many worthy enterprizes, euer to his fame and honour: he maried with a beautifull Lady, named *Tiphania*, deſcended of a noble family. After which mariage, he growing to leaue, and diſcontinue his former exerciſe of Armes; as he ſate diſcourſing with his Lady, ſhe gently began to blame and reproue him, declaring, that (before their mariage) hee followed the warres, wherein hee had atchieued the cheefeſt reputation. And that it neyther ſuted with the nature, nor duty of a true Gentleman to loſe the leaſt repute of honour wonne before, by ouer-much affecting a new made choiſe. As for mee (quoth ſhee) who ought to ſhine by the bright radiance of your fame, I ſhall account my ſelfe too low deiected, if you giue ouer a courſe ſo well begun, and loſe your ſpirits in doating loue, wer it to one more worthy then my ſelfe.

Of Bertrand du Gueſclin, and his noble minded Lady, Tiphania.

Theſe words did ſo neerely touch the Knight, that hee began againe to follow Armes, wherein he carried himſelfe ſo valiantly, that they did well and worthily attribute it to him, to ſtand as a ſtout Rampier for France, in the very ſharpeſt times of warre, and euermore made a meere Barre of his body, againſt the hotteſt inuaſions of the Engliſh. By vertue of his valour, King *Charles* the fift, hauing reconquered moſt part of thoſe territories, which had bene inſulted on in the reignes of the precedent Kings: alwayes helde head againſt that valiant *Edward*, ſurnamed the Blacke Prince, and Prince of Wales, and diſappointed all his hopes. It was he that re-eſtabliſhed *Henry* the II. King of *Caſtille*, in his kingdome, in deſpight of all the Armies and Engliſh forces. Hee was alſo made Conſtable of *France*, by King *Charles the* fift, who helde him in ſuch endeared affection for his valour, that hauing beſtowed great gifts on him in his life time; after his death, hee did him ſo much honour, as to let him be buried at S. *Denis*, at the feete of the ſame Toombe, which this King had prepared there for himſelfe.

Behold what generous words of a woman can doe.

The honorable actions of Bertrand du Gueſclin.

Whatſoeuer is heere ſet downe, concerning this honourable Lady *Tiphania*, hath beene, and is as familar to all the Ladies of *France*, who partake in the ſelfe-ſame affection; and couet rather to enflame, thē freeze their husbands forwardneſſe, in winning honour by Armes; and the like they are (in all reſpects) to their children. For whoſoeuer will but aduiſedly well conſider, on the admirable generoſity, and greatneſſe of courage in the people of Gaule; they will make no meruaile at all, of thoſe bolde words vſed by the braue Souldier *Vercingetorix*. *If I could* (quoth hee) *vnite together all the French: I ſhould compoſe ſuch an Army of men, as if the whole world did coniure, and bend all force againſt them, they were not able to withſtand them.* Take it as a vaunt or brauado who will. The very proofe of their fights and conqueſts, made but by ſome part of their people, may yeeld ſufficient teſtimony, that if the words ſpoken by *Vercingetorix* had bene put in execution; they would haue prooued true, and the ſame effect muſt needes haue followed.

All the Ladies of France are equall to Tiphania.

Iul. Ceſ. in com. lib. 5.

And to ſpeake truely, if we conferre them with other Nations, we ſhall apparantly perceiue, that the French haue gon beyond all in Military vertue. So many expeditions, and yet in ſo farre remote Countries, ſo many warres attempted, & fortunately finiſhed; ſo many foughten battels; and ſo many actions of Generoſity,

ſity, haue made them ſufficiently knowne to the world. The Greeks and the Romanes (albeit their ſworne enemies) doe render but too true teſtimonies thereof: not ſpeaking (in the like tearmes) of any other people whatſoeuer. But eſpecially the Romanes, who neuer feared any Nation ſo much as they, whom they acknowledged to be fatall to their City, and the greatneſſe thereof. So that when the Gaules of Italy, but particularly thoſe on the hither ſide of the Alpes, made but a countenance of remouing themſelues; or deſigned any enterpriſe: they were immediately poſſeſſed with terror, and in a continuall apprehenſion, omitting no needfull prouiſion of all things, euen as if their City were to be beſiedged againe, or halfe ſurprized. *Polybius* ſaith. *They verily perſwaded themſelues, that they ſhould neuer become Maſters of Italy; no, nor conſerue their owne lands ſufficiently; ſo long as they had the Gaules to be their neighbors.*

Polyb. in lib. 2.

They felt againe the force of the warlike Gaules in the ſecond Punicke warre, when *Hanniball* went to encounter them in Italy. That great Captaine paſſed then through Gaule, and made alliance with the Gaules, whoſe valor was well enough knowne vnto him: and hee conducted them into Italy, where they did him great ſeruice againſt the Romanes. And notably doth *Polybius* remember them, when in that great day at *Cannas*, there were ſlaine 4000. Gaules in the fielde on the Carthagenian ſide: *That were* (ſaith he) *the principall inſtruments of the victory, wonne by their blood for the Carthagenians, which was the moſt deadly day for the Romanes, next to that of Allia, where the Gauls ouercame as many.* I forbeare to ſpeake of all the other encounters, battailes, and moſt ſignale warres, which this couragious Nation had againſt the Romanes, for the ſpace of about two hundred yeares. It is eaſily diſcerned (euen out of their owne reports) how many times the Gauls had the vpper hand of them, and what diſmal feares and amazements they haue put them to. Alſo, where they haue noted downe any conquering of the Gauls, it may be well obſerued, that it was compaſſed onely by ſome ſtratagem, deceit or cunning, wherby (according to their own ſaying) they brought all their purpoſes to paſſe.

The Romanes alwayes ſtood in feare of the Gaules.

Of the ſecond Punick warre.

Had leagued with the Gaules, & led them into Italy. *Polyb. in lib. 4.*

The Gaules had war with the Romanes aboue 200. yeares.

Stratagems & cuning, argue the leaſt part of manhood.

In a word, after that the Gaules of Italy were emptied of men (by continual wars) and brought into ſubiection, *Polybius* reporteth, *That there was the end of the Gauls war, the like wherof was neuer heard or ſeen, be it for courage, boldneſſe, and reſolution in Souldiers; be it for greatnes of fights; be it for numbers of ſlaine men, or multitudes of their troupes.* Further he proceedeth on in the accidents of their wars, by way of giuing ſome encouragement to weake mindes, againſt the dreadfull attempts of the Gaules: *Who made ſeizure* (ſaith he) *on the Greeks, not only before, but alſo in my time.* Of any other nation, he findeth none but the Grecians & the Romans, that can deliuer any ſuch true teſtimony of them: which rendreth faith ſufficiently on their ſide, & (among al other people) they neuer could be fellowed. Albeit *Cicero* in his time, ſpeaking of the Spaniards and the French) ſaith; *That the Spaniards exceeded in number, but the Gaules or French in valiancy.* Wherby is euidently ſeene, that in the compariſon of theſe two Nations, he giueth the honour to the French, attributing to the other, nothing but number.

Polyb. in lib. 7.

Polyb. vbi ſupra

Cicero pro Plãtio Hiſpani numero, fortitudine Galli.

And yet me-thinkes it is ſtrange to be credited, that the Spaniards ſhould exceed the French in multitude of men, cõſidering, that Spaine (as hath bin ſpoken heeretofore) is deſcribed to be but badly inhabited, euen by ancient Geographers, and them more moderne: whereas contrariwiſe, that France is ſo filled with mẽ, and ſo greatly inhabited, as it is wonderfull to behold. But it may bee, that the mighty numbers of the Gaules were not (as then) knowne, Gaule beeing not ſubiected to the Romanes, as Spaine was, which they held almoſt wholy. For whoſoeuer ſhall conſider, what Armies the Gaules gathered from time to time, to make warre vpon the Romans, according to the recital of *Cæſar* himſelfe: wil iudge that Spaine, nor any other Prouince of Europe, could not be ſo fully furniſhed.

Concerning the ſlender inhabiting of Spaine.

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 7.

Moreouer, it would not be much differing from our purpoſe, if wee ſhould ſet downe, what troups of ſtrangers the Romanes then kept at their pay: & namely, that they had more mercenary Soldiers out of Spaine, then euer they could get from France. Becauſe thoſe people beeing more barbarous, leſſe ciuilized, & poliſhed with good cariage; gaue thẽſelues

The Romans had more mercinary Soldiers from Spain: then from France.

ſelues to no other exerciſes, but to wander at randome among the Mountaines, there to pilfer and rob from one another, or elſe to ſerue as mercinaries, partly to the Carthagenians, and partly to the Romanes, after they had once got footing there. On the contrary, the Gaules (of whom no queſtion was at any time made to be all warriors, excelling in valour and greatneſſe of courage) in regard that they were much ciuilized, neuer liued after ſo baſe a manner. And although they had ſuch plenty of warlike people, yet wanted they no meanes of freeing themſelues from ydleneſſe, when their grounds were to be tilled and husbanded, or other Arts and Trades vſed, neceſſary for the life of man, as well in times of greateſt turbulence, as ſeaſons of more ſecurity. For no where can it bee read of them, as it is of the Spaniards, that they left their Lands barren, becauſe they would not till them, but referred them wholly to their wiues to take that paines, who both before and after their times of childing, were feigne ſo to toyle and moyle themſelues.

The naturall breeding and ciuility of the Gaules.

The negligence of the Spaniards in tilling their grounds, leauing them to be done by their wiues.

Other of our Gaules imployed themſelues in the ſtudie of Letters, and exerciſes of Religion, and contemplation in celeſtiall matters: witneſſe ſo many skilfull *Druides*, and ſuch beſide as followed after them, renowned for their Learning through all the parts of the world. So that the Gaules dwelling beyond Gaule, ſerued but very ſlenderly to the Romans, vntill ſuch time as they had conquered Gaule: then they found the ſufficiency of their aſsiſtance, and acknowledged not only their vertue and valiancy, but alſo their infinite number of warriors. And this was the reaſon, why *Cicero*, ſpeaking afterward to *Cæſar*, concerning his victories in Gaule, ſaid: *That hee had ouercome Nations, inumerable in multitudes.*

Learned ſtudies among the Gaules.

Cicero pro M. Marcello.

Now, to ſpeake of all other Countries, there is hardly any one of them, but it hath bene as a prey to ſtrangers. *Italy*, ſometime the Conquereſſe of many people, with her Rome, calling her-ſelfe, cheefe Lady of the world: was ſhee not (for long time) expoſed to the rauages, irruptions and pillages of the *Vuiſigothes*, *Herules*, *Gerpides*, *Oſtrogothes*, and *Lombards*: who intirely ſacked and rent her in peeces (each after other) and droue the people out of their dwellings? *Spaine* became inuaded in the ſame manner, and afterward was cantonned by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Sweues*: yet were they alſo expulſed (in following time) by the *Vuiſigothes*, who eſtabliſhed their owne abiding there. Next to them, came the *Oſtrogothes*, who held the Country powerfully ſo long, till the *Sarrazines* ouercomming them, were vſurpingly poſſeſſed of well neere all *Spaine*. *Allemaigne*, or *Germany*, was not it likewiſe made ſubiect to the inuaſions of thoſe people which dwelt more Northerly, who at length ouerthrew the whole Romane Empire? I ſay nothing of ſome other quarters of the world, where the like fortune hath many times happened: yet this is moſt certaine, that thorough all the Prouinces of the earth, there haue bene changes of people, and of frequent Colonies.

All Countries ſubiect to the ſpoiles of ſtrangers. Italy & Rome

Spaine in the ſame condition.

Allemaigne or Germany in no better eſtate thē the other.

But to ſpeake more particularly of *Spaine*, at the firſt it was filled with people of the French Nation, as along the Riuer * *Anas* or *Ana*, now called *Guadiana* in *Caſtille*, ſo farre as the Promontory Artabrum, or *Cabo de finis terræ*, in *Gallicia* in *Portugall*. Alſo the *Celtiberians* in *Caſtille*, by the teſtimony of *Strabo*, *Ptolomie*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Pliny* and *Appian*. Frō whence it enſueth, that ſome ancient Geographers, as *Ephorus* and others, haue comprized them vnder *France*. But be it howſoeuer, *Spaine* hath continually beene taken, held and commanded by ſtrangers: as by the *Ionians*, *Lydians*, *Thracians*, *Rhodians*, *Phrygians*, *Cypriots*, *Phœnicians*, *Egiptians*, *Phocenſes*, and *Carthagenians*, according as their owne Hiſtorians haue acknowledged. Since then, by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Sweues*, that inhabited there for a long time: and afterward by the *Vuiſigothes* and *Oſtrogothes*. At laſt, wholly filled with *Moores* and *Sarrazins*, who held it in poſſeſſion aboue ſeuen hundred yeares. And there they remaine yet to this day (according to ſome Writers) in the Mountaines of *Andalouzia*, called *Alpuxarras*, whether the Armies of Conquerours could neuer come or reach.

* The Riuer Guadiana, which diuideth Granada from Portugal *Strabo in Lib. 4.*

Diuers ſtrāge Nations commanding Spaine. *Vaſeus & Tarapha.*

Moores and Sarrazins yet abiding in Spaine.

Heereby may bee gathered, that they are a mingled people, and compoſed of ſo many ſeuerall Nations, as haue dwelt there in the countries from time to time. As their very language it ſelfe (euen the beſt polliſhed and moſt frequent) ſufficiently

The Spaniards are a compounded people.

ently sheweth, consisteth (for the most part) of the Gothish and Arabick. It would aske an infinite and wearisome labour, to make search for all the mutations that haue ther happened. But France is a Country, which hath least bene that way ill entreated: as hauing kept herselfe more pure, entire, and neate from rauage, and incursions of so great numbers of strangers.

The pure and entire condition of France

* *Timagenes*, an ancient Greeke Author that flourished in the time of *Augustus*, cited by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, saieth; *That according to the opinion of his Nation, the Gaules were Autoctthones, that is to say, Originaries, and borne in and of the selfesame Country.* Declaring thereby, that they were not come or deriued of any strangers Colonies; which the Athenians also attributed to bee a matter of great honour. I know well, how it may be obiected to me, that *Marseilles* was builded, and inhabited by the *Phocenses*: yet there was none other but that onely Colonie, beside that which is reported of the children of valiant *Hercules*, which he had by the women of France, and who there cōmanded for sometime, as is testified by ancient Monuments and Antiquities of the Gaules, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, *That he himselfe had seene in Gaule.*

* A Rhetorician of Alexandria, reaching in *Pompeis* house. *Marcel. in l. 15.*

Marseilles in France, built by the Phocenses.

Marcel: in l. 15.

As concerning the Britannians or Bretons, who being expulsed out of *England* by the *English Saxons*: they withdrew themselues into Bretaigne, thē called *Armorica*. I hold, agreeing with the iudgement of many learned men, that they being ancient Pillars of the French, parting from the firme land of the *Gauls*, to dwell in the Isle which was before it: comming backe afterward, to refuge thēselues in France; did but re-establish their owne ancient Country, and returne to their true orginall. Naturall reason, for the neighbourhood both of the one and other, doth apparantly shew it selfe. The same is confirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, & by the common opinion that then was, as also by the similitude and likenes, both in faces and manners of the inhabitants. And beside, there is to bee seene in the Geographicall description of that Island (according to *Ptolomy*) the names of many Gaulish people, who vndoubtedly had planted Colonies there. Such were the *Belgiaus*, the *Parisians*, the *Atrebatians*, &

The Bretons expulsed by the English Saxons.

Cornel. Tacitus in vita Iul. Agricolæ.

Colonies plāted in Armorica or Bretaigne.

the *Cornabians*.

As for the French, they were no strangers, they entred among the Gaules, not as enemies, but as friends and brethren to the Gaules: to deliuer them from the tyranny of the *Romanes* and *Gothes*, who had expulsed them, and were (in that māner) restored to their former freedome, and so the Gaules and French became but one people, as shall heereafter more plainly be declared.

The entrance of the French among the Gaules.

The *Gothes*, hauing so long time kept their reuels in Spaine; to speake truely, came also among the Gaules, but yet for a very short while: nor was there any Ensigne or remarkable valor in those *Goths*, making comparison of them with the French. It is said, that their property was to be fearefull, and soone put to flight: so reporteth S. *Gregory Florentius*, Arch-Bishop of *Tours*, who liued somewhat neere to those times. And *Saluianus*, that eloquent Priest of *Marseilles*, acknowledged the *Gothes* to be the most feeble and slothfull, among the generous Nations of the North parts. When they were in Gaule, and stood to encounter with the French: they durst not tarry, or make any head against them. The Kings *Merouæus*, *Chlouis*, and *Childebert*, beheld them to passe ouer the Pyrenean Mountains, yet they assailed and ouercame them in battaile, euen in Spaine, hard by *Toledo*, their capitall abiding. The *Burguignons* and *Germanes*, who had inuaded some small parcels of France, were soone cut off, and quite extermined.

The Gothes came among the Gaules.

S. Greg. Florent in lib. 2. cap. 27.

Alaricus Rex Gotthorum me. tuens ne propter Syagrium iram Francorum incurreret, vt Gotthorum patere mos est, vinctum legatis tradidit. Eod. li. cap. 37. Cumque secundum consuetudinē Gothi terga vertissent. Saluian. li. 6. & 7.

So the French and Gaules, conserued themselues within their own limits, without hauing any strāgers mingled among them. And as (in former times) they filled the world with their Colonies or troops of people, so did they continually the like afterward: hauing againe peopled Germany and Italy, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Great, and his successors. So that it is not without good reason, that (at this instant) the very greatest houses of Germany, deriue their originall from the French: as is declared by *Hermanus*, Count of *Nuear*, in an Epistle which hee sent to the Emperor *Charles* the 5. on the the Annales of *Pepin* and *Charlemaigne*.

The best houses of Germany deriued of the French *Herman. Com. de Nuear in Epist. ad Car. 5.*

True it is, that the Gaules haue beene ouertaken by the Romans: but what people knew how to resist them; considering their

their admirable order, and exact Military discipline? *Iosephus*, very fitly to this purpose, attributeth thereto all their great conquests and large extendure of the Romane Empire. So that after he hath demonstrated the forme of their Campe, their ordinary exercises for Armes, and a sumonary obseruation of all their behauiour, he concludeth. *All these being well considered, wee neede make no doubt to say; that the possessions was much lesse then the possessors. Adding withall, that hee extended so farre in declaring all this, not as any commendation to the Romanes power; but rather as a comfort to the conquered.*

Iosephin lib.3. de Bel. Iudai.

The words of Iosephus concerning the Romanes.

Moreouer, of the Westerne Prouinces, France was the last conquered by them, whatsoeuer is else saide to the contrary. Whereas (on the other side) *Spaine* came among the first into their hands, in the time of the wars against the Carthagenians. France was that Country, that longest of all resisted, and against which (to speake no more then truth) their inuincible Armies, yea, they that were victorious throughout the whole world; became meerely edgelesse and blunted, as not able to beare off their blowes. All other Romane Captains vtterly lost their labour, *Cæsar* onely excepted. Which is no meane honor to the Gaules, to yeeld themselues vnder the yoke of so great a Prince: who is acknowledged to be the most wise and perfect Captaine that euer was. And yet for all that, France was not conquered at the first onset, neyther made surrender of her spoyles, without sweate and blood. That great Commander in warre, tooke intollerable paines, and trauelled for the space of ten yeares continually, with all the power and strength of the Romanes, which then held the more part of the wide world. And yet (euen then) he had not preuailed neither, if hee had not serued his turne with Frenchmen themselues, & made a conquest of *France*, by *France*. Diuisions and partialities, which were then on foot among them (an ordinary and fatall ruine to the most potent kingdomes) called him thether, wher finding all to bee diuided in diuers factions, ciuill warre kindled among them, allied with many, and fortefied with their troopes, as namely them of *Authun* and others; it was so much the more easier to be surprized by him, and in such an opportunity of aduantage.

France last conquered by the Romans.

None of the Romans could conquer France, but Ceasar.

Cæsar made a conquest of France, by France it self, and in a time when they were at diuision among themselues.

All which notwithanding, it is an admirable matter, and well worth the obseruation, that in the resistance made against him, by people so disioynted & perplexed: yet in ten whole yeares, the Gaules fought thirty ranged battailes, wherein, according to the account made by *Appian*, there were slaine well neere eleuen hundred thousand able fighting men. And beside, himselfe testifieth in his Memories sufficiently, with what manner of people they had to deal: & they likewise could no way performe, without receiuing great losses, as there he feareth not to confesse,

Appian in lib.2. de bello ciuili, & in Celticis.

If wee had but his Ephemerides, or particular Iournall booke, we should see other matters of his owne confession; considering, that *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the conquest of the Gaules, saith: *He pacified them, after many great losses on either side sustained in ten years war.* And as touching his owne person, it is recorded, that in a certain encounter, he was releeued, (notwithstanding all his Greatnesse and goodly Armour) by a Gaule, who hauing remounted him vppon his owne horse, bare him away throgh all the throngs. But there came another Gaule, who brauely cryed to his companion, *Cecos Cæsar* in the ancient Gaulish language which is as much to say, as *Let Cæsar passe*, & this was the reason of his safe passage. Wherein they worthily declared, that it was honour enough to their generous mindes, to carry *Cæsar* safely away from danger, when they had him in their power, and could haue slaine him, *Satis est prostrasse*. The Grammarian *Seruius* citeth this example out of the Ephemerides or Iournals of *Cæsar*, which wee cannot come by in these dayes. In like manner, *Cæsar* knowing them wel, and hauing (on the other side) experimented the dulnes of the Easterne people, in the war which he had against * *Pharnaces*, King of *Pontus*, saide. *Most happy was Pompey, that he had nothing to do with the resolute French, but with the faint-harted men of the East, & got the surname of Great at so cheape a Market.* In briefe, the *Gauls* were neuer ioyned to the Romane Empire, by any power in the Romanes, but thorough their owne proper forces: as a great Captaine speaketh in *Tacitus*. *Verè reputantibus Galliam suismet viribus concidisse.*

Cæsar kept a Diary booke of all actions in Armes. *Marcel. in li.15*

Cæsar releeued by a Gaul in great extremity.

Seruius Aen.xi. In hunc versum Dire prunque ab equo.

*Who was Sonne to king Mithridates.

Histor. Lib.4.

Ioseph.in lib.2. de Bel.Iudai.

And as King *Agrippa* declareth in *Iosephus. It was not through want of courage, or any dull neglect, that they were ouercome: considering the Romanes themselues said, it was foureſcore yeares, before they could faſten hold in one ſmall Meridionall or Southerly Prouince of Gaule, & afterward fought ſo much againſt Cæſar: But rather it was by the frugall managing of their owne felicity, wherein they pacified both deſtiny and fortune: whereby they plainly ſaw, that the Romanes got the vpper hand rather by force thē otherwiſe, and (in a word) by the diuine permiſſion or prouidence.* Nay, and that which is much more, after ſo long warre, againſt ſuch power, and ſo great a Captatne, yea, and after ſo many loſſes: yet notwithſtanding, Gaule fell not into the Romans hands, as being ſubiected, but rather as allied, and in farre better faſhion then all the other Prouinces.

Gaule not ſo much conquered, as louingly leagued.

De Bello Galico. lib.8.in fi.

He that continued *Cæſars* Commentaries, ſaith: *That while hee wintered in Belgia, he had a carefull eye, onely to maintain the people in amity, without giuing to any one either will or occaſion, to riſe or take themſelues to Armes.* For that which hee moſt of all deſired, was, that vpon his departing, there might happen no occaſions to ſtay him: or if hee had cauſe to bring an Army thither againe, yet that he ſhould not bee troubled with any long warre, whereunto Gaule gaue liſtening with very good attention, when ſhe ſaw her ſelfe out of apparant danger. Wherfore, cauſing the Citties to come before him, with his beſt reſpect, and greateſt honour he embraced them, and gaue very goodly gifts to the principall and moſt apparant perſons: not impoſing on the reſt any charges, or extraordinary ſubſidies, wherby he contained them in peace, and the better diſpoſition to obedience throughout all Gaule. And ſo by this cunning, Gaule (at laſt) gaue place, and became mildely quieted. For the affability of *Cæſar*, and the courteſies he extended towards them, did more conquer them in one winter, then all his Forces, Legions and Armies could doe in ten yeares.

Gaule could endure no apparant danger.

One winters kindneſſe in Cæſar wonne more then all his Legions could do in ten yeares wars.

Ouer and beſide, the titles of Alliances, of Peace, and of friendly conference, are ſo frequent in the Romane Authors, euer where they ſpeake of Gaule; that it plainly teſtifieth on her behalfe, that ſhee was not conquered by Armes, but rather left at louely liberty, by friendly parlances and confederations. Which *Ammianus Marcellinus* himſelfe alſo confirmeth, for he ſaith, that *Cæſar*; *After many loſſes on the one ſide & other ſuſtained, during a war of ten yeares continuance: in the ende (by eternall pactions and agreements) ioyned the Gaules to the Romane ſociety and alliance.* We ſee alſo, that they left ſome people in Gaule wholly free, as (among other) the men of *Auuergne*; who termed themſelues as Noble as the Romans, and called them their brethren; the men of *Authun*, the *Marſellians*; them of *Lionnois, Foreſts*, and the round neighbouring Countries.

Gaule not conquered by Armes, but courteſie. *Marcel.in li.15 Poſt de cennalis belli mutuas clades ſocietati noſtræ fœderibus iunxit æternis.*

Plin. lib. 4. cap. 19.

Now as concerning Subſidies & Contributions, a Romane Gouernour, named *Cerealis*, ſheweth plainly in *Tacitus: That ſuch tribute was but for maintenance of the Legions, and for preſeruation of peace in the Prouinces; which could not bee continued without Armes nor Armes without wealth. As for the reſt* (ſaith hee, ſpeaking to the Gaules) *all is in common with vs, oftentimes you giue command to our legions, your ſelues alſo gouerne in the Prouinces, as others do in our Empire.* By the ſelfe-ſame reaſon, that which bound them moſt to duty, was the entire amity of the Romanes to them. *Cæſar* made a great number of their Cittizens Romanes, and *Auguſtus* in like manner, though in more ſparing faſhion, with ſome reſtriction frō vulgarizing ſo great an honour of the City or Bourgeſhip of the Romanes. Afterward, the Emperour *Claudius* gaue the right of Senatours to the principall of the Gauliſh Lords. And in the ende, *Galba*, for the ſignale ſeruices which the Gaules had done to him and the Romane Empire againſt *Nero*: hee made them all Cittizens, without exception.

Corn.Tacit.in Hiſtor.lib.4

Cæſar made many of the Gauliſh Cittizens Romans.

Annal.Tacit.11 Idem. Hiſtor.in lib.1.

The like was neuer done in, or for *Spain*, where there were but ſome Colonies w had the ſame right, and no more then to any other Prouince of the Empire: who obtained that priuiledge, but by generall Edict of the Emperour *Antonius Caracalla*. Nor was it without great reaſon, that they made ſuch great account of this Prouince: conſidering, what great aduantages it gaue vnto them. For, were it in reſpect of treaſure, rich Gaule furniſhed them with more reuenues; then (by vſing the common manner of ſaying)

L.In orbe Romano D.de Statu homin.

Treaſure of the Gaules.

saying) all the reſt of their Empire, as it is recorded by *Velleyus Paterculus*. Were it for leuying vndaunted Souldiers, and for ſuch as they muſtered from thence: therin conſiſted the maine ſtrength of al their troopes. And that *Cæſar* knew well enough, and publiſhed it ſufficiently abroad, as hauing made choiſe of them aboue all other, and (by their meanes only) came to poſſeſſe the Empire of the whole world. For ouer and beſide what hath formerly beene ſaid, concerning the wealthy treaſures of France: the valiancy of the Gaules holdeth the moſt eminent place, by whoſe courage he was eſpecially and principally ſerued, to gaine that greatneſſe, whereunto hee had ſo long time aſpired.

Velleyus Paterculus. Soldiers for the wars out of Gaule cheefely.

The victory which he wonne againſt great *Pompey*, ought to bee attributed to the valour & warlike vertue of the Gauls. And if he had not bin furniſhed with ſuch men, valiant and ſtrong, not onely againſt the enemy, but alſo to endure famine, and all other kindes of neceſſities, euen to the feeding on bread made of graſſe & roots; he had bin loſt in his hopes, and vtterly defeated by the long & lingering delaies of his enemy. This was that which moſt of all amazed *Pompey*, who gaue expreſſe charge, that ſuch bread ſhould not bee ſeene in his Camp; for feare of diſheartning his Souldiers, or driuing them into deteſtation of their paines, whē they conſidered, the ſharpe extremities ſuffered by their enemies, with whom they dealt ſo cruelly, that they left them nothing to feed on, but euen as brutiſh beaſts.

Cæſars victorie againſt Pompey, aſcribed to the Gaules.

Plut. in vit. Cæſar. Pompey was aſtoniſhed at the bread whereon the Gaules fed on in warre.

Moreouer, *Cæſar* hauing ſent a ſmall number of Gaules, for great ſuccour to *M. Craſſus* againſt the Parthians; theſe were the men, who (in that moſt vnhappy day for the Romans) performed moſt ſtrange exploits of Armes, and ſhook the enemies victory very ſharply. Theſe were the men, in whom young *Craſſus* repoſed moſt confidence, as being the warriours, with whom he performed admirable actions of proweſſe. For they receiued (with their bare hands) the ſharpe points of the Parthians Pikes, and cloſing with them body to body, threw them to the ground, among their horſes feete; where they lay all along ſtretched out, vnable to releeue themſelues, onely through the maſſiy weight of their Armor. Many ther were beſide, who forſaking their owne horſes, crept vnder the bellies of thē belonging to their enemies, to pierce & ſtab them with the points of their Swords: which cauſing the horſes to bound aloft, by extremity of the anguiſh they felte, trampled vnder their feete both their maſters & enemies together, and ſo fell dead without any reſcue.

The Gaules ſent to ſuccor M. Craſſus againſt the Parthians.

Plut in M. Craſſo.

The admirable ſeruice of the Gaules to yong Craſſus.

The ſame *Cæſar*, prepared a complete Legion of Gauliſh Souldiers, which hee called the *Larke*, and added it to the Romane Legions, and whereto (at length) he gaue the honour of Bourgeſhip. Nay, and that is much more, hee not knowing how he might worthily enough recompence the Gaules: made a great number of them Senatours, to the great diſcontenting of many *Romanes*. And as for the Cauallery or horſemen, wherin the *Gauls* euermore excelled all other Nations in warre: *Cæſar* had (almoſt) none other, but continually ready at his ſeruice ten thouſand Gauliſh horſe, according as it is declared by *Appian*. Theſe were the French horſe, that affoorded ſo many great ſeruices to *Cæſar*: as well in *Spaine* againſt *Affrinius* & *Petreius*, Lieutenants to *Pompey*; as afterward in *Affrica*. Wher it is ſaid, that in one fight, leſſe then thirty Gaules in number, fought againſt two thouſand Mauritanians, and droue them to flight.

Cæſars Legion of Gaules, tearmed by him the Lark. *Sueton. in Iulio. cap. 24. Sueton. in Iulio cap. 76. & 80.*

Appian. De Bel. Ciuili. lib. 2.

Autor de Bello Affrico in princ. ſeude Bello. Ciuili. 5.

Nere to *Munda* in *Spaine*, *Cæſar* fought againſt the ſonnes of *Pompey*, where all had bin vtterly loſt for him, hee knew not any meanes for helpe or redreſſe: till the Gauliſh horſemen reconfirmed all, and was the cauſe, that the day (beeing before reputed for deſperate) came ſolie to *Cæſar*. His ſucceſſors found themſelues alwayes well ſerued, both with ordinary horſe and foote of the Gaules. *Tacitus* maketh mention of a Cohort or Regimēt of the *Sicambrians*, which did many remarkable deeds, in the warre againſt the Thracian Mountaineers: *Who were* (ſaith he) *prompt and hardy againſt dangers, and no leſſe dreadfull for their Armes and order of marching in battaile aray*. This I do the more willingly ſette downe, becauſe of thoſe Gauliſh Sicambrian Nation, the French are properly deſcended.

Cæſar ſuccored by the Gaules on a deſperate day

Corn. Tacit. in Annal. 4.

The Poet *Claudian* auoucheth, that as other Prouinces furniſhed the Emperours with diuers commodities: ſo did

De laud. lib. Serenæ. Dat Gallia robur militis.

Greece spoyled & wasted by the Goths.

France alwayes fit them with men for the warres. The same Author saith in another place, that vnder the Emperors *Arcadius* & *Honorius*, about the time of the insurrection and reuolt of *Gildon*, a great Army, composed (for the most part) of Gaules, was brought to succour Greece, then rauaged and spoyled by the *Gothes*: and they performed there such deeds of valour, as holpe the Country to recouer her right. So that being (for long time) wel entreated by the Romanes, partaking in the honours and administration of the Empire: it was no matter of maruaile, that their peace should be of so long cõtinuance. One onely thing also was irkesom & burdenous to thẽ, in regard whereof, they troubled the Romane Empire with some stirres and perturbations, the Gaules being naturally addicted to vertue and seuerity. And therefore they hated to be commanded by such Emperors as were negligent, dissolute, and quite giuen ouer to all vices: which made them despise subiection to such as was *Tiberus*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Heliogabilus*, *Galien*, and other such like monsters of their names. They would endure none but vertuous Princes, and such Gouernors were the fittest men to confirme and keepe them continually in peace.

The Gaules hated to be commanded by dissolute Emperors.

Tiebell. Pollistæ. In xxx. Tyrannis. De Posthumio 2.

Heereupon was it, that the Emperour *Valerian*, in a Letter of his said; *That hee had made a certaine man, named Posthumius, Gouernor of Gaule. A man* (saith he) *well worthy of the Gaules seuerity*. A word sufficient to reiect the obiection of leuity, wherewith some would haue reproched them. Another Author, writing the life of the Emperor *Carus*, confesseth: *That to command the Gauls, there needed an Emperour very constant and vertuous*. So that being vnable to suffer the detestable vices of many Romane Emperors, they departed (at euery occasion) in this respect frõ their obedience: whereby it may be iustly said, that they continued alwayes free, and being not truely subiected, gaue their seruice to no other Emperors, but such as themselues reputed worthy. Vntill such time, as vpon the declination and fall of this great Empire, by the insatiable auarice of Romane Gouernors, and other insupportable charges: they altogether fell off from them, and gaue ayde to their compatriots the French, and so wholly did roote out the Romanes name.

Vopiscus in Caro.

The Gaules were neuer truely subiected to the Emperors.

But to examine a point (heeretofore handled) somewhat more particularly, it cannot bee saide with any reason, that France was conquered by the Romanes before Spaine: neither that the Spaniards made any more resistance, or continued longer time from subduing or subiection. For on the contrary, it appeareth, that the Carthagenians possessed themselues (in few yeares) of a great part of Spaine: euen at such time as the Romans fell likewise on it, and carried away their share without any difficulty. Witnes the treaty of peace, made betweene the Romans & *Hasdruball*, chiefe Captaine for the Carthagenians, wherein it was couenanted, that the Riuer *Iberus*, now called *Ebura*, should bee the bound of the Empire for these two people, and that the *Saguntines*, free people originally of Greece, who were betweene them both, should confederate with the one and other.

France not conquered by the Romanes before Spaine

Tit. Liu. in li. 21 Inpr.

* Sagunt, a City in Spain beyond Iberus and a mile from the Sea.

After this, it is sufficiently knowne, that the Romanes had long time made warre against the Carthagenians in Spain, who gaue them there many valiant fights. During which while, no estate, or fewe, made mention off among the Spaniards; who stood but as spectators, in expectation of the yssue, to see which of those two people should haue command ouer them. This was at the beginning of the second Punicke warre, when the *Scipioes* (after they had spent eight yeares in war) were slaine by the Carthagenians. And afterward, Great *Scipio*, surnamed *Affricanus*, being sent thither, after diuers encounters, and taking Townes from the Carthagenians: expulsed them wholy thence, & first of all made it a Romane Prouince, in the yeare of the Citie of Romes foundation CCCCCXLIII. All the busines which he had with the Spaniards, was for some reuolts of particular people, whom he likewise as soone suppressed. So that very truely *Ammianus Marcellinus* hath saide: *That all the Prouinces of firme Land in Spaine, were the first conquered, & made one Prouince by the Romanes*.

The second Punick war wherein the Scipioes were slaine, & the comming of great Scipio into Spaine.

Marcel. in li. 25

All Historians agree together, reporting also, that in the yeare CCCCCLII. two Pretors were created at Rome to gouerne Spaine, which was then diuided in two parts, and termed *Citerior* & *Vlterior*, to wit, on this side, and beyond *Ebura*.

Tit. Liu. in li. 32

Cato Senior sent into Spaine.

ra. The elder *Cato* was also sent thither, to quallifie the reuoltes of some people. When he had ouercome them, & made prouision, that no more rebellions might afterward happen: he sent his Letters & command to euery City in particular, to this effect, that they should cast down to the ground their wals and fortefications, & disposed the action so orderly, that his command was obeyed in the Cities, and he arriued ther at the same time. So they being verily perswaded in each City, that this command stretched but to that place onely: yeelded the more willingly, which otherwise they would not haue done. Whereupon ensued, that in one day, all their Townes were dismantled, and their wals raced. In regard of which successe, *Cato* made his vaunt; *That hee had taken more Townes in Spaine, then there were daies.*

Plut. in Catone maiore. Tit. Liuius in l. 34. Aust. de Vir. Illust. c. 47.

At what time the Romanes first entred into Gaule.

Now, as concerning Gaul, the Romans neuer had footing there, but in the yeare IVCXXII. & in Prouence only: about an hundred years after that *Spaine* was wholly conquered. Nor had they there but a very small parcel, which was a nere neighbor to them: all Gaule being neuer made a Prouince, but by *Cæsar*. By what likelihood of truth can it thē be said, that *Spain* was brought vnder the power of the Romane Empire, after France? Neuertheless it is very true (as *Strabo* saith) that the difficulties which the Romans had in *Spaine*, to make it peaceable, grew onely through the reuolts of some particular Townes & people, and by the incursions of theeues gathered together in troopes, and these (of necessity) were to be chastised. So, making war, not in grosse, or with a body of iust Armes, but by peeces and parcels, one after another, in small courses and surprizals: the Romans had more trouble to finde out, then conquer them. Againe, although *Spaine* was held & cōmanded wholly by the *Romanes*, yet notwithstanding, there remained some people, dwelling in difficult, sharpe & mountainous places, as * *Basques*, & * *Astures*: who afterward, in the time of *Augustus*, were wholly vanquished, and added to the rest of *Spaine*. As also (about the same time hauing conquerd *Aquitain*) he made it a Prouince, as the three other of Gaul.

Strabo in Lib. 4

A defectiue kinde of making warre.

* People of Boetica in Spaine.
* People betweene Gallicia and Portugall.

Moreouer, there cannot bee found so great a number of worthy Captaines, afoorded by any country, like vnto *France*. As were among the ancient *Bellouasians* and *Sigouasians*, chiefe of the first & furtheſt-off expeditions among the Gaules: *Brennus*, that surprized *Rome*, and another *Brennus*, who afterward subdued the most part of *Europe* and *Asia*. *Dumnorix*, *Diuiconus*, *Ambiorix*, *Dumnatius*, *Vercingetorix*, *Diuitiacus*, and many more recorded by *Cæsar*. And to set Kings aside, who cā recount all the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords & Gentlemen, that haue excelled in the Art of wars. They are not to be numbred, such as haue beene in later times, as *Godfrey* of *Bullen*, king of Ierusalem: beside so many Princes and Lords, as went in the expeditions to the holy Land, the wars of *Spaine* and *Affrica*, against the *Turkes*, *Moores*, and *Sarrazins* at sundry times. The Marshall *Bouciquant*, in the dayes of king *Charls* the fift, as also *Iohn de Saintrè*, knight; *Bertrand du Guesclin*, Constable of *France*; *Enguerrand*, Lord of *Coucy*; the *Conte de Dunois*, cheefe of the famous house of *Longueuille*, the right hand and maine helpe to King *Charles* the 7. for expulsion of the bolde English. *La Hire*, *Pothon de Xaintrailles*, *Tanneguy du Chastell*: *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, one of the Ancestors to great K. *Henry*, hee, that after he had conquered a great part of *Italy*, bare away the renowned victory of *Rauenna*, trampling (vnder his feete) all the forces of *Spaine* and *Italy* coniured against him. *Odet de Foix*, Lord of *Autrec*; the Captain *Bayard*; the Lord of *Chamont*; *Louis de la Trimouilles*; *Guillaume* and *Martin du Bellay*; *Charles de Bourbon*, Constable of *France*; *Frances de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguyen*; *Charles* and *Timoleon de Cosse*, of the house of *Brissac*, and an infinite number more, most honourably remembred by the best Historians.

What famous Captaines France hath yeelded from time to time.

Godfrey of Bullen, King of Ierusalem.

One of the best Soldiers that euer France bred.

What shall we say of our Kings *Meroneus*, *Chlouis*, *Childebert*, *Chlothaire*, *Charles Martell*, *Pepin*, *Charles* the *Great*, *Hugh Capet*, *Loys le Gros*, *Phillip Augustus*, *S. Louys*, *Phillip* the third, *Phillip le Bell*, *Charles* the fift, surnamed the wise, *Lewes* the twelfth, *Frances* the first, and the valiant *Henry* the fourth, Father to the King now reigning?

Famous warlike Kings of France.

On the contrary, *Trogus*, speaking of *Spaine*, saith. *In tanta seculorum serie, nullus illis Dux magnus, præter Viriatum fuit,*

Trog. Pomp. in lib. 44.

Viriatus the hardy Lusitanian.

qui annos decem Romanos varia victoria fatigauit. Adeo feris propiora quam hominibus ingenia sunt. In long succesſe of ages, they neuer had any chiefe Guide for warre, beſide Viriatus Luſitanus, who laboured the Romanes for the ſpace of ten yeares. So that (ſaieth he) *they came neerer in nature to ſauage beaſts, then to men.* And addeth further, that they followed ſuch a Captaine, rather by occaſion, then out of any iudgement, hauing not made any election of him.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Nor can there be deſired a better, and more certaine teſtimony of valour, and generous nature in the French, then that which *Strabo* deliuereth in theſe words. *All thoſe people whom we terme Gaules, are Martiall, couragious, & ready (of thẽſelues) to fight: And yet notwithſtanding, they are very ſimple, and no way wicked or euill inclined.* Heereto he addeth. *That they bring nothing to the fight but vertue and courage, without any craft, ſuperchery, or brauing. And although* (ſaith he) *they are full of heat to fight; yet are they (for all that) capable to vnderſtand reaſon, and eaſie to bee perſwaded. Willing to vndertake the quarrell, for ſuch as they ſee to be iniuriouſly wronged and offended.*

In Lib. 5. *Copias habebat in Gallia bellare conſuetas, locis campeſtribus & contra Gallos homines apertos minime que inſidioſes, qui per virtutem non per dolum dimicare conſueuerunt.* *Cicero in Philip. 5.*

The Author of the Commentaries on the warre which *Cæſar* made in *Affrica*, be it *Hirtius*, be it *Oppius*, or whoſoeuer elſe, ſaith. *That the Gaules were men open-hearted, and no way deceiuers, vſing to fight by vertue, and not by ſubtilty or fraud.* The ſame *Strabo* auoucheth in another place, ſaying: *They are all warriors, and principally good Knights, for the beſt Cauallerie of the Romanes, was compoſed of the Gaules.* The Romanes alwayes made moſt eſpeciall account of the Gauliſh horſemen, for *Cæſar* found himſelfe to bee beſt ſerued with them. And *Cicero* hearing that the gouernment of *Tranſalpine Gaule* ſhould be giuen tó *M. Anthony*; cryed out. *Eſt enim opinio decreturum aliquem M. Anton. Galliam vltimam quam Plauius obtinet: Quid hoc eſt aliud, quam hoſti arma largiri primum neruos belli pecuniam infinitam. Deinde equitatum quantum velit? Can any thing elſe be done heerein, but onely to thruſt Armes into the hands of an enemy? Firſt of all, infinite ſummes of money, which are the nerues and ſinewes of warre: And next, as many men well horſed, as he wold haue with him.* This paſſage is ſufficient, whereby to conceiue and certainly obſerue, the wealthy treaſures of France, and the opinion held thereof.

The exerciſes of theſe people, ſpake fully the matter of war ſo much by them affected, alwaies louing a manly & cheerfull diſpoſition of the body, and contemning groſſe corpulency: ſo that they condemned (in very great fines) all ſuch yong men, whoſe bellies exceeded the ordinary meaſure of their girdles, according to the auouching of *Strabo*. Moreouer, the French haue bene reputed to ſurpaſſe all other Nations, in theſe two noble and warlike exerciſes, hunting, and ryding great horſes. *Hunting, which is nothing elſe but a liuely image of warre, and an aſſiduate meditation thereof*, as *Xenophon* ſaith. *Eginhard*, the nurſing-childe of *Charles* the Great, and his Secretary, writing his life, ſpeaketh thus. *Exercebatur aſſidue equitãdo ac venando quod illi gentilitium erat, quia vix vlla in terris natio inuenitur quæ in hac re Francis poſſit æquari. He exerciſed himſelfe daily to hunting, and to mount on horſebacke. Wherein* (ſaith he) *he relliſhed of the whole Nation. For there is not any people in all the world, that can heerein ſurpaſſe, but onely may endeuor to equall the French.*

The exerciſes of the Gauliſh people declared their affection to Arms

Strabo in lib. 4.

Hunting and riding great horſes.

Xenophon. In vita Caroli Magni.

But before I can finiſh this diſcourſe, concerning the warlike vertue of the French. I cannot forbeare to ſay ſomewhat of that which they performed on the day of * *Nicopolis* againſt the Turkes: where a man may well ſay, that a ſmall handfull of French Gentlemen, excelled (in proweſſe) whatſoeuer wee reade in Hiſtories, of all the braue exploits in war that euer were done. Not *Leonides* of the Greekes at the *Thermopylæ*, nor *Cæditius* of the Romanes in *Sicily*, is any way worthy compariſon with them: the hiſtory followeth in this manner.

* A City in Bithynia.

Froiſſard in vol. 4.

Charles the ſixt reigning in France, the King of Hungaria ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, entreting that ſome ſuccor might be affoorded him, againſt *Baiazeth* ỹ firſt, Emperor of the Turks, the moſt remarkable warrior that euer was of the houſe of the *Ottomans*. The King conſenting thereto very gladly, many Lords & Gentlemen of France prepared themſelues to be ſeene in this voyage, to the number of about a thouſand or twelue hundred. Among others, there was the *Conte d'Eu*, Conſtable of France; the *Conte de la Marche*;

The hiſtory of the few reſolued French on the day fought at Nicopolis.

Marche; the Lord of *Coucy*; the Lords of *Trimouille*, and *Iohn, Conte de Neuers*, son to the Duke of *Burgongne*, who was chief Commander. When they were ioyned with the king of *Hungariaes* army, hauing past the riuer * *Danubius*, they bare away (in assault) the honor of diuers Townes: and at length came to lay siedge before the City of *Nicopolis*.

The greatest riuer in Europe, rising out of the hill Arnoba in Germany. In Illyricum it receiueth 60. other riuers into it, where it is caid Ister and there is broadest.

VVhile the greater part of the Army besiedged the City, *Enguerrand* Lord of *Coucy*, taking with him fiue hundred Lances: made vp into the Countrey, to seeke some enemies that they might fight withall, and it is credibly reported, that (verie nere vnto them) there was a troop of Turkes, of about twenty thousand in number. Now, albeit this multitude exceeded their small companie beyond all measure: yet notwithstanding, they resolued to grapple with them. And hauing first of all drawne them beyond a wood, wherein there was an ambuscado; they came and charged them in the rere. The fight was (for all that) cruell, and of long continuance, wherein the French, although they were so few against so great a number; yet they did performe wonders that day. So that in the end, the Turkes being disheartned, faintned extraordinarily, & more then fifteen thousand lay slaine in the field.

500. hundred French Lances, set vpon 20000. Turkes & their succes

Some short while after, *Baiazeth* being come with a dreadfull Armie, consisting of more then three hundred thousand fighting men: they aduanced themselues to deale with the enemies armie, being not worthy to be termed any number, because they were (in all) but seauen hundred, when they beganne the fight. The French small troops, made a goodly sight to behold, beeing all well armed and appointed, in rich glittering and gorgeous Armors, wanting no cost of golde and siluer, and brauely mounted on gallant horses, most sumptuously barbed & caparassoned; so that such as saw them, might well haue tearmed them an Armie of Kings. But (beyond all the rest) vvith what force, ardour and courage they fought, although they were meerely shut vp, and round railed or ringed in with innumerable enemies. At the first onset, they wholly defeated and ouerthrew the auantgard and first battell of the Turke, beating them on stil before them, euen to the verie midst of the bodie of the maine army, where was *Baiazeth* himselfe.

A far vnindifferent army of Turkes, to meddle with so fewe of the French.

Many there were, who performing meer miracles of manhood in fight, cleft or hewed out their passage thorough the prease, and very thickest of all the Turkish Army, compelling them to make them way, both for going on and returning backe again, euen to two or three seuerall times of enforcement. And yet no one man among that poore small troop, who seeing the vnauoydable danger of death, was desirous to take hold on any aduantage, or shew so much as a countenance of retiring, albeit their enemies (gladly) offered them many meanes. All resolued to loose their liues, but yet the enemie bought them at very deere rate, filling the field with mountaines made of their dead bodies: euen till such time as the fight hauing held a great deal of the day, the most part of the French lying dead on the ground, and the rest (a very small number) wearied vvith killing the Turks, and pierced through with wounds, being ouerwhelmed with multitudes, were (in the end) taken prisoners. But it was generally held for truth, that if the great bodie of the Hungarian army (beeing vvell-neere the number of an hundred thousād able men) had seconded them, or vsed neuer so little resistance, in making but a shew of withstanding the enemie, to hinder the French from beeing so enclosed, (by any forwardnesse in redeeming them, and not fearefully fly away on heaps thorough the valley, as the Hungarians most cowardly did, suffering themselues to be murthred, without any offer of fight) the day had remained to the Christians. And I dare speake it, that the power of the Turkes, which afterwards so great enlarged it selfe (meerely thorow our diuisions) had then bin vtterly ruined from the top to the bottome.

Most admirable corage & manhood, deliuered apparantly by the French, and in a time of most extreme triall

Great negligence in the armie of the Hungarians, to faile the men which fought for the

Then you plainely perceiue, that of this small troope of resolute Champions, the greater part of them lay dead in the field, hauing made a slaughter of infinite enemies, more by fifty times then they were, and fought to their lateſt drop of bloode; but verie few of them remayned prisoners. But on the next day, *Baiazeth* going himself in person, to view the fielde of battell, and take acknowledgement of the dead, when he found that for one French

But few prisoners taken of the small French company.

Baiazeth had but little ioy in his deare victory, desiring to deale no more with the French.

Frenchman slaine, whole heapes and piles of Turkes filled vp the field, and all his Army left in such pittifull condition, he tooke it so despitefully, and entred into such outragious choller, as beeing vnable to consider on his losse, or take any means for contentation, hee commanded a passage vnto death thorough the army, of all the prisoners, except about some twentie of the greatest Lords: as the *Conte de Neuers* thē Generall, and others; who being knowne, were saued and put to their ransomes. *Baiazeth* complaining on so sadde a victory, which cost him so deare, could not depart thence but very pensiuely: and in plain trueth, such another ouerthrow woulde absolutely haue confounded him altogether.

Concerning matters belonging to iustice

Plutarch in vit. Pom.

This may seeme sufficient for the valiancie of the French. But som may obiect, that such warlike people, accustomed to liue among Armes and Martiall exercises, shold bee voluntary disdainers of matters appertaining to Iustice, acknowledging no other right then that of armes. *Forbear* (said *Pompey*) *till to morrow, to alleadge your Lawes to vs, who haue our swords by our sides.* This is quite contrary to the French, who are no way to be lesse commended for their iustice then for their valor and excellency in actions of armes, and haue euermore bene accounted to be true louers of Iustice. *Agathias* a Grecian authour, who liued more then a thousand yeares since, hath praysed and commended the French for their Iustice. *Whereof* (saith hee) *they are verie desirous, as also great louers of their Country.* He further addeth, *That becaus they possesse a most assured estate, they haue (as their bases and support) many goodly principles engrauen in the hearts of their Kings and People.* Why then let mee vndoubtedly tell yee, that among all other Nations, the Gaules & the French haue most highly cherished and loued Iustice, and haue alwayes religiously honoured it, yeelding themselues thereto, and making continuall exercise thereof, without any passion.

Agathias in l. 1.

The French great louers of iustice.

And not to make repetition of an infinit number of goodly institutions, and diuers examples of their Iustice, it may well appeare by this notable custome, which both Greeke and other ancient authours haue obserued among them. To wit, that if any one haue slaine a Citizen or Bourgesse, he hath no other infliction but banishment; whereas, if hee commit the like offence on the person of a stranger, he is punnished with death: for the paine is augmented in consideration of the stranger, to whome the more easily the iniury may be offred, so much the more (they hold) that the offence which he hath done, ought to be seuerely punished and reuenged. It may be thought somwhat hard, that a straunger should be fauoured and defended, more then a Citizen. To cut off which difficulty, we see by the diuine law, ordained on the strangers behalfe, that he is so oftentimes repeated and defended, that a man must very carefully keepe himselfe from harming him, and that iustice must bee rendred him equal with a Citizen. And questionles it may be truly said, that (euen at this day) ther is not any country in the world, where a stranger is more humanely entertained, lesse offenced, and more defended in all right of iustice, then among the people of France.

A notable example of Iustice among the French. *Stobeus.*

In like manner, wee finde by probable histories, that (very often times) Princes and straunge people haue referred their differences to the iustice of France, aswel of the Kings, as of the Parliaments. Among other, the reputation of their Iustice in King *Dagobert*, was spred so farre into strange Nations, that the Hungarians, the Sclauonians, and other people neighboring about, desired him to be the Iudge in their differences. And more, the Sclauonians said, that if euer he cam into their countrey, they would acknowledge & obey him, as if he were their King.

Furthermore; let it neuer be said or imagined, that barbarism at any time had entertainment among the Gauls. Continually they were most human, hauing milde and wel polished spirits by nature, & being aduantagiously shaped or fashioned for the study of al arts & Sciences: especialy they studied eloquence in such sort, that the elder *Cato* in his originals cited by *Charisius*, hath rendred this testimony of them. *That they wer quick conceited & industrious principally in two things; in the Art military, & in wel speaking.* The proof hereof apeared in that *Hercules* of *Gaule*, so much renowned by our forfathers, figured in such fashion, that from his mouth hung dangling downe at his tongue, manie small chaines of fine gold, wherewith he tied & bound the people by the eares, leading them whether so euer he pleased, & with their

A Stranger more fauored and defended then a Cittizen by the law of God.

Strange princes & people haue referred cases in Controuersy to the Iustice of France. *Suet. in lib. 9. cap. 22.*

No barbarisme at any time among the Gaules.

Charisius. *Gallia duas res industriosissime persequitur, rem militarem, & arguti loqui.*

their owne good wills, free from al constraint. Declaring by this figure, what precious account they made of wel speaking, and what power wordes had: no lesse (but rather greater) then that of Armes, to subdue people, & cause them become obedient willingly.

Words of more power then weapons

Vnder the Romane Emperors, there was a combate of eloquence in the City of *Lyons*, fought in Greeke and Latine; wherein, such as were vanquished, gaue the prizes to their victors, and were constrained (besides) to write in their commendation. And as for such as performed no matter worth the esteeming, they were bound (by necessity) to wipe out what they had done with a Spundge, or with their owne tongues; except they better affected, to be either beaten vvith rods, or throwne headlong into the Riuer. Wherto may be referred that which *Iuuenal* saith.

Suet. in vit. Caliguli. cap. 20.

Iuuenal. in Satyr. 1.

Palleat vt nudis præsit qui calcibus anguem,
Aut Lugdunensem Rhetor dicturus ad arã.

Satyr. 15.

And the same Author makes mention also, concerning the Eloquence of the Gauls, which they instructed vnto other people.

Gallia causidicos; docuit facunda Britannos.

An answer to a false conceiued opinion.

I am enforced to extend my selfe somwhat further in this discourse, by making report of a few more testimonies; to ouerthrow the false conceiued opinion of some; who haue esteemed, that the people of France (in their first times) vvere not addicted to Sciences, erudition, nor the study of Letters, wherin they are very greatly deceiued. For on the contrary, it is plaine to be proued, that (as in all other thinges) so therein also they haue most singularly excelled, and taught the same to the Romans. He that first instructed the Art of eloquence or well-speaking in *Rome*, was one *Lucius Plotius*, a *Gaule* borne; vnder whom *Cicero* (beeing then but young) was some yeares vvith his Brother *Quintus* also. And about the same time, or not long after, another Gaul was highly renowned in Rome, named *M. Antonius Gnipho*, beeing endued with a mighty spirit of singular memory, and infinitely skilfull and eloquent, as wel in Greeke as in Latine, and verie liberall (whereseoeuer he came) to teach what he knew. So that for these goodly and commendable qualities, hee bare such sway in those times: as his house was much frequented by the very greatest Romaine Lords.

Suet. declaris Rhetor.

Suet. de illust. Grammat.

It cannot be denied also, but that the great Oratour *Cicero* went often thether when he was Prætor. But that which (aboue all other) may make him most Famous, was, in being Teacher to the great Dictator *Cæsar* himself. Surely, not without some especial prouidence therein, to the end, that this Prince might hold wholy from Gaule (not onely the encreasing and establishing of his Greatnesse) but also this honor, wherein (not a iot lesse) hee excelled, then in actions of armes. Gaule hath euer since kept her selfe in this reputation. *Quintilian*, vvho vvas a Spaniard, made great reckoning of the eloquence which was taught in Gaule, and about the declination of the Roman Empire, *Symmachus* Gouernour of *Rome* at that time, in one of his Epistles, sayeth; *That if he would performe any worke woorthy of memory, he must go of necessitie, and dreine it out of the Gaulish knowledge and elegancie.* The same man also acknowledgeth, *That whatsoeuer was in him, either of eloquent or polished speaking, ought the due thereof to the aire of France, where hee had learned them.* And in another place hee saith, *That Mount Helicon, sacred vnto the Muses, was transported from her owne place, into Frante.*

A Gaule was schoolemaster for eloquence to Cicero and Great Cæsar.

Quintil. in lib. 10. cap. 9.

Symmac. in lib. 9. Epist. 94. Gallicanæ facaudiæ haustus requiro.

In lib. 8. Epist. 66. Gallia dedux Heliconis.

Saint *Hierome* writing to a certayne Father, who vvas very carefull for the institution of his sonne in vvell-speaking, saith; *Post studia Galliarum que vel florentissima sunt, misit Romam non parcens sumptibus, vt vbertatem Gallici nitoremq; sermonis grauitas Romana condicet. After* (saith he) *he hath performed his studyes among the Gaules, where they are most flourishing; for sending him vnto Rome, make no spare of expences, to the end, that the abundance, delicacy, and luster of the Gaulish language, may be seasoned with the Roman grauity.* The same author sayeth in another place, *That France is fertile in Orators.* In another place also he saith: *That shee hath alwayes abounded in most eloquent men.* As illustrating vnder that title, *Votienus Montanus* in the time of *Augustus*, afterward relega-

S. *Hierome ad Rusticum Monachum.*

Prœm. Epist. 2. Ad Galatis.

relegated or exiled into the Iſlands *Baleares*. *Domitius Afer* of *Niſmes*, who came with great charges to Rome, being generally renowned for the cheefeſt Orator of his time, and eſteemed ſo highly by *Quintilian*, that he acknowledged him for his Maſter. Next, the father of *Trogus Pompeius* the hiſtorian, of the houſe of the *Vocontians*: who kept in his hand the ring of the Emperor *Caligula*, as beeing the keeper of his ſeales. Then *Gabinianus*, *M. Aper*, *Iulius Florus*, *Iulius Secundus*, verie famous Oratours vnder *Veſpaſian*, and many more whom I omit, to come to more moderne times, wherein *Aquitaine* onely hath more furniſhed *Rome* with Senators and Orators, then all the reſt of the world beſide.

Corn. Tacitus in in Anal. 4.

Tacit. eod. Lib. Euſeb. in Chron. Quint. in lib. 5 Trog. Pomp. lib. 43 in Fi.

Nazarius and his learned daughter Eunomia.

A teſtimony heereof was the Learned *Nazarius*, Author of ſome Panegyricks, yet remaining with vs. And that which is more admirable, was the daughter of this *Nazarius*, named *Eumonia*; the miracle of her age, who was not a iot inferior to the very worthieſt Orators. Beſide an infinite number of others, mentioned by the authors of thoſe ſeuerall times, too trobleſome for vs to rehearſe but one halfe of them. Heereto appertaineth the writing of *Claudian*: *That Gaule with her Learned Citizens, did ordinarily guard the Emperor, and ſerued him in the moſt part of his affairs* Moreouer, the greater part of the Roman Senate, and a number of the Magiſtrates beeing great and famous perſons of that age, are eſpecially noted to bee Gaules. So that wee may very well auouch that, which *Auſonius* ſung in his *Moſella*: *It is no longer Rome, that onely made ſhew of her Catoes, in regard that Gaul did euery way equall her.*

Claudian in Reb. Gallo.

Auſon. in Moſel

Druydes, Vuates, Eubages, & Bardes. The learning of the Bardes.

Other Sciences alſo haue carried as ful ſaile there. In the firſt times ſhee had her Druydes, Vuates or Eubages, & Bardes, of whoſe learning we haue yet lefte ſome remaines and memories. The Bards compoſed in Verſes, and conſerued to all poſterities, the names and commendable actions of vertuous men, aſpurre ſufficient to animate the very dulleſt corages. The Eubages, called alſo *Vuates* by *Strabo*, applyed their ſtudies to the contemplation of celeſtial things; as alſo vnto Naturall Philoſophy. As for the Druydes, they are ſufficiently famous, and although wee haue ſpoken to good purpoſe of them in the former booke of the ancient Gaules; yet ſome eſpeciall things there omitted, may the better in this place be remembered in larger manner.

Strabo in lib. 4.

The immortality of the ſoul taught by the Druydes.

They inſtructed and taught aboue all things elſe, that mens ſoules wer immortall: which is the foundation of all religion, and the very ſtrongeſt bond of human ſociety. They diſcourſed alſo on the ſtars, and of their courſe and motion: alſo of the greatneſſe of the world, the earth, the nature of things, the power of God; & gaue inſtruction in al theſe to their youth. This is auouched by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Mela*, and *Strabo*, who ſay, *That the moſt of them held the world to be immortall.* An opinion ſurely (after many great diſputes and alterations) found to be moſt true by the verie beſt Philoſophers and Diuines, framing a diſtinction thus.

Marc. in lib. 10. cap. 14.
Pomp. Mela, in l. 6. 7.
Strabo in lib. 4

A diſtinction of the worlds immortality.

Aſſuredly, the world is of eternal and incorruptible matter, in regard of the celeſtiall part, which receiueth no alteration, neither ſhal receiue any at their conſummation: but by ſ adiunction of light and whole perfection. But what is vnder the caue of the Moone, compoſed and mixed with Elements for the vſe of man, ſhal periſh by fire, and returne into theyr firſt eſſence and Elementary quality. The courſe of heauen ſhal ſtay, and by conſequent, al motion and corruption ceaſe; according as it was held by *Peter Lombard* long ſince Biſhop of *Paris*, & called *Maſter of the Sentences*; and with him all the Theological Scholaſtickes, and the Angellical Doctor, *Thomas Aquinas*.

Pet. Lomb in l. 4 Sentent diſt 48. Tho. Aquin. cõtra gentes, lib. 4 cap. 97. Strabo in lib. 4.

They beleeued alſo, that (one day hereafter) the water and fire ſhal haue Dominion; wherby we may perceiue that they had notions comming neere to truth and our beleefe, albeit altered and confuſed. For that which they conceiued of the water, they ſaide was alreadie come, and for the matter of fire we doe credite the like, & expect the conſummation of the world thereby. Why then it is no matter of maruel, if hauing imparted their knowledge to other people, *Ariſtotle* ſhould confeſſe, *That Philoſophy receiued her originall from the learned Gaules, whom hee calleth Semnotheans, and auoucheth France to bee the Miſtreſſe of Greece.* All the Gauliſh Philoſophers were in ſuch reputation: that the people conceyued the goodneſſe of the yeare, the happineſſe and honor of their

Ariſt. in Magico. apud Diogc. Laert. in pr.

Strabo in lib. 4

their times, to consist in the multiplicitie of them.

This shal suffice to shew, that such men were not well informed, as haue written, that the French did not adict themselues to Sciences; considering, that they haue alwayes continued in the exercise of Letters and Learning. And for that purpose they had (from time to time) many famous Schooles, established for the enstruction of youth. *Marseilles* equalled *Athens* in learning; so that very oftentimes the Romaines sent their Sonnes to that Academy, rather then to Athens, as it is reported by *Strabo*, who wrote in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*. We reade moreouer, that the Emperour *Augustus*, sent thither *Iulius Antonius*, the youngest sonne of his Sister, to study there. And *Tacitus* reporteth, that the probity, integrity, and knowledge of *Iulius Agricola*, his Father in Law, came by the nouriture & instruction, which he receiued at *Marseilles* in *France*.

Marseilles in France equalled Athens in learning.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Cornel. Tacit. in Iul. Agricol.

About the same time, *Austune* also became famous for the study of letters and liberall Arts, whereof wee haue the testimony in *Tacitus*. And againe, after these publike schools, who were established by the Emperor *Constantius*, father to *Constantine*, who to that purpose sent thither the Orator *Eumenius*. There is a Law in the *Code Theodosian*, of the Emperours *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, wherein is declared, that there were a great number of Townes in France, which florished by the excellency of Masters, Oratours, and Grammarians, in the learning both of Greeke and Latine. Among which towns also, were them of *Bourdeaux*, *Tholouse*, *Narbona*, and many other. *Ausonius* likewise speaking of that of *Bourdeaux*, sayth; *That then issued from the hand of one onely Doctor, Nector Mineruius, a thousand Famous Aduocates or Councellors at law, twice as many Senatours or graue Statesmen.*

Corn. Tacit. in Annall. 3.

Orat. Eumenii de Schol. instaur.

Lib. 11. Cod. Theod. De profess. & med.

Ausonius in Professor.

These Fountaines of all erudition, haue not dryed vp in France vnder the reignes of their Kings, but rather haue encreased and abounded more and more, by multiplicity of Schooles, publikely established in many other Cities; wherto they since haue giuen the right of an incorporated body or vniuersity. And by this occasion, such Vniuersities, in fauour of the studie of Letters and Sciences so founded and erected, haue beene endowed and adorned by diuers Kinges, with goodly great priuiledges and particular fauours. Among which, that of *Paris* hath extraordinarily surpassed all other in the world. To her, as to the Queene of Learning, resortes the affluence of people from strange Nations, there to learne the Sciences, and especially holy Diuinity. This is as the Faire, Mart, or Market of the whole world, for the liberall Arts, and for instruction in all Languages. This is as a Nursing Orchard of good plants and ingenious spirits, in all vertue and faire erudition: from whence hath beene selected (like swarmes of Bees) learned men in infinit numbers, that haue dispersed themselues, and meerely peopled most parts of the earth. Also it hath beene the module and originall, whereby all other haue taken example, not onely for France it self, but likewise for all Europe.

The famous Vniuersity of Paris, & great resort of scholers thither.

Pope *Innocent* the third, made such estimation thereof, that from thence he selected all those men, whom hee intended to aduance to the Bishoppricks of Christendome, and other dignities in the Church. Beside, it appeareth by good & sufficient testimonies of other Vniuersities, for more then three hundred yeares since, that the studies of *Paris* haue beene the Foundation (in great measure) of the Church. *Studium Parisiense esse fundamentum Ecclesiæ*. And euermore it hath beene the cheefest in opposition against heresies, to combate and ouercom them, euen so soone as (at any time) they began to grow. Infinite victories and triumphs hath she crowned her selfe withal, in so famous a contention, whereof I spare to make any report; because they are no lesse carefully then elegantly set dovvne by the Lord *Loysell*, in his Tract of the Vniuersity of *Paris*. Wherein also hee hath most learnedly obserued, the true institution of that Vniuersity, against the vulgar Fables which haue beene noysed thereof. There are likewise many other Vniuersities, founded, and established in diuers Cities and Townes of France, as in *Tholousa*, *Bourges*, *Orleance*, *Angiers*, *Poitiers*, *Cahors*, *Mont-pellier*, *Nymes*, *Caen*, *Nantes*, *Rheims*, *&c.*

The affection of Pope Innocent 3. to the Vniuersitie of Paris.

Paris the conqueror of infinite heresies.

Also from *France*, and all her Schools, haue proceeded men as learned and excellent in all kindes of Sciences, as in piety and

The encrease of Schooles & Vniuersities for Learning in France.

A great many of Vniuersities founded in France.

France hath yeelded great plenty of learned Byshops.

and probity: and as this Discourse would require whole volumnes, so yet it would exceede possibility to name and re-count them all. There haue beene many wise & learned Byshoppes canonized for their sanctity of life, who haue establisht Christian religion in many Countreyes, and suppressed monstrous heresies, dispersed in many parts of the world. As S. *Hillarie* Byshop of *Poitiers*, the true confounder of the Arrian heresie, where-with the Church was too much tormented, euen at the beginning of her increasing. Saint *Sulpitius Seuerus*, whose learned writings lets vs yet sufficiently see his piety, and painfull endeuours together, as the Arch byshop of *Bourges*, that liued vnder the reigne of King *Gontran*, and also a more ancient Priest of *Aquitaine*, of equall standing with S. *Herom* and S. *Martin*, with whom he was very familiar, & who wrote his life.

S. Hillary, byshop of Poitiers.

S. Sulpitius Seuerus.

Pontius Paulinus the Senator.

Pontius Paulinus, who being a Senator, descended of a great family, and infinitely rich, gaue all his goods to the poore, & becomming an Ecclesiasticall person, was afterward elected byshop of *Nola* in *Italy*. Of the same country of *Aquitaine*, vvere also S. *Rusticius*, S. *Phœbadius*, and *Prosper*, *Alethius* the Priest, so much commended by S. *Hierom*, for his sanctity, eloquence, and learning. *Ecditius*, *Auitus*, and *Mamertus*, instituter of the Rogations, Arch byshops of *Vienna*: *S. Sidonius Apollonaris* Byshop of *Auuergne*; S. *Lupus* byshop of *Troyes*; and S. *Germaine* byshop of *Auxerre*, who setled and assured Christian religion in England. *Eucherius* Archbishop of *Lyons*, *Saluianus* and *Gennadius*, priests of *Marseilles*, and S. *Vincentius* Monke of S. *Honoratus*, in the Isle of *Lerins*. And since the Monarchy of some later Kings, S. *Rhemigius*, and S. *Gregory Florentius*, Archbyshop of *Tours*: who is compared by *Fortunatus*, an ancient Christian Poet, to S. *Gregory Nazianzene*, as giuen to the East, and by *Gregory* the Great, Pope, giuen to the South, as he for *France* was to the West. It was at the same time, when Pope *Gregory* (hauing seene at *Rome*) not onely admired him, but did him so much honor as could bee deuised, *Arnold*, Byshop of *Metz*, *Hincmar* Archbyshop of *Rheimes*, *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferriers* in *Gastinois*, *Arnold de Lisieus*, *Fulbert* & *Yues*, Byshops of *Chartres*, *Suggerus* Abbot of S. *Denis*, S. *Bernard* Abbot of *Cleruaux*; *Peter Abbayelard*, of whome there went a Prouerbe in his time, that there was not any thing in al the world, reaching either to the highest heauens, or to the lowest bottome of the profoundest deepes, but they were all familiarly knowne to him. Also *Peter Lombard*, byshop of *Paris*, so admirable in the profession of Diuinitie, that (euen to this verie day) all Christendome acknowledgeth him for her Maister.

S. Germaine, byshoppe of Auxerre.

S. Gregorie Florent, Arch byshop of Tours, compared to S. Gregory Nazianzene.

Rusticus, Phoebadius, Prosper, Alethius.

3. archbishops of Vienna.

Peter Abayelard a famous man for Learning & knowledge.

Hee should neuer make an end, that would take on him to recite all the great men of France, not onely such as haue preceded them of these times, but infinit numbers beside; whereby may bee iustly said, that Learning and the Sciences, not onely receiued their ancient flourishing splendor in France; but also haue imparted themselues (as before) to all other regions of the earth. There hath bin heeretofore (beside all them formerly named) one *Eumenides* of *Marseilles*, a most wise Philosopher, who (among manie other things) made a very serious inquisition, & learnedly wrote on the originall of *Nilus*. *P. Terentius Varro* (sirnamed *Atacinus*, of his Countrey in *Narbone Gaul*, on the riuer of * *Atax*, now called *Auda*, which belcheth it self into the sea at *Narbona*) much renowned among the Roman Poets, for making foure bookes of the *Argonantes* affaires, diuers Epigrams, and the Sequanes warres, recited by *Pliny* in many places, as also by the Grammarian *Priscian*.

Eumenides of Marseilles, an excellent Philosopher.

* A famous riuer in Narbone.

Heere we may not forget the Philosopher * *Phauorinus*, so highly renowned vnder the Emperor *Adrians* reigne: a natiue of *Arles*, as *Philostratus* reporteth in the discourse of his life. *Nazarius* the Orator, and *Latinus Pacatus*, Author of the excellent Panegyricke of *Theodosius*. About the same time flourished *Rutillius Numatianus* a Poet, and *Ausonius* of *Burdeaux*, most worthy the name of a Poet, since the dayes of *Augustus*: diuers nameless workes of his haue bene found, and (for their especiall deseruing) haue bene attributed to be *Virgils*. Hee was chosen for Schoolemaister to the emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*: for it was an ordinary course in those times, when there vvas any necessity of learned men, eyther to instruct the Emperors sons, or the greatest

* He was scholer to Dion, & wondred that being a Frēchman borne, he should speake Greek so wel.

Ausonius Schoolmaster to two Emperors.

teſt Lords of the Romane Empire, they were fecht frō France, as we read in many places of the works of *Symmachus*, then Gouernour of Rome, & who ſuckt (himſelfe) the milke of the Muſes of France.

Strangers that haue learned their beſt knowledge in France.

I forbeare to ſpeake of thoſe ſtrangers, who by becomming there learned, haue honored their owne countries; thogh reſpiring firſt the ſweet ayre of France, and borrowed a beame from her bright ſplendour, to giue ſome luſter thereof to their places of birth. In breefe to ſpeake truely, it is as difficult a thing, to name all the famous perſons that haue flouriſhed in France, as it is eaſie for other people to make a ſhew of all ſuch as they haue had, which would riſe to a far inferior number. Moreouer, many great perſons (beeing ſtrangers there) hauing diligently ſuruayed the ſpirits of the French, haue found them by experienced iudgment, to be full of life, ſubtile, proper & prompt to all occaſions, cleare ſighted, and piercing into the Sciences; thinking it very conuenient that whereas ſome haue eſteemed the ancient Gaules to be light and mutable, they ſhould rather ſay, & very iuſtly, that they were tractable, apt and ready to performe any thing impoſed on them whatſoeuer.

The opinion of diuers worthy ſtrangers concerning the French.

Of this minde was *Iulius Cæſar Scaliger*, an Italian, a man moſt learned and iudicious, who ſpeaketh in this manner. *Illud eſt comprimis aduertendū, non eſſe cum animorū mobilitate coniunctā fidei iacturam. Gallos enim vides ad omnia momenta vel euentuum vel diſciplinarū promptos, paratos, verſatiles: vt ſemel quicquam vel viſum vel auditum, illico apud eorum ingenia & deponat & amittat nouitatem, in eo ipſo penitus extēplo videntur nati atque educati. Qui animorum vigor igneus, maturaque celiritas nulli alij nationi data eſt à natura. Quoquò incubuere feliciſſimè ſeſe dant, ocyſſimè proficiunt gnauiter exercent: mercaturam, artes, arma, litteras, eruditione, ſubtilitatem, candorem, eloquentiam. Omnium tamen gentium atque nationū, fide ſunt maxime integra & conſtāti. It is a matter that well deſerueth to be noted or conſidered, that the defect of faith is not alwaies conioyned with the mobility and lightneſſe of ſpirit. That it muſt needs be ſo, I ſee that the French are prompt, ready, and tractable, at all moments and occaſions, be it eyther for the diuerſity of accidents, or bee it for the Sciences: and that in ſuch ſort, as ſo ſoone as they haue ſeene or heard any thing, immediately it loſeth all nouelty with them, and carrieth no ſuch matter of newes in their mindes, for it ſeemeth as inſtantly bred and borne with them. This hot and fiery [illegible] of vnderſtanding, and this promptitude with maturity & iudgement, hath not bin giuen by nature to any other Nation. On whatſoeuer they purpoſe a reſolution, they apply thēſelues thereto very happily, profite therein moſt ſpeēdily, and exerciſe it carefully: either Merchants, Artes, Armes, Letters, erudition, ſubtilty, affability, freedome, and eloquence, or any thing elſe. And yet notwithſtanding, among al nations, they are the moſt vpright, & intirely conſtant of their faith and word.*

Iul. Cæſ. Scaliger In Exerit. 167. Sect. 2.

Scaliger his obſeruation concerning the French.

The French are naturally addicted to ſingular qualities.

Moreouer, as there is nothing that doth ſo much ciuilize and ſweeten manners thē the ſtudy of good letters, & to win knowledge in the Sciences, which do beget in our ſoules all humanity and courteſie, and expelleth all rudeneſſe in carriage: euen ſo is it very true, that there are none more gracious and humane, then the French, eſpecially towards ſtrangers. The mildnes that is inwardly, and lodged vp in a french mans heart, makes plaine outward ſhew and appearance in his countenance. In his forehead he carrieth a naturall franchiſe, and freedome in life and ciuill conuerſation: all laid downe euidently, without diſſembling any thing, or vſing any cunning or flattery. Good iudgement was made hereof by the emperour *Iulian*, who ſaid; *He thought himſelfe moſt happy, to meet with ſuch good natur de men, ſo facile & fellowly, & yet (neuertheleſſe) without flattery.*

None more benigne and kinde to ſtrāgers then the French.

In Miſſopogne.

It is a world of time ſince the *Gauls* had no mean reputation, for entertaining curteouſly, and liberally welcoming ſtrangers among them. *Diodorus* the *Sicillian* highly commended the courteſie of the *Gauls* in this point. And *Tacitus* hath written particularly of the Germans, that came from the *Gaules*, and had meerely learned it of them. And when the French name began firſt to appeare, *Salianus* of *Marſeilles* gaue them the vertue, to be kinde to ſtrangers. Aboue all, this people hath alwaies helde Religion in ſingular recommendation, as being ꝯ foūdation of vertue: & they haue continually bin deuoted to diuinity, euen when they had no true knowledge therof. *Cæſar* ſaith, *Gallia admodū dedita religionibus*. And *Liuius* deſcribing the ſiege of the *Gauls* at the Capitole, ſaith, that a man of the houſe of the *Fabij*, being caſt down frō

Diod. Siculus in lib. 5.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 9.

Iulius Cæſar in comment lib 6. Titus. Liuius in lib. 5. cap. 7.

the top of the Cittadell: without dreading any thing, went to Mount * *Auentine*, to make an annuall and solemne sacrifice in the family, and returned to the Capitole thorough the midst of the enemies. They looked vpon him, without any violence or assayling, & suffered him to passe on; *Being astonished at such resolution, as at a miracle: were it through respect and reuerence to Religion, whereof* (saith hee) *that Nation is very carefull.*

* One of the seuen Hilles in Rome.

Seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciæ, seu religione etiam motis, cuius haud, quaquam negligens gens est.

But after that the bright beames of the Gospell began to shew their splendour, it is hardly to be credited: with what feruor of soule this people embraced it, with what veneration, and (euen vpon heapes) voluntarily presented themselues to deth, to testifie the zeale of their affection to Christian Religion, and seale with their blood the sincerity of their faith. On the other side, saith S. *Ierom*, *Spaine sometime brought forth Geryon the dreadfull monster. Heresies haue swarmed in most part of the earths quarters: Gaule onely hath conserued her selfe in the truth, without deuouring herselfe. But hath abounded alwaies in great personages, learned, and holy in life together. Arrianisme* had infected all Christendome, only France hath continued pure: for her Bishops carefullly imployed their paines, quickly to stifle those heresies & schismes which grew too troblesom to the church.

Aduers. Vigil. Informem Geryonem Hispaniæ prodiderunt: Gallia monstrà non habuit. Sed viris semper fortissimis & eloquentissimis abundauit.

Whē it came so to passe, that the schisme of the *Donatists* exalted it selfe, and many partialities, quarrels, and hatreds by particular persons were intermingled: the Bishops that were in the faction with *Donatus*, required of the Emperor *Constantius*, that Iudges might be sent from the *Gauls*, onely for their piety and learning. Wherupon the Emperor granted vnto them 3 Bishops, *Rheticus* of *Austun*, *Maternus* of *Cologne*, and *Marianus* of *Arles*: who went to Rome, and together with Pope *Miltiades*, hauing exactly lookt into the matter, decided the cause, and condemned (by their sentence) the error of the *Donatists*, as it is reported by *Optatus*, one of the Orthodox Bishops of *Affrica*, who hath left vs in writing the history of this schisme, & gaue his helpe to the suppression therof.

The Gaules made Iudges of the Donatists schisme.

Optatus Mileut. Lib. 2.

In the yeare VCCLVIII. Pope *Stephen* the third, entreated *Pepin* King of France, by his expresse *Nuntio*, that he would send him the very learnedst Bishops of France, to the ende, that by their authority, hee might reforme & re-establish the church, which he performed accordingly. Wherby is plainly discouered, in what esteeme and account, the learning & piety of the Prelates of France hath alwayes bene.

Sigonius in lib. 3. De regno Ital.

According to this purpose of ours, it may be very truely maintained, that *Gaul*, among the Prouinces most towards the West, did first receiue the Christian faith, next vnto *Italy*; being brought thether in the first birth and infancy of the Church. For ouer & beside the Apostle of France, S. *Dionisius Areopagita*, who is said to bee sent thither by S. *Paul*: it is certaine, that one named *Crescentius*, the scholler of S. *Paul*, did first of all preach the christian faith in *Gaule*, and there performed the office of a Bishop and Pastor: as is to be gathered from S. *Paul* himselfe, from *Epiphanius*, *S. Clemens*, *S. Ierome*, & *Eusebius*, who report, that he was sent thether by *S. Peter*, and that there he dyed. I set aside what our Annalists haue recounted of *S. Peter* and *S. Phillip*, that they came thether. But I may not omit what is said by *Epiphanius*; that S. *Luke* came into France, and there declared the faith of Iesus Christ.

Gaule first receiued the Christiā faith next to Italy.

Crescentius, Disciple to S. *Paul*.

2 Tim cap. 4. ver. 10. *Ephiphan Hær. 51. D. Clemens lib. 7. Apostolic. constit cap. 46. D. Hieronym. in Catolog. script Ecclesiastic. Epiph. Hær. 51.*

All that can be imputed to the ancient *Gaules*, concerning the acte of religion, is, that they sacrificed men. But this manner of sacrifice was not particularly to the *Gaules*, they hauing dealt no otherwise therein, then was vsed (well neere) by all other people. The like is reported of the *Scythians* in generall, and *Mela* nameth thē to be the *Essedones*. The *Carthagenians*, whē there hapned among thē any plague or famine, or any other publike affliction, they made their recourse to this superstition, & ordinarily bloodied the Altars of their *Hercules* with humane sacrifices, yea they would sacrifice their owne children to *Saturne*. *Strabo* saith, that the *Lusitanians*, a people of *Spaine*, wold offer vp their prisoners in war. And *Seuerus* declareth, that the *Massillians*, a people of *Greece*, & well educated, would feed a man very immeasurably for some space of time, then they wold conduct him through their citty, charging him with accursed execrations & imprecations; and in the end they would sacrifice him, to expiate their publike offences, and to lay on him the penalty of all their sins. Among the *Grecians* it was very common, not onely during the Troyan warre, of *Iphigenia*, sacrificed at the

An imputation laid on the Gaules for sacrificing men.

Plin. in l. 7 c. 2. Pomp. Mela in lib. 4. c. 9. Trog Pomp. l. 18

Plin. l. 36 cap. 5

Strabo in lib. 4.

Seruius in 3. Acn. In pri.

Sacrifices of the Grecians.

the gate of *Aulis*; but likewise of *Polixena*, in the Land of *Troye*. Long time after, *Themistocles* (a little before the day of *Salamina*) by command of his diuinators, caused three noble Persians to be sacrificed. And about the same time, *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, offered twelue men in sacrifice. Many examples more are there of the Grecians, declared more at large by *Plutarke*. What thinke ye then of the Romanes? Were not they addicted to the same superstition, and vsed the like sacrifices of humane oblations? Wee finde it faithfully set downe, that they sacrificed two Gaules, a man and a woman, to their Tutelary or houshold God. I cannot imagine what should be the reason, why they chose their offerings to be of that people, rather then of any other; if it were not in this respect, that they supposed they shold present a more acceptable sacrifice (in so doing) to the God of their Citty, then to offer any other people, whereby he might be offended, because once they had consumed Rome in cinders, and therfore they might bee iudged the more able (afterward) to ouerthrow the whole Empire.

Plut. In Themistocle.

Plut. In Pelopida.

A Gaule man and a Gaule woman sacrificed by the Romanes.

Plutarke reporteth, that they caused some of the *Gaules* to be buried aliue, during the Consulship of *Marcellus*: by reason of a Gaulish warre which had happened to them, and whereof they stood in fearefull doubt. And that afterward, euen till his time, they would haue celebrated the like bloody anniuersaries; which might not be permitted (it may bee for the immanity) and all the world to see it. The like was put in practise at Rome, soone after the dismall day at *Cannas*: & the Emperor *Domitian* likewise sacrificed two: They had a *Iupiter*, sirnamed *Latialis*, to whom they made offerings of human blood, and of the liues of men. This *Tertullian* saieth was ordinarily done in his time: and *Lactantius* and *Eusebius*, who liued soone after vnder the first Christian Emperours, do affirme as much.

Plut in Marcel.

Titus Liuius in Lib. 22.

Tertul. in Apologetico. cap. 10.

The often & frequent spectacles, among the *Gladiatores* or Fencers, were they any thing else, but euen a cruel and bloody sacrifice of many men. Nay, which was most detestable, to cause them kill one another for other mens pleasure? They were not any small number of one or two, but ordinarily fiue hundred, a thousand, two thousand, and three thousand: and it hath bin obserued, that at such times, ten thousand haue bin thereto exposed. Let *Cicero* then and *Plutarke* ceasse to reproue the Gauls with this custome, seeing that they themselues, both Greeks & Romans, haue obserued the same. Nay, the Greeks did far worse, for not contenting themselues with such sacrifices, they would needs know what good meate it was to feede on humane flesh, and as *Pliny* hath left written, to taste of all the parts of a man. If it was ill done to sacrifice a man, how much more detestable was it then, to serue in his flesh for food to the table? As for *Cicero*, I pardon him very willingly, for that which he said in one of his pleadings of the Gauls: because it was to serue his own cause, and for the reproofe of witnesses, which made whatsoeuer he saide the lesse considerable. Contrariwise also, as himselfe hath written. *He may soone deceiue himselfe, that thinkes out of mine Orations and Pleadings, to deriue any auaileable authority of my opinion, or else a forme of testimony, by that which I haue said: Because* (saith he) *it was the cause that spake, and not I.* And yet if wee obserue more neerely, what *Cæsar* hath said concerning this case, wee shall perceiue that the Gaules made glad sacrifices of malefactors, as thinking such an offring to be most agreeable to the gods, as (indeede) there could bee none more proper, then the iust punishment of wicked persons. And yet notwithstanding, sometimes they were constrayned to goe so farre as innocent folke, meerely for the defect of other: because this opinion was noted in thē, that the Gods could not be pleased, for the life and safety of one man. but by offring to them the life of another.

Cicero in Orat. Pro Fontcio.

The Greeks would feed on the flesh of men.

Plin. lib. 28. cap. 1.

Cicero in Orat. Pro Cluentio.

Iul. Cæsar in Com. Lib. 6.

A good and worthy opinion of the Gaules iustice

Howsoeuer, they deserued herein no imputation of blame, because what they did, was by superstition, the excesse of true religion, not holding it for any errour, to offer to God what might bee most acceptable: which made them to present him with so noble a creature, the only perfect of all other, and so consecrated to him the most precious oblation of all oblations: wherin they are the lesse taxable for their custome (thogh indeed cruel) yet not proceeding so farre as other, as the *Grecians*, who fell voluntarily into Atheisme. Among Gods people, we see that *Ieptah* fel into the same error, vnder the shadow of a vow & deuotion: albeit I know very wel that

Superstition thought to be the excesse of true religion

Concerning the vow made by Ieptah for his faire daughter.

that the Hebrew Text hath no other carriage,but that he offered to God,no more but the virginity of his daughter onely,& that this is the opinion and interpretation of the most learned Rabines. I passe ouer the abhominable idolatries of the *Iewes*, to the Idoll *Moloch*, who practised the very same. Yet what hath beene said,might (perhaps) sauour of some signale and sensible apprehension, or presage, that man could not be saued,but by a man himselfe: And that one day,man should bee redeemed,and brought into his former condition, by the blood and passion of a man. This haue I set downe in their excuse, it being a zeale proceeding from religion, when as then they walked in darknes, destitute of any knowledge of the true God.

The Authors opinion of the Gaules superstition,& his excuse in their behalfe.

Now,forasmuch as I haue heeretofore indifferently vsed these words, *Gaule* and *France*,*Frenchmen* and *Gaules*, as being no other then one and the same thing,whereof some may conceit very strangely; I hold it conuenient,& sutable to our purpose, to deliuer a sufficient reason therefore. That which our Ancients had named *Gaule* or *Celtica*,was afterward designed by the name of *France*. Likewise,the Kings of France haue long time commanded,in all those parts which were tearmed the ancient bounds of *Gaule*,betweene the *Rheine*, the Alpes, the *Pyreneans*, and the Mediterranean and Ocean Seas. These were the ancient limits of France, which also by seasons,and vnder certaine Kings,haue extended themselues a great deal further. But if any parcell therof be at this day dismembred or cut off, that may not change the true appellation of things. Considering, that such distraction is nothing but the acte,the right alwaies remaines in his perfect integrity. And as for the French, it will be auouched,that they are one selfsame people with the *Gaules*, on whatsoeuer side search be made,and the truth set downe of their originall.

How ancient Gaule becam afterward to be called France.

Confusion of actions may not alter matters of truth.

I may not stay my selfe heere, to fight with the false opinion of such,who thinking to make the *Gaules* the more honourable, would haue them to be descended from the *Troyans*, because it hath bin already done by others. But it is a point so cleare and apparant, that there is no man (now adayes) so silly versed in letters: but plainly knoweth,that they are altogether meere fables and fictions. There hath bin another opinion, and pursued by many, who imagineth the French to bee come foorth of *Allemaigne* or *Germany*. And according to this conceit, there shall be no place of distinguishing the *French* with the *Gaules*: because it is most true to say, that *Germany* hath beene peopled by her neighbor *Gaule*. So in making the French to come from thence into *Gaule*, is to returne them backe to the place where they receiued their originall. For it is to be credited, that Prouinces which are the most temperate, haue bin the first inhabited, & after that men are encreased in multitude, they then make their recourse to more remote places, which are of ruder quality, and more subiect to cold. Beside, *Cæsar* himselfe (long since) testified, that the *Germanes* or *Allemaigns*, called the *Gaules* their Brethren: for the similitude of their manners, and the customes of both these people,reported by our ancestors,may instantly make faith for this their fraternity.

That they should come out of Germany into Gaule.

Iulius Cæsar in comment. lib.5.

Others would fetch them from the *Pannoniaes*,as it is reported by S. *Gregory* of *Tours*. Now it is very certaine,that the *Gaules* did sometimes people both the *Pannoniaes*: especially at that time,as *Brẽnus* made warre in *Macedon*,and throughout all *Greece*. And the Geographers,as *Stephanus*, *Arrianus*,and *Strabo*,do nominate the *Celtes* among the people of *Pannonia*. There is yet another opinion, the truest and most certaine,and yet notwithstanding little enough knowne. *For oftentimes*(saith an ancient Writer) *it commeth to passe, that the originall of great people is as much vnknowne, as that of our greatest Riuers*. This is that which hath bin obserued by diuers passages of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *S.Gregory* of *Tours*, and other neighbouring Authors, concerning the beginning of this Monarchy: that the French came from *Sicambria*, and that the *Sicambrians* are many times taken for the French.

S.Greg. Turon. in lib.2.cap.9.

Trog.Pom.in lib.24.

Stephanus. Arrianus. Strabo.

Sidonius Apollinaris in mult. loc.

That the French should be descended from the Troyans.

Now we are to note, this *Sicambria* is not that *Sicambria*, which some haue vsually seated in *Franconia*: but it is described by auncient Geographers toward the North, wholly ioyning to the riuages of *Rheine*,as wel on the one side,as the other. But more principally towards the place, where that goodly streame falleth into the Sea: a place of very difficult accesse, by reason of the great Marishes thereabout. *Suetonius* maketh mention that the Emperor

Concerning the diuersities of the Sicambriaes, that in Franconia,and the other.

Suet.in vita August.

perour *Augustus* causèd thoſe valiant *Sicambrians* to paſſe on further into the firme land of the *Gaules*, and namely, that he gaue them * *Batauia* to dwell in. This he did, ſome way to content them, and to hinder their courſes: as alſo to ſerue his owne turne with this warlike Nation, being vpon the extremities or vtmoſt parts of *Gaule*. And beſide, we reade in *Tacitus*, that there was daily at the Emperors ſeruice, a Sicambrian band or Cohort, highly eſteemed for their valiancy.

* Holland in low Germany

Corn. Tacit. in lib. 6. cap. 9.

Heereby we may know, that they are deſcended of the ſame country with the *Gaules*, and it is to bee credited, that theſe were the people onely, which neuer came into ſubiection of the Romane Empire, in the time of *Cæſar*: in regard of the difficult places, and badneſſe of the country which then they held. This Sicambrian people, knowne & renowned by the name of French onely, in the time of *Galien*, vnder *Poſthumius*, one of the thirty tyrants, about the yeare of our Lord, CCLXIX. could not keepe themſelues alwayes in their Northerly corner or angle of *Gaule*, ſuch as (at this day) *Holland* and part of *Frieſland* are: but they made their extendure into neighboring countries, & continually there tormented the Romanes in *Gaule*, after whoſe liberty they longed frō time to time. And part of them paſſing into *Gaule* among the Romanes, were there highly eſteemed, and came to vndertake the cheefeſt charges, as we may reade of many of them, in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

The Sicãbrians renowned by the name of French.

The Sicambrians long deſired the liberty of Gaul

Ammian Marcel. in l. 14. cap. 7

Part of this people alſo, namely they that were tranſported by *Auguſtus*, continued (for long time) in obedience to the Empire, as appeareth by many examples, and Hiſtories ſet downe by diuers Hiſtorians, which I may not heere recite, becauſe (for the moſt part) they haue beene diligently collected by the Lord *Fauchet*, in his French Antiquities, where this true opinion is approued, by the paſſages of *Zozimus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Procopius* and *Zonarus*. At the fall of that great Empire, thoſe inuincible *Sicambrians*, *Francs*, or *French*, accuſtomed to make ordinary courſes into *Gaule*, perceiuing the inuaſion of Northerly people, as the *Alanes*, *Vandales*, *Bourguignons*, & *Gothes*; they could not endure, that their ancient country ſhold remaine any longer ſo ſubiected, neither by the tyranny of Romane Magiſtrates, nor by the inuaſions of barbarous people. Hereupon, taking apt occaſion, they proceed on further into the midſt of the *Gaules*; where they were receiued (in open armes) by their olde mother, and by the other *Gaules*, who ioyning with them, ſhooke off the yoke of the Romanes, & expulſed alſo the ſtrange Nations, ỳ had ſo inſolently intruded on thē.

Antiquit. de D. Fauchet.

Zozimus, Procopius, and Zonarus.

The Sicambrians could not endure the ſlauery of their country.

From thence forward, both one & other named them *Frenchmen*, as being but one people by originall. Nor can it be conceiued, that the Sicambrian people ſhold be enemies to the *Gaules*, but rather called by thē as their fellowly brethren, to helpe in their enfranchizing, beeing receiued with the liking of euery one: as theſe places of S. *Gregory* of *Tours* do ſufficiently ſhew. *Interea cum iam terror Francorum reſonaret in his partibus, & omnes eos, amore deſiderabili cuperent imperare, &c.* Alſo in another place: *Multi ex Gallijs habere Frācos dominos ſūmo deſiderio cupiebant.* Moreouer, it is to be ſeen in many places of the hiſtories, written by the ſame S. *Gregory*, that the *Gauls* were neuer trod downe by the *French*; but adminiſtred in publike charges, & took part in their honors, not as a conquered people, but as companions, friends, and aſſociates, and as making but one people. In regard whereof, a man may vſe the names of *French* and *Gauls*, & *France* and *Gaule*, beeing but one and the ſame thing. And the country euermore inhabited by the ſame people originally, being neuer thence expulſed, nor ſubiected.

The Sicambrians and Gaules called Frenchmen.

S. Greg. Turon. in lib. 2. cap. 23.

Eod. lib. cap. 36.

A country the moſt happy, the moſt fertile, the moſt abounding in all things, and the moſt agreeable with the world, & leaſt incōmodious. The people dwelling therein, the moſt martial; & warriors at al times, that the Sunne neuer beheld better. By others alſo commended, for all thoſe good and vertuous qualities, wherwith any humane ſpirit can be adorned, quicke, apt, & ready to whatſoeuer they apply thēſelues, with moderation, curteſie, and humanity, as none greater can be deſired. The happineſſe & felicity of this Land, together with ſo many commendable qualities of the people, haue bene publiſhed (in ſome meaſure) by the Poet *Buchanan* of *Scotland*, when at his returne from *Portugall*, coming backe into *France*, he made theſe verſes, which I thoght fit here to inſert, to ſerue for a concluſion of this diſcourſe.

His concluſion for the Gaules and French.

The excellency of the country and people of France well remembred by Buchanan.

Ieiuna miseræ tesqua Lusitaniæ,
Glebæque tantum fertiles penuriæ
Valete longum. At tu beata Gallia
Salue, bonarum blanda nutrix artium,
Cœlo salubri, fertili frugum solo,
Vmbrosa colles pampini molli coma,
Pecorosa saltus, rigua valles fontibus,
Prati virentis picta campos floribus,
Velifera longis amnium decursibus,
Piscosa stagnis, riuulis, lacubus, mari,
Et hinc & illinc portuoso littore
Orbem receptans hospitem, atque orbi tuas,
Opes vicissim non auara impertiens:
Amœna villis, tuta muris, turribus
Superba, tectis lauta, cultu splendida,
Victu modesta, moribus non aspera,
Sermone comis, patria gentium omnium
Communis, animi fida, pace florida,
Iucunda, facilis, Marte terrifico minax,
Inuicta, rebus non secundis insolens,
Nec sorte dubia fracta, cultrix numinis
Sincera, ritum in exterum non degener.
Nescit calores lenis æstas torridos,
Frangit rigores bruma flammis asperos,
Non pestilentis pallet Austri spiritu
Autumnus æquis temperatus flatibus:
Non ver solutis amnium repagulis
Inundat agros, & labores eluit.
Ni patrio te amore diligam, & colam
Dum viuo, rursus non recuso visere
Ieiuna miseræ tesqua Lusitaniæ,
Glebasque tantùm fertiles penuriæ.

of all this happineſſe. Wherein it may well be ſaid, that *France* hath bene as graciouſly fauoured by heauen, as in al other things whatſoeuer. There hath neuer beene ſeene ſo many ciuill warres and factions, for change and alteration of the State, as hath often happened in many other Prouinces. After ſhe had once taſted the Monarchall Gouernment of one only naturall Prince (which all the greateſt Philoſophers, ſuch as were brought vp in free cities, haue confeſſed to be the beſt) ſhe neuer found any change, neyther did it euer make offer of it ſelfe, or any way propoſed.

The Monarchall gouernment of a naturall Prince.

France well may boaſt this in common, with a great part of the people of the world, that ſhe is a Monarchall eſtate: but yet this is more particular to her, that ſhe hath ſuffered no mutation for ſo many Ages; but hath beene inuiolably alwayes conſerued in her owne Royall eſtate and gouernment. And it may as truly be ſaid, that her Kings haue excelled as much aboue others in the world, as *Frãce* it ſelfe hath gon beyond all other Lands. Then to come to the paint of her Kings, and of their Greatneſſe and Excellency: it reſulteth firſt of al, from that which hath beene diſcourſed heeretofore. Becauſe there is no man, but will tearme that king potent, rich, and redoubtable, that commandeth ouer a country ſo fertile & well furniſhed: and he will alſo vouchſafe, that Kings commanding a people ſo vertuous and generous together, muſt needs be Paragons in generoſity and courage, yea, & true models of all vertue. Moreouer, what other Kings can make their vaunt, to haue ſo goodly, ſo opulent, and ſo happy territories, and to command ouer ſuch a people? In like manner, what Land can ſay, that it hath had like Kings, and ſo great in all reſpects, as they of France haue bin? This is in generall, and the touching of this point thus were ſufficient, without need of any further inquiſition; becauſe it is euident to the eyes of all men, euen as what hath bin related in our former chap.

France neuer ſubiect to mutation in gouernment.

The happines of Kings in their gouernment.

But to diſcourſe more particularly on their other prerogatiues. Firſt, it is a matter moſt conſtant and certaine, that the Kings of *France* are Soueraigns in their State, holding their kingdom but of God onely, and by the Sword: this needs no other profe, becauſe it is granted without contra-

CHAP. III.

Of the Maiesty, Dignity, and high Eminency of the Kings of France: And what infinite actions of Honour they haue done from time to time, to renowne the glory of that kingdome.

What it is that maketh the full felicity of any kingdome.

IT is not yet ſufficient, neyther maketh it vp a perfect felicity, that *France* ſhould bee filled with ſo much wealth and commodities, as the earth can any way yeeld: alſo that the people are ſo generous, endued with ſo many commendable qualities, beſide, moſt humane and acceptable conuerſation. If all do not correſpond to this proſperity, and that the forme of her eſtate & good gouernment, is not the main height

The Kings of France are truely Soueraignes in their State, & their Soueraignty hath continued 12 hundred years

diction. Alſo, they haue bene in this poſſeſſion, not onely for exceeding the memories of men, or for three hundred years a tearme more then ſufficient, for eſtabliſhing ſure and inuiolably a Soueraigne eſtate, as maintained *Ieptah*, chiefe of the *Iſraelites* againſt the *Ammonites*, but alſo for twelue hundred yeares. There needeth no other teſtimony then that of Pope *Innocent* the third, who ſpeaketh it expreſly in his Decretall, *That the King of Fraunce acknowledged not any Soueraigne, in temporal occaſions.*

Cap. Per venerabilem. Qui filii ſint legit.

This was it which made ſo ſuperfluous impertinent, inept, and idle, the diſputation ſo much canuazed amongſt the Doctors Imperialiſts, to witte; *Whether the King of France were ſubiect to the Empire, or no*, and whereabout the Doctors diſputing vainly, contraried themſelues, and ſufficiently ouerthrew their owne iudgements. *Peter Belluga*, an ancient Spaniſh Doctor, in his treatiſe of a Prince, & *Oldradus* an Italian Doctour (the cheefeſt of his time do maintaine; *That the kingdome of France acknowledgeth not, either by acte or right, any Prince of the world.*

Pet. Belluga. In ſpeculo Principium, tit. 4. n. 29

Oldradus in Conſilibus.

The Emperors themſelues alſo, haue auouched as much; declaring by diuers actes, That the King of France is Soueraigne, & that he depended not on them in any faſhion whatſoeuer; which will be more amply handled, in a place fitter for the purpoſe. To as ſilly effect was that, which Doctor *Lopez Madera*, a Spaniard hath written; *That the Kings of France doe take their Title, by a conceſſion made vnto them by the Emperor Iuſtinian, according to the recitall of Procopius.* But a man can ſet no ſure footing, on that which is ſaide by a ſubiect to the Empire. And beſide, ſoon after, *Iuſtinian* himſelfe could ſay; *That he quitted whatſoeuer hee had pretended to the Gaules, becauſe he held not there any thing.* And in other places, he ſpeaketh not of al the Gauls, but onely concerning them of *Prouence*, and the neighbouring Landes, which the *Gothes* held before, & which he pretended appertaining vnto him, by his conqueſt made of them. VVhich Lands, the *Gothes* hauing made ouer to the Kings of France, *Iuſtinian* approued the conceſſion, and on that conſideration, departed with all his rights and pretenſions.

Lopez Mader. In lib. Excellencias de Eſpagn. cap. 2.

The French do not ground their grants, as the ſame *Lopez* did for Spaine, on the grant which he pretended to be made by the Emperor *Honorius*, to the Gothe *Alaricke*. They deriue their title from higher place, and not from the Romaines: who had no other right, but an vniuſt inuaſion by Armes. For theſe are the Gauls, namely, ſuch as enfranchiſed themſelues from the Romanes, and that by meanes of the French, their auncient Columnes and Compatriots. And therefore it is apparantly ſeene, that they haue no way vſurped by nouelty, but rather haue regained their firſt condition and liberty, as being reduced to their primitiue nature. A matter very fauorable, and a reaſon moſt impertinent among the Ciuill Lawyers. In like manner, what was more iuſt then that which the Romanes caried away by force of Armes, and was taken again from them by the very ſame meanes? But this is infallible, that the Kings of France are Soueraignes, knowne to be ſuch, at all times and euery where, without any controuerſie, or friuolous contradiction.

L. Si vnus, 5. Pactus ne Peteres, D. de Pact.

It cannot bee ſo ſayde of many other Kings, and namely it hath called in queſtion the King of Spaine. For Pope *Gregory* maintaineth in his Regiſter, that *Spaine* is parcell of Saint *Peters* patrimony, and is to make prouiſion for his Lord: hauing therfore inueſted a certain Count or Earle of all that which he had conquered from the Moores. In conſequence whereof, by report of their own Spaniſh writers, *Ramirus* the firſt, King of *Arragon*, payed a tribute to the Popes: which his ſon *Sanchio* after continued to Pope *Alexander* the ſecond. And ſince this ſubiection to the Romane Church, as from feodataries, it hath beene acknowledged by other Kings.

In l. 1. epiſt. 6. & 7.

Zurica in lib. 1. cap. 22.

VVe reade that *Peter* the ſecond, King of *Arragon*, beſide acknowledgement of feodality, ſubmitted & rendred his kingdome, by ordinary cenſuall (to Pope *Innocent* the third) of two hundred and fifty peeces of Arabian Golde, which had free courſe then, as appeareth by the Regiſters in the *Vaticane*, which were extracted and ouer-written by *Ciacconius* a Spaniſh author, who wrote the liues of the Popes, & by diuers hiſtories of Spaine.

Ciaceonius in Regiſt. Vatani.

In like manner, the Realmes of *Sardignia* and *Carſica* doe depend vppon the holy See, and the inueſtiture of them kept in the *Vaticane*, which was made by the Pope

Pope to *Peter* the third, King of *Arragon*. In consequence wherof afterward, *Iaques* of *Arragon*, did homage liege at *Valencia*, betweene the hands of the Legate, in the yeare, MCCCLIII.

I finde also, that *Ferdinand* and *Alphonsus*, Kings of *Arragon*, did make faith and homage, in the yeare MCCCCXLV. The Islands of the *Canaries*, and *Cape du Verd*, are held in the same sort, and I reade, that *Lewes* of *Spaine* was inuested, and rẽdred faith and hommage to the Pope, in the yeare MCCCXLIII. being charged to pay to the Apostolicall Chamber, four hundred Florins of gold; wherof *Petrarch* also maketh mention. And as for the East *Indiaes* and *Peru*, it is very certaine, that Pope *Alexander* the sixt, in making partage of that which was newly discouered, betweene the kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*: reserued expressely to himselfe, the full power and soueraignty, by consent of both the kings, whom afterward he constituted his vassails, in all acquests & conquests by them made, or that should bee made thence forward, as the *Spaniards* themselues haue written. In like case, pope *Iulius* the second, gaue to *Ferdinand* the fift, King of *Arragon* and of *Castile*, the kingdome of *Granada*, which hee had conquered from the *Moores*: with this charge, to hold it of the Roman Church, in faith and homage.

Isles in the Ocean, foure hundred miles from Spaine, and tearmed the fortunate Isles.

In lib. 2. De vit. solit.

The East Indiaes & Peru.

The Pope giues a king his owne by conquest.

All these feodall acknowledgements and subiections of the estate of *Spaine*, as well in generall as in particular, are no matters of nouelty. For before them, and during the reigne of the *Gothes*: the kings alwayes payed tribute to the holy See, in acknowledgement of soueraignty: vntill that a tyrant named *Vitiza*, a little before the ruine made by the *Sarrazins*, refused to pay it. And afterward, by the generall inuasion of *Spaine*, hauing bin wholly discontinued; Pope *Gregory* the seuenth cõplained thereof in his Register, as is well obserued by the worthy Cardinall *Baronius*. Which may be the cause, that each particular king, beginning to strengthen himselfe against the oppression of the *Sarrazins*, would returne againe to the duty of this submission, and ancient subiection.

Vitiza the tyrant refused to pay the Popes tribute.

Baronius in lib. 5. cap. 17.

On the other side, it is found recorded, that the kingdom of *Castile* is in Fief to *France*. For *Henry* the second, King of *Castile*, submitting himselfe to *Charls* the fift, king of France, promised as well for himselfe, as for his successors, to be vassall, and to hold his kingdome of *Castile*, of the Kings of *France*, by a treaty in the yeare MCCCLXIX. which is kept in good forme in the Treasury of *France*. This king of *Castile*, being expulsed thẽce by his Brother *Don Peter*, was at length re-established there againe, by power frõ the king of France, vnder conduct of that valiant knight, *Bertrand de Guescline*, Constable of France, notwithstanding all the effortes of the English, bandied to the contrary.

A. held by homage, vpon promise of assistance in war

There is another notable quality, which is no meane aduantage vnto the Realme of France, in that it is, and euermore hath beene succeessiue hereditary, and not electiue. And like as by generall custome, in all succession in the Realme, death seizeth on the liuing: euen so this taketh place, & is obserued so much the more certainely, for succesion in the State. Not vnfitly compared to the golden branch in *Virgill*, which being pluckt away, another springeth vp instantly, so that there is neuer any defailance.

The kingdom of France is by hereditary succession, & not by electiõ

Vno auulso, non deficit alter.

Virg. in Aen. lib. 9.

Whence arose the common saying among the French; *That the King neuer dyeth*. Because that there is alwayes (naturally) another of the same kinde, who (without any controuersie or difficulty) succeedeth at the same instant in the others place. And when as France happeneth to be ouer-trauailed and pressed by potent enemies, euen to the losse of her King; yet it causeth no confusion or disorder, neither giueth any aduantage to the enemy, or can he (by such an accident) vsurpe vppon the State. It hath beene prooued (to the cost of some) like vnto a reuiuing Hydra, not to bee surmounted; or rather as a Phœnix, that reuiueth another out of her selfe. Also, that the Kings of France were truely bred of an immortall race, neuer parting from hence, to returne to the true place of their celestiall and diuine originall; but they left a successour, who (in the same moment) is made King, without any other formality.

The king neuer dyeth in France.

But to render their succesion the more assured, & (therby) the kings immortall, it hath

Comparisons concerning the kings of France in succeeding one after another.

Concerning them that are of the blood-royal in Frãce

hath alwayes beene receyued in *Fraunce*, that such as are of the blood-royall, although they or hee should stand farre off by a thousand degrees: yet notwithstanding, if there be not any other that is neerer, they or he are called to the succession of the kingdome, and possessed thereof, onely by the others decease, without any other contradiction; which hath beene well obserued by *Baldus*, an Italian Doctor, and hath euermore bene so continued, euen to the person of the King nowe happily reigning, to bee descended from the King, called Saint *Lewes*. *Si in Francia moreretur toto domus Regia, extaret vnus de sanguine antiquo, puta de domo Borboniæ, & non esset alius proximior, esto quod esset millesimo gradu, tamen iure sanguinis, & perpetuæ consuetudinis, succederet in Regno Francorum. Item Guliel. Benedicti, in Cap. Raynutius in ver. duos habens, Num.* 78.

Baldus in cap. 2. De feudo Marchiæ, nu. 5.

Agathias the Greek, who wrote in the time of *Iustinian*, obserued the same also, saying; *Amongst the French, Children take the kingdome, by succession to theyr Fathers.* And in another place, hee saith and reciteth, *That Theodebert King of Metz, beeing deceased, his sonne Theudibalde, or Thibault succeeded him, although hee was but an Infant. But* (saith hee) *it was the Lawe of the Countrey that called him thereto.* Assuredly a most wise institution, especially, for the representation of succession to infinite ages: to obuiate disorders, inconueniences, and ouerthrowing an Estate, which may happen during a vacancy, and when the successor is vncertaine.

Agath. in Lib. 1.

In Eod. Lib.

Assurance in succession cuts off infinit dangers.

Before I passe any further, I may heere tell you, that such succession in a kingdom hath not alwayes beene in Spaine. And there needeth no other proofe thereof, but the confession or acknowledgement of Spanish Authors; and particularlie, of *Lopez Madera*, who wrote in the Spanish tongue, and yet but little for the dignitie of the Kings of Spaine. For we find, that the Kings were ther established by election, not onely during the kingdom of the Gothes; but also, after that they were ruined, and in the inuasion of the *Sarazins*. *Pelagius*, king of the **Asturians*, & (after him) many other his successors, came by the very same meanes, as is exactly approued by *Molina* a Spanish Authour. In a word, all that *Lopez* produceth, is, that

Such succession not alwais in Spaine.

Lopez Madera.

A people in Spaine, betweene Galicia & Portugall.

Molin. de Hisp. primog. lib. 1. c. 2.

the Kinges were elective: but yet, that none were at any time elected, excepting that they were of the Family and House-Royall.

The contrary appeareth, by the certaine sequele of Histories, and namely by the Councels of *Toledo*, who permitted, that the election should be made indefinitely of all persons; except of Slaues, strangers, and others, that were not of the race of the Gothes. Wherein (it may be) an equiuocation is made, when as *Lopez* sayth, *De eadem gente*: the interpretation beareth, *Of the Family and House-Royall*, and not of the Nation of the Gothes, as the Councels vnderstood it. Therein also were many constitutions, for the honour and conseruation of such as were of the race of the precedent Kings: it beeing a matter necessary to assure them in this manner, because there were other Kinges of their house. For whom there needed no such prouision, nor search for such assurances, if the Kings should haue beene successiue. But yet much more by the fift Councell of *Toledo*, there is denounced a curse and excommunication agaynst such as shall come to the kingdom of the *Goths* otherwise then by election. As we read in *Ritius*, one of their owne Historians, that *Bamba* a labouring man was made king of *Spaine* by Pope *Leo*, and approued by the election of the people.

Conc. Tol. 6. c. 7

The Kinges to be made by election, & not succession.

Concil. Toll. 1. 5

Ritius in Lib. 2.

It neuer hath bene so in France, where the right of succession hath euermore bin inuiolably kept: There, the Race-Royall which surpasseth the rest in greatnesse and vertue, are borne and destenyed to reigne.

No such creating of Kinges in France.

Nor was it without good cause, that in Greece they made so exact an inquisition and search for such as were of the Linage of *Heraclides*, and of the *Æacides*, to make them Kings, Captains in warre, and Gouernours of estates. *Plato*, and nexte to him *Aristotle*, are of opinion, that Monarchy is indeede the best forme of Gouernment: *Were it not as a dream* (say they) *to find a good king*. As thinking it a matter impossible for a humane spirit, in so great a fortune, affluence of so many goods and delights, and such liberty without contradiction, and in so supreame a power, to keepe in, and commaund ouer his owne passions. *Plato* addeth, *Wee liue not in the Commonwealth of Bees, where naturally one is*

A worthy custom obserued in Greece.

Plato and Aristotle.

An excellent comparison of Plato.

is bred much greater and better, to command ouer all the other. And yet the very same happeneth to the French, whose Kings come from their very birth, more great (not of body) but of courage, generosity, and vnderstanding, then all the rest: borne and esteemed (by heauen) of another nature, then any common person to reigne.

The difficulties and dangers in a state electiue.

Would we but a little consider the great difficulties and inconueniences, which are noted in an electiue estate, by reason of such forme of election; we shold the better know, what an aduantage, excellency, and prerogatiue France hath. In an estate electiue, the death of the Prince hapning, there is an *Interregnum*, during which time, it falles into * *Anarchy*, which causeth disorder, vnrulinesse, and confusion; whereon ensue infinite euils, murders, assassines, violences and thefts. As hath beene well obserued in those elections, made for the Kings of *Thunis*, & the Soldanes of Egypt by the *Mammelukes*. Nay, and hath sometimes happened at the election of Popes, in *Sede vacante*.

* Peop'e with out a Prince.

The kings of Thunis, Soldanes of Egypt, and election of some Popes.

And which is yet farre worse, the *Interregnum* sometimes lasteth for many dayes, because, beside vnder-handed suites and made factions, there is an naturall inclination to dissention in men. As hath oft beene seene to happen in the Empire of the East, after it yeelded it selfe to be electiue: And in the Realmes of *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, *Denmarke*, and *Sweden*. During these *Interregnums*, nothing happeneth but schismes, diuisions, and many menacings of diuers persons, which ordinarily do draw on ciuill warres, euery one coueting to haue a Prince of his partaking, or as he would haue it.

The Empire of the East becomming electiue, & the kingdomes of diuers countries beside.

It hath also beene obserued in the Empire of *Germany*, that many Emperors haue beene elected, vntill they haue had seuen or eight at a time, as after the death of the Emperour *Fredericke* the second. And there could no sufficient remedy be found, for the establishing of a Gouernour, that might haue commanded in the meane while; because about the election of that Gouernour, there grew on still the same inconueniences. And perhaps it might haue so fallen out, that the Gouernour being seized on the estate, would attend no other election, as some haue done heeretofore: finding but few men, that will render vp so great an engadgement,

Contrarious election in the Empire of Germany.

Great estate and dignity is not easily parted withall.

& a thing so attracting, he reputing himselfe iust in all things, if he can keepe such dignity from violation.

Moreouer, it commeth so to passe somtimes, that such as haue the right to elect Princes, will deliuer foorth some apparances of credence to them; euen to haue them murdered and massacred, if they please them not, or else by corruption leaue them and elect some other. Hereof the Romane Empire can furnish vs with sufficient examples; and that it neuer was more calme, then when her Princes came to the Empire by succesion. On the contrary, when the election was in the Soldiors hands, they set the Empire to sale, and filled all the State with rapines, thefts, murders, cruelties, and barbarous brutishnesse. When an Emperour pleased them not, were he the most vertuous man and the best Prince in the world; they would massacre him, without any difficulty, and establish another; as it befell to the good Emperor *Pertinax*, after whose murder, they caused it to bee published through the Citty, that the Empire was to be sold to the faireſt offerer.

The Romane Empire a wofull witnesse of her owne miseries and calamities.

The Emperor Pertinax murdered.

In like manner, they murdered *Alexander Seuerus*, one of the best and most vertuous Princes that euer was. And so they dealt with *Probus*, *Tacitus*, and many more, as may bee gathered by the sequell of Histories from time to time. Yet this is not all, each Legion and each Army made his Emperor, all which (in the end) had their throtes cut, after cruell ciuill warres: the poore people enduring all this while, infinite miseries, and there are obserued (in that time) well neere thirty, among whom there was two women.

Alexander Seuerus. Probus, Tacitus, & many more Emperours murdered.

These inconueniences were ordinary (anciently) in the estate of *Spaine*. S. *Gregory* of *Tours* saith: *Sumpserant Gotthi hanc detestabilem consuetudinem, vt si quis eis de regibus non placuisset, gladio eum adpeterent; & qui libuisset animo, hunc sibi statuerunt Regni. The Gothes had taken this detestable custome, that if any one of their Kings did not please them; they would murder him, and establish whosoeuer falleth into their fantasie, to be their King.* This he wrote concerning *Theudas*, *Theudegysiles*, and *Agilas*. And in Germany, after that this order of election got footing there, there were eight or nine Emperors slain; as *William* of *Holland*, *Raoull*, *Albert*, *Henry* the

S. Greg. Turon. in lib. 3. cap. 30.

Kings of the Gothes murdered.

Emperors of Germany slaine.

Seuē Sultans of Egipt murdered.

the seuenth, *Frederick* the second, and *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, &c. beside them that haue shamefully bene expulsed from the Imperiall Throne. And of fifteene Sultanes that reigned in Egypt, seauen were murthered.

Eminency brooketh no competitor.

VVith these wee could ranke many equall, and equally worthy, growing onely through hatreds and discontentment: from whence haue proceeded diuisions and seditions; so that the choise and preferring of one man, hath prooued the vtter contempt of another. And questionlesse, it wil be very hard for him that hath beene refused, intirely to be obedient to him with whome hee hath contested for the royall authority, as his equal in house, reputation and merit.

The felicity of France.

Happy *France*, and truly happy, whereto God hath giuen the grace, to breathe but one acceptable libertie, vnder the sweet command of thy naturall and successiue Kings: which hath bene thy warrant from ruine, dangers, & deadly tempests, and hath kept thy State alwaies florishing, yea, in full strength and vigor.

A note well worth the obseruation.

Amongst other inconueniences that may be met within an elective estate, this is one: A Prince elective will neuer bee carefull of the state, which he holdeth but by entreaty, or at other mens liking, but of his owne family. For knowing well, that he cannot leaue the kingdome to his children, he makes his profite of the publike purse, deriuing and turning it to his own particulars, by venditions and other alienations. According as *Rodolfe* of *Habspourg* did, who comming to bee elected Emperour, by the fauour of his Master Elector, the Arch-Bishop of *Magunce*; founded & built vp the house of *Austria* vpon the ruines of the Empire. Euen so farre, as to sell at prices of mony, her freedomes and Seigneuries to Cities of *Italy*; as to *Florence* for six thousand crowns, and to *Luca* for ten thousand, and so to other in like manner. Which prooued to be the end of the kingdom and command of the Emperors in *Italy*: in regard whereof, he was highly blamed by all the Historians of those times, and by such as haue written euer since.

Radolfe of of Habspourg Emperor, & what great indignity he did to the empire.

The hereditary patrimony of the Empire alienated, and nothing but the bare name remaining.

I forbeare to speake of many other Emperours, who practised in the same manner, and alienated the hereditary patrimony of the Empire, Citties, Townes, Territories, and Seigneuries, as well in *Germany*, as in *Italy*, and other places. And by this meanes, diuers Principalities established, and great cities franchised, beare now no more but the bare name of soueraignty for the Empire. Also it is to bee credited, that a Prince doing what he can, will ouerthrow all, yet not topsie turuy: but will mingle (as one saith) heauen with earth, but he wil make his issue to succeed, so strong and mighty is this passion. Few or none are found to follow the example of *Moyses*, who knowing and acknowledging his sonnes to bee incapable to command the people of Israel after him; rather chose to establish another, as preferring the weale publike, before affection or charity to his owne. It is recorded, that the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, promised an hundred thousand crowns to each one of the Princes Electours, to haue his sonne *Wenceslaus* elected emperour; and being vnable to pay them, hee was constrained to giue ouer to them the ordinary reuennues of the empire in paiment.

The liberall promise of the Emperour Charles the 4.

The case is quite contrary in France, where the inheritance and patrimony of him that commeth to the crowne by succession, accrueth and reuniteth it selfe (by the same meanes) to the crowne. In regard whereof, the Kings haue not two kindes of inheritances, the one particular, and the other publike: for all commeth of one and the same nature, & all is made publike. Wherein is discerned the full effect, of that which the emperour *Antoninus Pius* said to his wife. *Seeing* (sayeth he) *that we are come to the Empire, wee haue lost that which we had before.*

No two kinds of inheritances in France comming to the crowne by the King.

Capitolinus in eius vita.

But although this kingdome bee successiue in this manner, by the iuuiolable custom of the country, rather thē by hereditary right: yet notwithstanding, women, and the descendants of them in that kind, neuer haue beene, neither euer can be admitted, no not in the defect of Males. VVithout reason, some enemies to the French name, and enuious (to speake truly) of this prerogatiue; would striue to call in doubt the *Salique* Law, which reiecteth women from succession in the kingdome, saying, that the originall therof is doubtfull and vncertaine. As if a man can desire a better and more certain proofe, then the succesſe and possession of so many hundred yeares, since the setled

No female succession in France, according to the Salique law.

led eſtabliſhment of that eſtate. That law hath beene engrauen, not in Marble or Copper, but in the hearts of Frenchmen and alwayes certainly kept.

Lopez Madera the Spaniard, ſeeing that the like could not be in Spaine, and that the dignity was much leſſe, to couer the defect, and bring ſome ſhadow for it, laboureth to prooue, by ſtretching out a long diſcourſe, that the ſucceſsion of women is very naturall. This carryeth good reaſon in matter of ſucceſſion for Patrimony in particulars. In which caſe (neuertheleſſe) we can ſhew, that the ſucceſſions by right (well neere of all people) hath alwayes bene referred to the Males: who are as firme pillars and Anchors of aſſurance to great Families. But in the ſucceſsion of a mighty eſtate or kingdom it were a mockery for the French to imagine, that the maintaining of womens ſucceſſion could be the better. *There is verie great difference* (ſayde the Emperour *Adrian*) *betweene the ſearch of an heyre of my patrimony, and a ſucceſſor in an Empire.*

Lopez Madera, in hyſt. Eſpagn. Lib. 3. cap. 9.

The wiſe ſaying of the Emperor Adrian.

Moreouer, it were ſuperfluous to goe ſeeke for the originall of this Salique law, and enquire any further, when or how it was made; becauſe it appeareth of a certaine vſe, and that it hath alwaies bin kept by the French. Law hath no force, if it be not by cuſtome, which is the very ſtrongeſt Law of all other. And it may well be ſayde, that it is a right of great authoritie, when it hath bene obſerued ſo ſtrictly: as there is no neede of reducing it to a law by writing.

Law hath no power but by cuſtome.

It is no written Law, but borne with them, neither haue they inuented it, but ſuckt it from nature her ſelfe, who gaue it them by inſtinct, & ſo inſtructed them: which not only the French, but moſt part of the people of the world, haue likewiſe moſt religiouſly obſerued. If we look vpon royalty and imitation of gouernment generall in the world, by the Soueraigne vnity, from the very firſt birth, that is to ſay, when the world tooke beginning, we ſhall find, that the firſt fathers of families gaue command in their houſes themſelus and not by their wiues, and that the male children ſucceeded them in the ſoueraignty of the Family, whereas the Daughters paſſed to another houſe, without hauing any part there.

The Salique Law bred and borne with the French.

A compariſon of the worlds firſt begining.

Whence came it, that all people (in the firſt ages) were gouerned by Kinges, (not of many Prouinces) but of a Cittie, or ſmall territory onely, which had bene before but the incloſure of a father of a Family? As is to be ſeene, as wel in holy Writ, as by the ancient hiſtories of each Countrey. That which great *Ariſtotle* ſo faithfully interpreted of nature, hee hath well acknowledged. *In the beginning* (ſaith hee) *Townes and Cities were gouerned by Kings, as now adayes people and ſtrange Nations are. For they were compoſed of people, that liued vnder Royalty: each Family being gouerned by the moſt ancient.* So women could not come to the Royaltie, neyther hold part in the ſucceſſion of particulars. Contrarywiſe, Fathers of the family receiued commodity by rich gifts and preſents which were giuen them, by ſuch as made requeſt for their daughtets: as wee reade in holye Writ, of the Father, Mother, and Brethren of *Rebecca*, the wife to *Iſaac*, and as (at this day) it is a common right among all ſtrange people, as well of the Eaſt, weſt, and South, where it is obſerued in the ſame ſort.

Ariſt in Politic lib. 1 cap. 2

Gen. 24 53.

Ariſtotle reporteth, that the ancient Greeks did buy their wiues: whereof (as yet) we haue the teſtimony of *Homer*. But ſince the prime ſimplicity & good nature of men forſooke and gaue them ouer, iuſtice and peace withdrawing themſelues; while in this truly Iron Age) all began to grow more ſtrong, without any right or Iuſtice, and that ambition (a moſt peſtilent diſeaſe) ranne currant in the hearts of men: that goodly order became peruerted and ouerthrowne: when the moſt mightie, ſuch as the Scripture reporteth, as of *Nimrod* and others, of *Ninus*, *Seſoſtris*, *Nebuchadonozar*, and *Cyrus*, troubled the quietnes of their neighbours, and inuaded their lands. So, on the ruine of a great number of ſmall eſtates, mightie Empires and Monarchies grewe to bee grounded, and gaue commaund both in length and largeneſſe.

Ariſt. in Politic lib. 2.

The iniquitie of this Iron Age of the world, againſt the Primitiue Iuſtice that firſt florriſhed.

In this inuaſion, confuſion, & ouerthrowing of kingdomes, as alſo particular and naturall Principalities, ſome alſo mounting vp againſt their Soueraignes; in ſted of naturall Royalty, brought eſtates to popularity or Oligarchy. Afterward in regard of theſe diſorders thus happening, the greater part of the people beeing not willing to liue ſo: became at length conſtray-

ſtrained to render thēſelues to their own nature,& return to the good gouernment of kings,to enioy their former iuſtice. To the ende that the weakeſt might bee in as ſafe ſecurity as the ſtrongeſt, and ẏ which pertained to euery priuate perſon, might peaceably be poſſeſſed, and defended by their kings,againſt the violence of neighbors:which were ẏ 2 principall functions, that incited wādring people to reunite & ſubmit themſelues to kings. Wherin *Ariſtotle* alſo hath placed the definitiō of royalty,to wit: *As well to render Iuſtice, as to defend the ſubiects from inuaſion of enemies.* Such were the Iudges that gouerned the Eſtate of *Iſrael*,before the eſtabliſhment of kings. Wherto is referred that which *Herodotus* ſaid: *That the Medes would haue* * *Deioces to bee their K.to the end to render Iuſtice.* Be it then,that we regard the firſt originall and naturall inſtitution of kings, or be it the eſtabliſhment of great Monarchies: yet it is doubtles, that women neither could or cā be any participants. And as for the laſt inſtitution of kings, for recourſe of people,to the ende, they might be defended againſt violence, & to enioy Iuſtice: we plainly perceiue,this could neuer agree with the naturall diſpoſition of women,becauſe the vertue of pudicity reiecteth thē from thoſe functions,of iudging people,& defending them by Armes. And if in popular and Oligarchall Common-weals,women haue alwayes bin barred from gouernment, and entermedling with the publike affaires: by much ſtronger reaſon then they ought to bee frō Royalty, in as much as that forme of State is more excellent then the other. It hath bin obſerued throughout al the Monarchies, euer purſuing the right of nature. And during fabulous times, if ther be found a *Semiramis* among ẏ *Aſſyrians*; yet that breaketh not the rule. Conſidering the ſtory it ſelfe ſaieth, that to bring her purpoſe to paſſe,ſhe diſguiſed herſelfe in the habit of a man: and was taken, not for *Semiramis*, but for her Son *Ninus*. And therby it appeareth,that the *Aſſyrians* did not willingly endure the dominion of a woman, as *Lopez Madera* fondly ſuppoſeth. Contrariwiſe we reade, that that ẏ cauſed the ruine of their Monarchy,was,whē *Sardanapalus*(their laſt K.)imitating the manners, faſhions,& behauior of women,offended men ſo much, that by a iuſt indignation, for ſo many men to bee ſubiect to ſuch a woman,who had no more but the forme of a man; they reuolted from him, and conſtrayned him to kill himſelfe.

Women then are not capable of ſucceeding in the kingdome of France,as we haue already approoued, that in ancient times (ordinarily) they were not. For out of the fabulous times, there is obſerued onely a Queene of *Saba*,and a *Cleopatra* in Egipt,and ſo few beſide; that their rarity declareth,how contrary a thing it is, violent,and extraordinary to nature. Since the declination of the race and Empire of *Charlemaigne* only,we haue ſeene in ſome parts of the Weſt,where valour & virility hath failed or relaxed: ſoueraigne ſwords and ſcepters conuerted into diſtaffes, and by the ſucceſſion of womē, many the like indignities haue met together in one body. This was that which rayſed the houſes of *Spaine* and of *Auſtria*, to the greatnes they hold: a kinde of encreaſing vnknown before,in any other houſe or ſoueraignty, becauſe there was no right at all.

When then the Spaniards demand of the French,the proofe and foundation of the Salique Law; it is fit for themſelues to ſhew the original and beginning of the right for their feminine Crownes, ſeeing France hath kept the vſe of Antiquity,& they haue falne to change among themſelues. Which hath bin heretofore obſerued and diſcourſed, by Seigneur *Leſthaſſier*, in his Tract of the right of Nature: where he ſheweth,that by the right of nature, women ſtand exempted from ſucceſſion in the Realm of France. I remember the anſwer which *Licurgus* made to one,who diſcourſed,that the gouernment of many was the beſt forme of an Eſtate. *Bring it firſt of all* (quoth he) *into thine own houſe.* In like manner, to ſuch as will maintaine the gouernment of women in kingdomes and great Empires, eſpecially in France: a man may well ſay, let them begin that eſtabliſhment in their owne houſes. It is by good reaſon ſaide,that there is neyther beginning nor writing found for the Salique Law. It is a Law of nature, borne with men, and not written, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith: *That whoſoeuer is by right of nature,& by right of people,is not written at al.*

Wherto I may adde moreouer,that it is the common right of inheritances,which ought by ſtronger reaſon to be obſerud in

The happy condition of liuing vnder kings.

Ariſt.in Politic. lib.2.

Herodot. in l.1.

* Sonne to Pharaortes.

Concerning the laſt inſtitution of kings.

Trog.Pomp in lib.1. Concerning Semiramis among the Aſſyrians.

Lopez Madera in Hiſt. Eſpagn.

Of Sardanapalus.

Women not capable of ſucceeding in the Crowne of France.

Soueraigne Swords and Scepters chāged to Diſtaffes.

The defence of the French for their Salique Law.

A witty anſwer made by Licurgus.

Ariſt.in lib.1. tit.1 §5.Hoc notandum in feudis.

Royalty, as being the laſt and moſt eminent title of inheritance, and whereon dependeth all the other. So then this right, ſo naturall, hath euermore beene exactly kept in the eſtate of France.

A connexion of the Lawes of the Salians with that of the Ripuarians.

Beſide, the ancient lawes of the *Salians*, will not permit, that any part of *Salique* land or inheritance (that is to ſay, of lands diſtributed to the French, in their entring to the *Gaules*) ſhall come into the hands of women: but willeth, that it bee wholly left to the males. The ſame is alſo ordained in the law of the *French Ripuarians*. If this then tooke place in the ſucceſſion of particulars, that the lands aſſigned vnto the French warriors, for recompence of their trauailes, and to ſerue for defence of the Country, ſhould not fall (as one ſaith) from the Lance to the Diſtaffe: by how much greater reaſon then ought we to eſteeme, that this ſhould be obſerued, in the eſtate and ſucceſſion of the kingdome of France, as the ſequell of her owne Hiſtories maketh knowne, that it hath bin at all times ſo held and practiſed there?

From the Lance to the Diſtaffe.

The great *Louys* or *Chlouis* had foure Sonnes, who by cuſtome (then) receiued and diuided his Monarchies equally. *Childebert* the eldeſt, was king of *Paris*; *Chlothaire* of *Soiſſons*; *Chlodamiere* of *Orleance*, and *Thierry* of *Mets*. *Childebert* had two Daughters, the one named *Chrodeſinda*, and the other *Chrosberga*, as appeareth by the Charter of exemption, of the Abbey of S. *Germane des Prez*, and by that which *Fortunatus*, Biſhop of *Poictiers* hath written in his Poems, who addeth, that King *Charibert* was Tutor to thoſe two daughters. Neuertheleſſe, neither of them ſucceeded in the kingdome of *Childebert* their Father: but without all further diſpute, it was *Chlothaire* their Vnkle, as hath in like manner bin obſerued by *Agathias* the Greeke. Afterward, *Charibert* the ſon of *Chlouis*, had three daughters alſo, without leauing any male-childe: the one was married to a king of *Denmark*; the ſecond named *Berthefleda*, of whom *Fortunatus* made an Epigram; and the third, called *Chrodielda*, entred Religion in the Abbey of S. *Croſſe* in *Poictiers*: ſo that none of theſe daughters ſucceeded their Father, but *Sigebert*, brother to the deceaſed king, & that without difficulty or controuerſie.

The 4 ſonnes of great Chlouis, all kings together.

Fortunat. in Poem.

Agathias in li. 2

The three daughters of Charibert.

Now if there had bin any means or ſubiect to worke vpon, it is not to be thought, that the king of *Denmark*, who had married one of the daughters, could otherwiſe haue bin remoued. Or if he had bin impeached by power, at leaſt he would haue complained, & the authors of thoſe times could not forget to make mention of it. But they not making any account of the daughters, do report, that *Sigebert* ſucceeded his brother *Charibert*, according to the cuſtome of the Country. *Gonthram*, King of Bourgongne, brother to *Charibert*, had but one only daughter, named *Cklotilda*. And yet notwithſtanding, he inueſted and inſtituted his Nephew *Childebert* in the kingdome of Bourgongne, to enioy it after his death. It is not here to be obiected, that hee did it for any ill will he bare to his daughter, or becauſe hee would diſinherite her: For by an acte of accord or agreement, made with his Nephew *Childebert*, tranſcribed at large by S. *Gregory of Tours*, who liued in thoſe very times; he ſtipullated great Lands and Seigneuries for her, declaring well therin his fatherly affection; but becauſe the law of France hindered her ſucceeding in the Crowne, he aduantaged her otherwiſe as he found the beſt means to do. The ſame may be confirmd by the teſtimony of many ſtrangers, who do al agree in this point, that womẽ are not to ſucceed in the kingdome of France: the names of whom, as alſo their authorities, haue beene (for the moſt part) noted, and collected by a learned man of this time, in an Epiſtle which he hath written concerning this ſubiect.

The ancient cuſtome of any country is a mighty and preuailing motiue.

S. Greg. Turon. in lib. 9. cap. 20.

This point cõfirmed by diuers ſtrange Writers.

Nodgerus, Biſhop of *Liege*, in the life of S. *Landoalde*, written by him in the yeare VCCCCLXXX. ſaith. *Francorum Regnũ à ſui principio ſemper per infatigabile, &c. Maximũ autem accepit incrementũ & firmũ ſub eo ſancta Dei Eccleſia ſtatum, cum Chlotarius Rex IVSTA SVCCESSIONE, Chlodoueo quartus Monarchiam ſingulariter trium regebat regnorum. The kingdome of France frõ her beginning, hath euermore bin inuincible and indefatigable, &c. But the holy Church of God hath taken a great and firme encreaſing in that State, when as king Chlotharius, the fourth Son of Chlouis was Monarch BY IVST SVCCESSION of three kingdomes.* He ſaith by iuſt ſucceſſion, and yet notwithſtanding, *Childebert* had left two daughters behinde him.

Nodger in vit. Landoaldi. lib. 1. cap. 3.

Chlouis was Monarch of 3 kingdomes.

Albert of *Strasbourg* reporteth in his Chronicle: *In Francia nullus per foeminam lineam*

Albert. Strasb. in Chron.

In vit Caroli Quarti, &c.

linea ſucceſsiſſe dicitur. Neuer hath any perſon ſucceeded in France, by the line of womẽ.

The Emperor *Charles* the fourth, Son to *Iohn*, king of *Bohemia*, in his life it is thus written. *Eodem Anno obijt Carolus Francorum Rex relicta vxore prægnante, quæ peperit filiam. Et cum de conſuetudine regni filiæ non ſuccedant, prouectus eſt Philippus, filius ſoceri mei in Regem Franciæ.* That yeare (ſaith he) *died Charles, king of France, leauing his wife great with childe, who was deliuered of a daughter. And becauſe by the cuſtome of the kingdome, daughters are not to ſucceed: Philip, Sonne of my Father in law, was made king of France.*

Froiſſard in f. 61. 1.

Froiſſard, a partaker with England writeth thus. *Then after the death of K. Charls, the 12 Peeres and Barons of France, aſſembled themſelues togither at Paris, with al the ſpeed they could make, and gaue the kingdome (by a common conſent) to Meſſire Philip de Valois, and tooke it from the Queene of England & her Son, who was left Sister germane to king Charles, by this reſpect and reaſon; becauſe they ſaid, that the Realm of France was of ſo great nobility, as it ought not go by any means to a Female.* And indeed, the Q. of England, and *Edward* her Son, would not go to the contrary: but acknowledged *Philip de Valois* for legitimate ſucceſſour to the kingdome. And that which is more, *Edward* voluntarily did him homage, in regard of the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and the acte of homage was deliberated and aduiſed by his councell of England.

The Queene of England and Edward her Sonne.

King Edward the third took on him the name of king, and quartred the Armes of France.

Now as concerning that which hapned ſome while after, warre being moued betweene the two kings, for another cauſe and enmity excited among thẽ, that *Edward* tooke on him the Name and Armes of France: this was only done by the inuention of the Flemings, who ſaide, that they could not aide him, except he would qualifie on himſelfe, the name of King of France: becauſe thẽy ſtoode bound by oath, not to beare Armes againſt the K. of France, on paine of paying two millions of Florins. So that in taking Armes for him againſt *Philip de Valois*, and to quit thẽſelues of that payment; *Edward* gaue them a diſcharge and quittance, as being K. of France. And yet notwithſtanding, the K. of England made difficulty of vnderſtanding it, hauing attempted war vpon another ſubiect, as being Vicar of the Empire, and for recouering the towne of *Cambray*, which the King then held. But in the end, to haue the helpe of the Flemings, & their allies, who were moſt important vpon him: he was induced to take the title of king, & the Armes of France, as may more particularly be ſeene in the ſequell of the hiſtory ſet down by *Froiſſard*.

King Edward of England Vicar of the Empire.

Eſtiuan de Garibay. Hiſtor in lib. 26. cap. 16.

Eſtiuan de Garibay y Gamalloa, a Spaniard, ſpeaketh of the very ſame, ſaying. *Porque Philip Conde de Valoes deſcendida de la corona Real por linea maſcolina: fue coronado por Rey di Francia, por virtud de la Ley Salica. Al Rey Eduardo por deſcender de linea de muger, exluyeron de la ſucceſſion Real, &c. Aunque todas ellas razones d' Eduardo, euadenyeſcluſen los Franceſes con Ley Salica, que en eſtos dias y ua tomando grande vigor y fuerca para los ſiglos futuros.* Becauſe *Philip, Count of Valois, deſcended of the Crowne Royall, by the maſculine line: he was crowned King of France, by vertue of the Salique law. For king Edward, he being deſcended by the Mothers line, he ſtood excluded from the Royall ſucceſſion, &c. And all the reaſon alledged by Edward, were euaded & excluded for the French, by the Salique Law, which in thoſe daies was in great force, and continueth alſo for future times.*

Baldus in lib. 2. D. De Senator.

Doctor *Baldus* on the Pandects ſaith. *Filia Regis Francorũ non ſuccedit in Regno, ex rationabili conſuetudine Francorum. The Daughter to the K. of France, ſucceedeth not at all in the kingdome, by a reaſonable cuſtome among the French.* Which is alſo confirmd by Doctor *Petrus Iacobi*, on the Books of Fiefs or Inheritances, & many other Doctors. This may (by good right) bee regiſtred among the honors, dignities, & preheminences of France. And ſuch as contend againſt it, as willing to impugne ſuch a Law, or call it in doubtfull queſtion; do ſlenderly conceiue, that the ſtate of their owne Country could neuer pretend, nor attribute vnto it ſelfe ſuch a prerogatiue.

Petrus Iacobi. Tit. ex quib cauſ. vaſſal. in Feud.

Another great aduantage of the king of France.

The King of France hath alſo this great aduantage aboue others, that he is not only Soueraigne, but likewiſe abſolute, with full power & authority truly Royal: which is not common to all Princes, although they be Soueraignes. There are very few or none, but are reſtrained, eyther by lawes, or by aſſemblies of the generall Eſtates: who therfore cannot rearme thẽſelues abſolute, being ſo ſubiected, & their power limitted. The perfection & height of a royall eſtate, is, when the Prince or-

The perfection of a truely Royall eſtate.

daineth all by his owne will, doth what he would, without any reſtriction, and being no way anſwerable for any of his actions. This was the reaſon, that *Ariſtotle* elegãtly named ſuch an eſtate, by the name of παμβασιλεία, as one would ſay, *Full and perfect Royalty*. And wiſe *Salomon* ſpeaking of a true king indeed, ſaith; *He will do whatſoeuer pleaſeth him. Where the word of the king is, there is power; and who ſhal ſay vnto him, What doſt thou?* This is alſo of no meane importance for the good gouernment of an eſtate; be it to reſolue more certainly on the affaires; be it to keepe councels & deſignes ſecret; be it for facility, promptitude, and ſpeedines of execution. He that hath ſuch power, eſpecially in actions of war, as the two great warriours *Alexander* and *Cæſar* had, may ſway the Empire of the world. One of them being demanded, how in ſo ſhort a time, hee had made ſo many famous conqueſts: *It was* (quoth he) *by neuer deferring occaſion, or vſing remiſſeneſſe*. And the other was ſo prompt & ready, as many times he was at his iournies end with his Army, before any newes was heard of his comming. Yea, and in ſuch ſort, as enemies felt his fingers, before they tooke aduice for his comming. Nor can this be done, if a man depend vpon another, in any manner whatſoeuer, & thẽ his power is not abſolute. The Romanes tooke good acknowledgement hereof, being wont in their very greateſt affaires, & dangers of the eſtate, were it in peace or war, to create a Magiſtrate, whom they called Dictatour, with ſuch full power & abſolute authority. In breefe, for the gouernement of great eſtates, and likewiſe of great affaires, the account can neuer bee well rendred, except it be to one man only. Otherwiſe, a Prince, although a Soueraigne, can neuer ſay, as *Metellus Numidicus*, and as it was after vſed by king *Lewes* the 11. *That if he thonght his ſhirt knew his councell, he would teare it from his backe and burne it*. He that is truly an abſolute king, may well vſe the aduice of his councell, in ſuch affaires as preſent themſelues: but in an arreſt and reſolue, what ſeems good to himſelfe. The excellency of that kingdome, as alſo of her kings, reſulteth yet from two other conſiderations. One is the long continuance of the eſtate: a certain proofe, as well of her good gouernment, as of the ſupreme and celeſtiall fauor. The other, is the antiquity of her race of kings: for to ſpeake truely, there is not any more worthy, no nor more generous blood in the world. Who can in all the kingdomes through the Vniuerſe, ſhew another the like eſtate, as firm and ſtable, as hath continued for 1200. yeares? Who can nominate ſuch a nobility & ancientnes of race, ſo fairely approued, and in ſo long ſucceſſion of ſo many kings. Since the year 440. according to moſt certaine Hiſtory. *Meroneus* planted the foundation of that Monarchy, and eſtabliſhed it to the *Gaules*: & euen to this inſtant, the eſtate hath bin alwaies maintained, and valiantly ſtood againſt all violent aſſaults. In ſuch ſort, as the more it hath bin attempted, yea, in very dangerous extremities; then found ſhe her ſelfe ſtrongeſt, and more flouriſhing then before. There is not any thing comparable to ſuch a ſucceſſion of kings, in al other Realmes, as it will be eaſily verified.

Moreouer, the nobleneſſe, dignity, and greatnes of that royall race, hath receiued no diminution by thoſe two changes, which hiſtorians haue there obſerued. Let not *Lopez Madera* alledge then, that ſuch changes hapned, becauſe France would not admit the regiment of women. For if we regard the ſide & line feminine, thogh the ſucceſſion be not therein; three races finde themſelues all vnited with the other. The ſecond of *Pepin* with the firſt, as ſome Chronicles of thoſe times do proue. And that of the *Capets* which is the third, and reigneth at this preſent happily with the ſecond, as M. *Guillaume de Nangis* hath deduced the Genealogy. The which Pope *Innocent* the 4. in his Decratale, ſpeaking of king *Phillip Auguſtus*, full well acknowledged, when he auouched that king to be deſcended of the race of *Charlemaigne*.

But beſide this, there are other faithfull Authors, who do declare, that the ſecond race is ioynd to the firſt, by the males ſide, prooving from father to ſonne, that *Pepin* was deſcended in direct line by the males, of *Chlogion*, K. of the French, before *Meroneus*, as iſſued from *Albericus*, one of the ſonnes of *Chlogion*. And as for the third race, the true originall thereof, was in that noble and ſo ancient houſe of *Saxony*, & of great *Vuitichind*, king of the *Saxons*, who made himſelfe Chriſtian with his people, & came to dwell in France, in the time of *Charlemaigne*. He was deſcended of *Siguardus*,

Ariſt. in Politic. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Eccleſ. 8. 3. 4.

The honourable diſpoſitions of Alexander & Cæſar in their actions of warre, and otherwiſe.

The abſolute power of the Romanes Dictatour.

The wiſe ſaying of Metellus Numidicus

Two other conſiderations well deſeruing obſeruation.

Long continuance of the State, & Antiquity of race.

The firſt plãtation of the Monarchy by Meroneus.

Two changes noted by Hiſtorians concerning Frãce

Cap. Nouit De Iudici apud Gregor.

Pepin deſcended of king Chlogion, before Meroneus.

The third race of the houſe of Saxony by king Vuitichind, and that deſcent.

Siguardus, who was made Duke of the Saxons, in the yeare VCXXXVI. at such time as *Dagobert* was king of France. Behold the certain succession, *Vuitichind* the great had another Son cald *Vuitichind*, & that *Vuitichind* had another *Vuitichind* ỹ 3. who had to Sonne *Rupert* or *Robert* the *Strong*, Count of *Aniou*, he being slain against the *Normanes*, in the time of *Charles* the Bauld, king of *France*, and Emperor.

That *Robert* the *Strong* left his Son *Otho* or *Eudo*, who was Tutor to king *Charles* the *Simple*, and afterward crowned king; as also was his brother *Rupert*, Father to *Hugh* the Great, Count of *Paris*, Sonne in law to the Emperor *Otho* the first. And by this mariage of *Hugh* the Great, was born *Hugh Capet*, established king by the Nobility of France, through default in the legitimate line of *Charlemaigne*, in the year VCCCCLXXXVII. Since which time, the kingdome hath alwayes beene in the hand of that generous and flourishing Linage, excelling still more and more, and reigning to perpetuity.

Robert the Strong, & his Sonne Otho, Tutor to Charles the Simple.

Hugh Capet Son of Hugh the Great.

Next heereunto, there commeth also to our consideration, the admirable and heroyicall vertues of the kings of France, which hath mounted their glory vp vnto heauen, & made them known through al the Cantons of the earth. But to forbeare the most ancient warriours, the affright & terrour of the Romanes, *Ascaricus*, *Gaiso*, *Marcomir*, *Sunno*, *Mellaubodes*, and *Chlogion*: what a warrior was *Meroneus*, the founder of that Monarchy in *Gaule*? This was the man, who (in despight of the Romanes, and such a mingle-mangle of barbarous people, scattered and dispersed by the *Gaules*) planted there his Standards, and made himselfe absolute Lord of one part. And as for *Attila*, king of the *Hunnes*, that caused himself to be cal'd, *The scourge of God*: he came to rauage France, as hee had done all other Prouinces where hee had past. The wise *Aetius*, Gouernour to what then remained of the Romanes in *Gaule*, was perswaded, that he was not able, nor all the barbarous people releagued with him, to endure the furious and fearefull shock, of that huge thunderbolt of war. But made his recourse to the vertue of the French, and to their great *Meroneus*, to fight against the furious entrance of the *Huns*. Wherin he had good succes, for the pride of *Attila* was soone rebated on the *Cathalanian* plaines, by great *Meroneus*, who put to the edge of the sword, that dreaded masse and number of enemies.

Warriors that terrified and amazed the Romane.

Meroneus founder of the monarchy in Gaule.

Attila king of the Hunnes called himselfe Flagellum Dei.

Alas, there is no roome here, in a work of no larger circumference, to recount the goodly deeds, and actes heroyicall, well deseruing eternall memory, of al the kings that haue raigned in France: for many great volumes can hardly containe them. So high an ascending subiect, deserued to meete with such Writers, as can as worthily set down in writing, what these kings did boldly and vertuously performe. Beside, the aboundance of matter, and dignity of the subiect, would affoord them scarsity of ground, and trouble them with a thousand difficulties. It is a subiect much more great, then the wars and encounters of petty Townes and Villages in Greece, bandied the one against the other: which neuertheles, by the learning & eloquence of such, as haue attempted to write thereof, are become so much celebrated, and thought worthy of immortality. But Frenchmen, who haue established this Monarchy, contenting themselues with the glory and honour of well doing, care little for any pride of the Pen, addicting themselues rather, to execute high & hardy enterprizes, thē to set down in writing those of others, much lesse of themselues.

This labour euer-little to containe the famous actions of the Kings of France.

Neuertheless, though destitute of such exquisite meanes, whereby to mount to immortality: yet it hath so well falne out, that all their faire actions haue not bin vterly buried, nor forgotten. But in stead of a worthy Historiā, admiration hath thrust into the mouthes of all people, to know and speake of them; deliuering it so from hand to hand, euen to such as dwell in the remotest Climates, familiarly acquainting them with their manners. And indeede, there are to be found more testimonies of French vertue, in the Histories, Memories, and Annals of strangers, then in their owne. I will therefore leaue that labour to others, that can better acquit thēselues therof, if I touch any thing, it shall bee but in my passage along, and onely to make a light demonstration.

The Greek wars not comparable with them of the French.

Admiration (in stead of a fitting historian) hath made the French generally famous through out the world

It hath bin obserued for an ancient saying; *That all the good kings might be enclosed within the Beazill or Collet of a small king*. But this saying cannot hold in France, which hath euermore met with good kings, most excel-

An ancient Adage concerning good kings.

excellent and moſt vertuous: hauing bin alwayes happy therein, as in all other things. I will call then vnto you diuine ſpirits, & generous ſoules, who haue ſomtime ſwayed that Monarchy; to the ende, that being put on by your inſpiration, I may, if not worthily ſing your merits, yet (at leaſt) figure foorth to life ſome part of them.

Next to Great *Meroneus*, who firſt eſtabliſhed himſelfe in *France*, repulſed the *Hunnes*, and ouercame King *Attila*, the horrour and the whippe of the world, account is to be made of that *Chlouis* or *Louis*, who poſſeſſed himſelfe throughly of the *Gaules*, and vtterly exterminated the Romanes name. This was the quayler of the Romanes and Germanes, and he that expulſed ſo quickly the *Gothes* beyond the Pyrennean Mountaines, and made them thinke, that hardly could they get ground enough to flie away vpon, or where to hide themſelues from his victorious arm. The *Gothes* hauing offended him many times, and broken all agreements made: this Prince vndertooke war againſt them, to chaſtiſe them, and purge the *Gaules* of ſuch a people, as eagerly followed the errour of *Arrius*, and laboured to plant it euery yeare.

Chlouis or Louys that droue the Romanes quite out of Gaule, & made the Gothes to flie beyond the Pyrennean Mountains.

When as the two Armies were met together, ſomewhat neere to *Poictiers*, the battaile was giuen, wherein the *Gothes* were wholly ruined, and driuen away in rout. Hiſtorians do adde heereto, that the King of the *Gothes*, being named *Alarick*, was met withall in the fight by King *Chlouis*, and fighting hand to hand, hee ſmote him downe dead to the ground. This is the ſelfe-ſame Prince, who (firſt of all the French) embraced Chriſtian Religion, whereof both he and his ſucceſſors were alwaies afterward true protectors and defenders. He was the moſt redoubted of all the kings in the world, and of whom the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, *Theodorick* the *Oſtrogothe*, and the *Vuiſigothes* of *Spaine* made no meane account; were it in admiration of his vertue, or were it for feare, they thought themſelues very happy, to haue peace and friendſhip with him, ſeeking it by diuerſity of Ambaſſadors, & by plenty of moſt exquiſite guifts.

The meeting of the two armies hard by Poiters, where King Chlouis ſlew Alarick hand to hand in fight.

The Emperor Anaſtaſius.

His Sonnes *Childebert*, *Chlothaire*, *Chlodamire*, and *Thierry*, as heires to his crowne, and likewiſe to his valour and piety; made themſelues admirable & dreadfull to ſtrangers. *Childebert*, induced thereto, by horrible perſecutions inflicted on the Orthodoxe Chriſtians, as alſo by the bad and vnworthy vſage offered to his Siſter, by *Almarick* her husband, King of the *Vuiſigothes* in Spaine, who ſeuerely maintained the Arrian hereſie: paſſed with his Army into Spaine, quailed & ouercame the powers of the *Gothes*, wonne diuers Citties by aſſault, and at length took *Tolledo*, cheefe of all, ruinating it in ranged battaile, where alſo was ſlaine *Almaricke* their king; returning triumphantly into France, hauing added to his Empire, the very greateſt part of Spaine. Afterward the three Brethren together, wholy ouerthrew the eſtate of the Bourguignons. And ſoone after, the emperour *Iuſtinian*, making warre on the *Gothes* of *Italy*, the *Gothes* made recourſe to *Theodebert*, king of *Mets*, and youngeſt Sonne to *Chlouis*, who defended them for a good ſpace of time, giuing ſuch proofe to the Greekes, of vertue in the French, that *Iuſtinian* was conſtraind to compound with the french, as Hiſtorians (on his own ſide) do teſtifie.

S. *Greg. Turon. in lib 3. cap. 10. Aymonius in li 2. cap. 8. & 19.*

The Emperor Iuſtinian warreth on the Gothes of Italy. *Procopius in li 2. Bel Gott.*

In this firſt race, there was alſo *Chlothaire*, who by his victorious arms, wholly ſubdued Germany, and vanquiſhed the vnconquerable Saxons. On a day, the two Armies being ſomewhat neere each to other, and the Riuer *Viſurgis* running betweene them, this *Chlothaire* beeing on horſe-backe and well armed; eſpied *Bertoaldus*, Duke of the Saxons, in like furniſhment on the Riuers other ſide. Alone & without attēding for any other troops, ſuddenly he croſſed ouer the Riuer, to encounter and fight with his enemy; who betaking himſelfe to flight, he purſued after with all poſſible ſpeed, and hauing ouertooke him, fought with him, and left him dead on the ground. So returning victorious backe againe, bearing his enemies head in his hand, he found his people much offended, becauſe they had neglected to follow him. He left *Dagobert* his Sonne to be his Succeſſor, a worthy heire both to his eſtate and valour, as alſo excelling in piety and deuotion, as many Churches richly founded and builded by him can well teſtifie.

Chlothaire ſubdued all Germany and the Saxons.

Aymonius in lib. 4. cap. 18.

Dagobert, heire and ſucceſſour to his Father Chlothaire.

Hauing finiſhed the firſt race, wee come to the ſecond, wherein let vs conſider firſt of all, the cheefe man thereof,

Childebert Sonne & ſucceſſor to Chlouis.

Charles

Charles Martell, Prince of the French; whose name remaineth engrauen (perpetually) in memorie of all the people of *Europe*, for beeing their conseruator, in warranting them from the certaine yoake and seruitude of the Sarazins. It was then when the *Arabian* Sarazens (holding all *Affrica*) passed into *Spaine* with very smal troopes: where finding but slender resistance, the *Spaniards* and *Gothes* bequeathing themselues, as ingulfed in all pleasures and delights, and no way addicted to the exercise of Armes, became immediately Masters of all Spaine. This victory and conqueſt drew on thither Millions of Moores and Sarrazins, and in so great number, that *Spaine* being no longer able of comprehending them, they made account of passing further on, euen to run thorow all Europe, and quite to exterminate Christian Religion.

Roderic. Ximenes Archiep. in Tolet. hist. lib. 3. cap. 21.

Into *France* they entred with a most dreadfull Army, sacking and spoyling all that they met with, and passed on so farre as *Tours*, seeming, as if there were no force or power great enough, that could resist or stay the course of their conqueſts. All people and Christian Princes, were full of feare and terror, and (in a worde) *Europe* had vtterly beene vndone: if this *Charles Martell* had not then bene present neere or before the City of *Tours*, making there a barre of his body and French forces. Hauing giuen them battell with so few French as then were with him: hee ouercame and meerely hewed them in pieces, to the number of three hundred, threescore, and fifteene thousand Sarrazins. After this, being aduertised that there were yet other great troopes, towards *Narbona* and *Auignion*; hee vvent thither to finde them, & in another daies good succeſſe, wholly ouercame them, & left not a man liuing. So that it appeareth by iust records, that there were slaine in all, seuen or eight hundred thousand: in regard whereof, the sir-name of *Martell* was giuen him. Thus did he disipate this dangerous tempest, wherewith all Christendome was threatned, and ready to be confounded.

This also gaue good ease to the Spaniards, who were scattered in Spaine, fled & hidden in the *Asturian* mountains. So that he might wel be named, & in good right, the Buckler, Hammer, sharpe sworde and Rampier of Christendome. But for him, *Europe* had now bin the seate of *Calyffes* and *Miramolines*. In stead of adoration giuen to the true God, the name of prophane *Mahomet*, and his execrable *Alcoran* should haue bene here preached. The Saxons, who were Pagans then, and not capable, but to giue offence to a peaceable king, by their reuolts and wonted seditions; could they haue bin any hindrance? The Germanes, diuided into many small Principalities, and gouerned (for the most part) by the kings of France, could they haue resisted? In Italy there were but the *Lombards*, who in the space of almost two hundred yeares, could not became Masters of all Italy, neyther conquer any more but a part, which their first king *Albonine* obtained at a clap, euen when they first entred. The rest was so miserably tormented, by the courses and piracies of the *Sarrazins*: as the poore inhabitants knew not where to hide themselues. The Empire of *Constantinople* remained, hauing worke enough to do, to keepe herselfe within her owne small bounds and limits: beeing pursued by the *Arabes* and Mahometanes of the East. Questionlesse, the Christian name had bene extinct, had it not pleased God to serue himselfe with the victorious arme, and courage inuincible of this French Prince, to conserue his faithfull seruants to glorify his name.

This was the same Prince, of whom it was said; *That hee affected rather to command Kings, then to bee a King himselfe*; which was engrauen on his Toombe in these tearmes.

Non vult Regnare, sed Regibus imperat ipse.

Thus imitated by the *Virgil* of France.

This was Great Martel, Prince of the Frẽch,
Not King in name, but a Master of Kings.

Much more to be esteemed heerein, then he that saide, *Hee affected rather to command them that had Golde, then to haue any himselfe.* Because the passion and feruour which is borne to honor, and which seateth it selfe willingly in the souls of the most generous; is much more quaint, tickling and violent; then is the desire and thirst after riches. The reputation and valour of that great *Martel* protector of Christen-

Aymonius' continuat. in lib. 4. cap. 57.

Christendome) beeing such, the Church hauing no other prop nor succour, euery one fixing their eyes on him; Pope *Gregory* the third sent him the chaines of Saint *Peter*, and the keyes of the Sepulcher, committing himselfe and the whole Romane Church into his protection, to be warranted, not onely against inuasion of Sarrazens, but also against the continual courses of the Lombards, wherewith hee had beene afflicted beyond all extreamitie.

Pepin, the son of Charles Martell.

Pepin, King of France, son to *Charles Martell*, wonne not a iot lesse glory by his haughty deeds of Armes. This was hee that danted the Aquitanians, and them of *Bauaria*, ouercomming them in diuers battailes, and likewise the reuolted Saxons. Soone after, being called for succor by Pope *Stephen*, to defend the Romane Church (vexed more then euer) and oppressed by *Astolpho*, King of the Lombards, he went with all diligence, & constrained *Astolpho* (who felt his power not equall to his) to flye, and shut himselfe vp in *Pauia* his Capitall City, where hee besiedged him, and could not raise his siege vntill hee hadde made an aduantageable composition for the Pope, with whom he left many French souldiers for his further assurance. This compositiou being afterward broken by the perfidie of *Astolpho*, *Pepin* returned thither againe, and besiedged him the second time; compelling him to surrender the Exarquate of *Rauenna*, and many other places, which he gaue vp to the Romanes Church. And returning home into France, hee found there the Ambassadors of *Constantine*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, who bringing him many goodly presents, came onely to requeste his alliance.

Aymon. contin. in lib. 4. cap. 63

The Lieutenancie of the Empire.

Charlemaign or Charls the Great, sonne to King Pepin

But what can we speake of more admiration, then his sonne *Charles*, to whome (by good right, and for his high deserts) the whole Vniuerse, by one consent, gaue the sir-name of *Great*? Hee attempted, maintained, conducted, and brought to end, ten or twelue seuerall warres, all of most great importance & difficulties in all kindes; as well in regard of the places, as for the great multitude and strength of the enemies, against whome hee was to deale. First, against the *Aquitanians* and *Basques* or *Gascoigns*, a meruailous strong people; yet after many ouerthrowes, hee ranged them vnder his obedience.

His warre against the Lombards, & bringing their King prisoner into France.

Next, another warre against the Lombards, who hauing violated the Articles of peace, which had beene couenanted with them by King *Pepin*, Father to this *Charles*: they infested and tormented the Romane Church, without the least breathing or respit. Which was the reason that this Prince, as pious and iust, as valiant, vndertooke (according to the ordinary vse of the French Kings) the defence of the holy See, ouercomming & ruinating the Lombards from the toppe to the bottome. He also besieged *Didier* their king, tooke, and led him captiue into Fraunce, where ended the kingdome of the Lombards in *Italy*, and whereby he augmented and enlarged his owne estate. Thus hee purchased rest to the Pope, and beside enriched the Romane Church, giuing it no meane part of his Conquests, and encreasing the patrimony of S. *Peter*.

His warre against the Sarazins in Spaine.

Hee attempted warre also against the Sarrazins, passed into *Spain* to fight with them, where he foyled them in many encounters, enforcing them to hide themselues in Towns, which he besiedged and wonne away from them, so that he conquered a great part of *Spaine*, chasing the Sarazins thence, and continued warre alwayes ther afterward against them, which gaue no small ease vnto the Spaniardes, who were mightily oppressed and ouerburdened before.

Then he made an expedition into *Italy*, against the reuolted *Lombards* and *Italians*. Many the like into *Germany*, against the *Bauarians*, the *Danes*, *Bohemians*, *Sclauonians*, and *Vainides*, all warlike people, and whom hee conquered. Also against the *Hunnes*, an vndaunted people, after they had gotten habitation in *Pannonia*, vnder the conduct of *Attila* their King: yet he vanquished them, and hewd them in peeces in many fought batrailes, plucking out of their throats the spoiles of Europe, which they had enioyed and triumphed ouer for so many yeares. And there he found such wealth and aboundance of riches, as the very simplest souldiour in the Camp, was wonderfully rich for euer after.

His warres against the Saxons for 33 yeeres.

Furthermore, he had no meane medling with the *Saxons*, against whom hee had warre for the space of three and thirty yeares: they being a people that could neuer

neuer liue nor abide in quiet, reuolting inceſſantly, eſpecially when they knew this Prince to be farre off from them, & troubled in ſome other places. Hee added to his owne eſtate *Gaſcoiugny*, a great part of *Spaine*, *Saxony*, and the *Pannoniaes*; reſtraining ſo powerfully the ordinary courſes of the Sarrazines, as all *Europe* lyued quietly vnder his reigne. Beſide, hee was ſo redoubted, loued, and admired altogither by forraigne Kings, that *Aaron*, *Calyffe* of the Eaſt, who held (well-neere) all *Aſia*, and was feared by all the greateſt Kings: ſought for his friendſhip, and ſent him rare preſents at diuers times, auouching him to be the moſt woorthy King in the whole world. And although this Calyffe was rude and harſh vnto Chriſtians, that dwelt in his countries; yet notwithſtanding, he forbare to perſecute them, in conſideration of *Charlemaigne*, to whom he gaue the City of *Ieruſalem*, by ſending him the keyes thereof, as alſo them of the holy Sepulcher.

Aaron the great Calyffe of the Eaſt.

The Emperours of *Conſtantinople* alſo did ſo eſteeme, loue, and honor him, that oftentimes they ſent him rich giftes by their Ambaſſadours, dreading nothing more, then to haue any contending in warre againſt him. In like manner, *Alphonſus* King of *Gallicia*, and of the *Aſturiaes*, would call himſelfe no other, but with this qualification towardes Great *Charles*, *His humble and faithfull Subiect*, *wholly to him*; *Proprius ſuus* in Latine, as *Eginhard* hath recorded.

He was loued and feared by the Emperors of Conſtantinople.

But what can be thought more admirable, or tearmed to bee a matter more rare, then in a Prince that was ſo ſtout a warriour, all other ciuill vertues and moſt humane, ſhould haue an equall meeting together? Singular clemency did euermore accompany his victorious arme. The ſame *Eginhard* reporteth, that hee could not be enforced to choller, by any occaſion whatſoeuer. Nay, he would neuer yeeld, that one of them which had attempted againſt his life and State, ſhould be put to death, but onely was contented with their ſafe keeping. In his victory againſt the Lombards, hee did not onely pardon *Paulus Warnefridus*, Deacon of *Aquileia*; but alſo kept him neere about his perſon, greatly honouring and gratifying him, for the eſteeme of his eruditi-on and knowledge.

Eginhard in Ant. lib. 4. cap. 9

This Lombard was vnworthy of ſo great grace, in conſpiring afterward with other Rebels, and vſing treaſon againſt his King and Benefactor. VVho neuertheles, after he had diſcouered the conſpiracy, & ſurmounted all that the reuolts could do, againe he pardoned this *Paulus Warnifridus*, being no way willing, that he ſhould be punniſhed for his perfidie and rebellion. Onely he commanded his retirement, and baniſhed him (for a while) to a certaine place. Afterward hee brake the bounds of his baniſhment, and fledde to *Ragaiſius*, Duke of *Beneuento*, to excite him alſo to reuolt. An occaſion, whereby the king was councelled, greeuouſly to punniſh both the one and other for this double treaſon. Yet the good Prince would lend no eare thereto, but ſaued & pardoned both their liues: onely he charged *Paulus Warnefridus*, to write the Hiſtory of the Lombards, the continuation of Europe, and ſome other works.

Good nature in a Prince may be too much abuſed by Traitors.

This was not only a light puniſhment, but honourable alſo to him that had the charge thereof: wherein, beſide a moſt ſingular example of clemency, appeared an admirable affection vnto learning, for that onely reſpect, to loue and honor the man, who had ſo often falne into treaſon. Such was the loue & great account which he made of learning; and himſelfe, albeit liuing in an age vngracious enough, & full of barbariſme, yet did hee ſpeake Latine elegantly, and his mother tongue ſo readily, euen with naturall eloquence and admirable perſwaſion: hee vnderſtoode Greeke alſo, but ſpake it hardly. Beſide, he was well ſeene in all the Sciences, hauing *Alcuinus* to bee his Schoole-maſter. All dinner while, hee cauſed one to diſcourſe, or reade ancient Hiſtories: wherein he tooke no meane pleaſure, but moulded thereafter the forme of his owne life.

A mercifull iniunction by a wronged Prince.

No leſſe was he to bee commended for his iuſtice, carefull for rendring it to his ſubiects with all ſincerity: himſelfe taking knowledge of ſuch cauſes as concerned any difficulty, vndertaking the defence and protection of VViddowes, Orphanes, and other miſerable people, to warrant them againſt all oppreſſions of the mighty. Hauing alſo eſtabliſhed many good Lawes and Ordinances, for the rooting vp of vices, and furtherance of iuſtice.

His Iuſtice & vprightneſſe to his ſubiects

ſtice. In regard of his piety and ſingulare deuotion, hee made ſufficient apparance thereof, as remaineth witneſſed to this day in ſtrange Countreys, by his wealthy foundation of Churches and Monaſteries. He was ordinarily preſent at ſolemn prayers in the Church, and at all Canonicall houres, euen in the night time. Great care had hee, that diuine ſeruice ſhould be honourably celebrated, & the Churches well ſerued, deſpending great ſummes of money, to haue them fitted and furniſhed with all conuenient rich Ornaments, and matters to them belonging.

Hee cauſed fiue Councels to be called & helde, for the good of the Church.

Moreouer, he was ſomewhat prouident and curious, that the church ſhould be beautified and ſhining, by the probity, integritie, and ſanctitie, expreſſed in the liues of the Miniſters, and Eccleſiaſticall perſons to them appertayning. Being alwayes heerein ſo carefull, and for eſtabliſhment of the better order, that hee cauſed fiue Councelles to bee called and holden, and collecting the Decrees of them, made thē to be publiſhed & obſerued: holding nothing in more great recommendation, then to ſee the Church honoured, and flouriſhing in all holines. He was liberall vnto all men, eſpeciallie to the poore, as well of his owne Kingdome, whom hee mercifully releeued: as alſo in ſtraunge countreyes, whereto hee ſent rich Almes; alwayes coueting frendſhippe with the Eaſterne Kinges, to aſſwage the perſecutions of poore Chriſtians.

Charlemaign could neuer be tempted by a thought of Ambition.

But aboue all the reſt, one thing ſeemeth very ſtrange, that Ambition could neuer gette footing in the ſoule of this Prince, although it had beene, and is, a frequent and ordinary diſeaſe, in the very greateſt courages, and moſt generous ſpirits. For, although hee was crowned Emperor of the Eaſt at Rome, by Pope *Leo* the third, vppon the cries and acclamations of the Roman people, who both deſired and elected him: yet let mee tell ye, it was ſo farre from any ſearch or proceeding thereto in him, as hee knew nothing thereof, neither euer gaue his conſent thereto. For *Eginhard* aſſureth, hauing heard himſelfe to confirme it, that if hee had knowne the purpoſe of the Pope and people; he would not haue gone into the Church on Chriſtmaſſe day, in the yeare VCCC. when that acclamation, election, and corronation was performed. It was a thing ſo much againſt his minde, and whereof hee made ſuch ſlender reckoning. Hee dyed at the age of threeſcore and eleuen yeares, hauing reigned ſeuen and forty yeares. And, at his height of humane felicity, hee left his Sonne *Lewes* his ſucceſſor, and heyre to his vertues, who for his exceeding great mildeneſſe and meekeneſſe, deſerued the ſur-name of *Pious*, or the *Debonnaire*.

Eginhard in Antiqd. 5. c. 10.

The death of Charlemaign

In his yong yeares, his Father made him King of *Aquitaine*, where he carryed himſelfe in ſuch ſort, gouerning ſo wiſely and with ſuch diſcretion, that ſuch prudence and vertue was highly admyred, eſpecially in thoſe tender yeeres. Himſelfe rendred iuſtice to his ſubiectes, attending thereon three dayes in euery weeke. Hee vſed great iudgement for well chooſing men of worth and merite, to vndergoe places of important charge, as Officers and Magiſtrates. Hee eaſed the people ſo much as poſsibly hee could, in taking away harde Tributes and Subſidyes, and moderating others, euen in the mildeſt manner.

Charles the Debonnaire ſucceeded his Father Charlemaigne.

And yet notwithſtanding, hee was a good Warrior, not onely in defending & ſafe keeping his owne Frontiers: but alſo proceeding very farre into Spain, to make warre vpon the inuading Sarazins, whom he foyled in many battels, encounters, & beſiedgings of Citties conquered by him, hauing maintained and enlarged the lāds of his Father *Charlemaigne*, which he had wonne in Spaine. So that by his Vertues, wiſe carriage and deportment, hee gaue a wonderfull contentment to his Father. Hee ſucceeded him in the kingdome of *Frāce*, and in the Empire of the Eaſt. He continued warre againſt the Sarrazins in Spaine, & weakned them in ſuch ſort, that he gaue good means to the Spaniſh chriſtians, to defend themſelues againſt them and to extend their territories farther off. *Marineus Siculus*, who wrote the hiſtorie of Spain, declareth the expeditions of this French Emperour, reporting moreouer, that he impoſed a tribute on the people, which were conquered and ſubiected by him in Spaine: where he was cald in the dayes of this Author *Romanſanos*.

Charles was alſo a worthie warriour, conquering the Sarrazins in Spaine.

Marineus Siculus, in lib. 9.

Romanſanos.

He conſerued in greatnes the Empire of

of the West towards Germany, and valiantly imbarred the courses of the Northerly people, from their manifold inuasions. And neuer could any defect or vice be noted in him: but that he was too good, too humane and debonnaire. His piety, zeale, and deuotion towards God and his Church was such, as neuer in any man was obserued greater. Forty dayes before his decease, hee tooke no other foode, but the blessed Communion onely, which he receiued with wonderful humility, and extraordinary contrition: continuing alwayes in prayer, or causing to be sung in his presence and hearing the Ecclesiasticall offices.

His zeale and deuotion to God and his Church.

Come we now to the third race, the cheefe whereof was *Hugh Capet*, yssued from the house of *Saxony*; who happily reigned, and wisely gouerned his Kingdome, with much piety and iustice. His Sonne *Robert*, with like piety and integrity of life, loued Learning, and was so earnestly addicted thereto, that hee himselfe composed sundry Books: and among the rest, he wrote many goodly & pious Hymns, which were receiued, and are yet (at this present) sung in the Church. Of him it is thus credibly reported, ỳ beeing (at a certain time) mockt by an ignorant Duke, because hee sung in the Church among Ecclesiasticall persons, hee made him this answer: *That he better affected to see a King learned, then an Asse Crowned*, making his allusion vnto the Duke, who ware his Dukall Crowne on that solemn day.

The 3. race of kings in Frãce the first being Hugh Capet, of Saxony.

A worthy answer of a iudicious King.

Hee was very pittifull, and a great Almoner on the poores behalfe; so that when hee tooke his owne repast, great troopes of poore people were admitted to be about him, whom hee would suffer freely to come neere him, and gaue vnto them that foode which was set there before him, & many other things that they stood in neede of. Nor was hee a iotte lesse liberall to Churches, in causing many to be builded, founded, and endowing them bountifully, as also re-establishing and enriching others. There was no want in him likewise of all other royall vertues, maintaining and conseruing his estate very wel, and making the people happy, that were vnder his obedience.

His loue and charity to the poore, and erection of Churches.

I am feigne to passe ouer others, to come to King *Lewes* the sixt, sirnamed *Le Gros*, a true imitator of his Aunce stours vertues. He imployed all his life time, to containe his people in peace and quyetnesse, and (according to the dutie of a good King) to shield them from oppression of the greatest & most potent Earles and Barons of France, who stood then vpon very peremptory tearmes. Which made him to attempt diuers wars againste them vpon that occasion, and oftentimes expose his life to dangers, preferring the well-fare of his people, before all other considerations whatsoeuer, and so he wel witnessed from time to time.

K. Lewes the sixt, sirnamed the Grosse or big.

After he had chastised and raunged all such as had reuolted, flying from him vpon the like occasions, and was become feared, respected, and obeyed of all the Rebels, as also beloued of all his subiects, the Emperor *Henry* the fift, being departed from *Germany* with a mighty & dreadfull Army, to ouer-run him and his country, he went to meet him nere to *Rhemes*, hauing but a handfull of men with him. But he so affrighted the Emperor *Henrie*, and all the potent Army with him, that fearing the valour and inuincible arme of the French, whose courage will giue way to nothing whatsoeuer: he thought it farre better for him to quit the place, & get him gone, then to hazard his estate against so valiant a King, though hee vvas attended but with so small a troope. And so this Emperor made his retreate, at the very noyse of the Kings comming, whose name (indeed) was very dreadfull.

The Emperor Henry the fift goeth with a great army against Lewes Le Grosse, & retired thence without striking a blow.

This Prince also excelled in Piety and Religion, vertues proper to the Kinges of France: being the true props, supports, and Bulwarkes to the Church. For we reade, that in his time, Pope *Paschall* the second came into France for refuge, and to consult with the *Gallicane* church, concerning those differences which he hadde with the Emperor. And afterwardes, the Popes *Calixtus* the second, *Honorius* the second, and *Innocentius* the second, being tormented and expulsed by the Emperors of Germany, and brought to great misery, yet succoured in that kingdome, their ordinary retreat and refuge. Hee entertained them honourably, assisting them with riches, respecting them worthily & royally. In the end, hauing succoured them to his vtmost power, he tooke pains to pacify those discords and contentions.

Vertues proper to the Kings of France.

Suggerus in vit Ludoui Grosi.

Some-

Something more I may adde concerning his death, as it is set downe by *Sugerus*, Abbot of Saint *Denis*, his principall friend, and an eye-witnesse thereof. Feeling the end of his life approching, & the holy Eucharist being brought to him, he arose out of his bed to meete it, falling downe on his knees, and receiuing it with great deuotion. Hauing before taken order for al his affaires, and made both profession of his faith, and confession of his sinnes, in the hearing of all there present. Afterward, being taken foorth of his bed again, & laid vpon ashes dispersed abroad he gaue vp the ghost.

Sugger. Abbat. S. Dionis. in Mort. Ludoni Grossi.

His Sonne *Lewes* the seuenth, called, *The Youthfull*, was a true resembler of his Father, hauing ioyned piety and valiancy together. By the counsell of S. *Bernard*, he made a voyage into *Palestine* to helpe it with a puissant Army, against the inuasion of the Turkes. And hauing obtained many great victories against the enemies of the Christian Faith, he returned home to his Kingdome, pressed by the discommodities of Famine, where-with his Armie was very sore afflicted, thorough the disloyalty of the Emperor of *Constantinople*.

Lewes the 7. succeedeth his Father Lewes le gros

VVho can sufficiently admire the valor and good guidance of *Phillip Augustus*, who (by good right) also carried the surname of *Conqueror?* At the age of foureteene yeares, he tooke into his hand the reines of the State, and in that tender age performed all exploites and actions, not onely of valiancy, but also of a great and perfect Captaine; watching & spending whole nights, to execute and accomplish his enterprizes. By which meanes, hee out-stept his enemies, tooke Towns and strong places, where himselfe would bee seene in person at the scalado, yea, and at the assault at the breake of day, instead of addicting himselfe to pleasures, whereto his youth might rather haue induced him He so vanquished his enemies, and chastised rebels in so tender yeares, as if hee had bin another *Alexander*.

Philip Augustus, sur-namd the Conqueror, came to the Crown at 14. yeares of age.

Afterwards, the English being prouoked against him, gaue the better and more worthy subiect to his victories: for he conquered and tooke from them all that they held in France, weakning them in diuers battailes, and famous encounters. Also this Conqueror, incited by the same piety of his Ancestors, made a voyage to the Holy Land; where he fought diuers times against the Turkes and Sarazins, and carryed many triumphes from them. Beeing returned home to France, he wonne that great day of *Bouines*, neere vnto *Tournay*, which I will touch a little more largely in this place, it being scarsely known, though (indeed) it was most signale and famous. For this king fought in that battel, against the forces of the Emperour *Otho* the fift, the King of *England*, the Earles of *Flanders*, *Henault*, and *Bologne*, all coniured against his estate.

The English incited to armes, against Philip Augustus.

The great day of Bouins neere to Tournay.

Those Earles being reuolted and leagued with the King of *England*, had likewise caused the emperor *Otho* the fifte, to come into Fraunce, with a very great and puissant army of Germanes and Saxons. VVith them were ioyned the Forces of *Flanders*, *Henault*, and other French subiects and vassals, associated with the Earl of *Bologne*. The King went on before with his Army, and met the enemy somewhat neere to *Tournay*, where he had Lodged him aloft in a place for his best aduãtage: which the King hauing well perceiued, & that he was frustrate of all meanes for coming at them on that side, resolued to fetch a further course about, and to assaile them on the other side.

The maner of the businesse proceeding betweene the Emperor and confederates, against the K. of France.

Being withdrawne to effect this intent, the Emperor *Otho* taking it for a flight, did cause his army to march on with speed to ouertake the King, who was encamped in a village called *Bouines*. There he had intelligence how the enemy was come very neere, and the noyse of theyr armes gaue apparance, that they would fall in hande presently with them, and charge the rereguard: all which notwithstanding, before hee would doe any thing else, hee entred first into a Church, and there sayde his Prayers.

Afterward, being armed, hee mounted on horse-backe, giuing order for the Armies readinesse, riding thorough the rankes, for the better disposition of his people; yet nothing at all was done that day. On the morrow morning, hauing againe ranged his Army in battaile array, hee gaue his people a Kingly encouragement, by breefely acquainting them with these circumstances: That they were to fight with one, who was an enemy vnto God and Men, come to lend a strong hand

The K. rideth about to haue his armie in readines.

hand to Rebels, leading an army that had no other wages then sacriledges, spoiles of the Churches goods, and the blood & teares of the poore. Therfore they were to consider, that God had brought them thither, to punish their iust deseruings, & had chosen the French for the instrument of his iustice. Hee further aduised his soldiers, that they should not labor to buckler the bodyes one of another: but euerie man to do for himselfe the best he could, without any eye or respect to his friend and companion.

The King of France first marcheth his armie against the enemy.

Hauing animated them with such or the like speeches, he caused his Army first to march on, assayling and sharply setting on that of the enemy. The French Chevaliers, after they had broken their Lances, came to handy-blowes, fighting with all the heate and valour could be deuised: throwing themselues into the middest of the maine battell, piercing and passing through the thickest battalions, hewing in peeces, and ouerthrowing all that durst meete them. Great was the resistance, & wonderfull deeds of Armes perfourmed on either side. The King was alwaies the most forward man, rushing into the greatest throngs; and where the fight was fiercest, to succour his people. Hee found himselfe enuironed with a huge battalion of enemies, where hee sharpely layed about him on all sides, and cleared his passage still as he rode on. But in the end, his horse being slaine between his legges fell downe vppon him; yet he was quickly remounted againe by a French knight, called Sir *Peter de Tristan*, who gaue him his owne horse.

The Kinges horse slaine vnder him, & he remounted by Sir Peter de Tristan.

Now charged hee the enemy more fiercely then before, his strength & courage being redoubled at the indignation of his fall, nor ceased he with his French Lords, who neerely followed him, vntill he came to the very midst, where the Emperor *Otho* was, he being then very liuely assayled.

The Emperor enforced to turn his back.

Heere did he meet with many French Knights, who being on foot, some tooke hold on his bridle, others hung about the neck and maine of his horse to stay him, which compelled him to turne his backe. But the Count *Reignald de Bologne*, hee would not budge a foote from the fielde of battell, but continued there & his followers valiantly fighting, euen to all extremities, willing (by no means) to yeeld himselfe, till in the end, his horse beeing slaine vnder him, and hee sore wounded, his throate threatned to bee cut by a Villaine, he yeelded himselfe to Lorde *Guarin*, a Knight of Saint *Iohns* of *Ierusalem*, and elected byshop of *Senlis*, one of the principall Captains for the King, saying, *I had rather yeeld my selfe, and be iudged by the King and his Peeres, then to dye vnworthily by the hand of a slaue.*

The noble wordes of Count Reignald of Bologue.

So the fielde of battaile remained vnto the King, as also the victorie full & wholly, all the enemies being broken and scattered, a great part of them slaine, and very many taken prisoners, euen of the chiefest men. The King would permit none to pursue the Emperor, who fledde with the Count of *Brabant*, and many *Germans* further off then two or three Leagues. Among the prisoners, was *Ferrand* Earle of *Henaulte*, Nephew to the Queen, Counteesse of *Flanders*, and Daughter vnto the King of *Portugall*. Shee being a medler with Magicall Sciences, would needes consult with her Diuiners, concerning the succesee of this Battaile, and it vvas tolde her, *That the King should be layde on the ground, without any Sepulcher: And that Ferrand Earle of Henaulte, her Cosine, should enter Paris in Triumph.* All vvhich was true, but farre off from her interpretation.

The Counteesse of Flanders deceiued by her Wizards.

It is also faithfully reported, that the King before the fight, in presence of all his Earles, Barons, and Lords (knowing full well that some were tottering and vncertaine, as beeing not thorowly affected to him) tooke the Crowne from off his head, and set it vppon an Altar, standing by him, saying in this manner. *If there bee any man heere amongst yee, that thinkes more capeably and worthily of himselfe, then this day to fight for libertie, beeing in such danger, both to the Honour and Renowne of France: let him willingly leaue and forsake this Crowne, and that man (whatsoeuer hee bee) let him boldly put this Crowne vpon his head.* Whereat all of them standing amazed, and being mooued with admiration and enflamed affections, threw themselues before his feete, saying; That they were all his humble seruants, and that they would euery one of them dye with him that day, rather then be commanded by any other.

Most honorable wordes of the King, before hee went to the fight.

Another victory won the same day against the English.

The selfe-same day of this great victory, *Monsieur Lewes de France*, eldest Son to the King; wonne another against the English, in the Country of *Aniou*, at *La Roche du Mayne*, against the King, called *Iohn without Land*. For this double victory, obtayned both in one day, the King rendred thanks to God: and desiring that some marke might remayn for a Trophee thereof to all posterity, hee caused an Abbey to be builded neere to *Senlis*, which (in that respect) he named, *The Abbey of Victory*, and endowed it with great reuennues.

Lewes the 8. Sonne & Successor to Philip Augustus.

I can hardly stay at *Lewes* the eight, Son to this King, and Successor in his vertues, wherein he seconded him liuing, and partaked in many of his expeditions and enterprizes. But reigning so short a time after his Father; I must come to the King, called S. *Lewes*, whose piety, religion, and sanctity of life, hath sufficiently commended him to all men, & acknowledged him by quality, worthy the name of Saint. But that which is to bee reckoned as a matter most rare, is, that he excelled no lesse in all other vertues, both Military & Politique. He brought about many warres, wherein still he had a finger, and performed worthy exploits of Armes: beeing most valiant of his person, & a very wise Capraine.

Lewes the 9 sirnamed S. Lewes, a religious king & a worthy Soldiour.

The victory at Taillebourg on the Riuer Charante in Poictu.

Hee toyled and droue in disorder a great Army, wherein was the King of England, and the Counts *de la Marche*, and *de Lusignan*, at *Taillebourg*, on the Riuer *Charante* in *Poictu*. Where hauing gotten before, with very fewe people, to winne a Bridge, long time he endured all the stratagems of the enemies Army, which was in number a hundred to one: yet hee performed so much by his valiancy, that his Army had leysure for theyr passage, whereby the enemies were defeated, a great number slaine, many taken prisoners, some say foure thousand, and the rest were dispersed and driuen to flight.

His famous expedition against the Turkes and Sarrazins.

No where can be found more famous deeds of Armes, or any actions more generous, then his kingly expeditions against the Turkes and Sarrazines, where he wonne the best in many foughten battailes, hazarding his owne person, and exposing himselfe to all dangers, euen in the cheefest heate of fight, running where he saw the enemy strongest, and his owne followers in any distresse. So that wheresoeuer he went, hee made all to giue him way, none beeing able to withstand him; but gaue place to the greatnesse of his courage, and strength of his powerfull arme. The Lord of *Ioinuille*, an eye-witnesse thereof, speaking of one day among others, vsed these very words.

Le Sieur de Ioinuille in the 29. Chapter of his Booke.

And bee you very certaine, that that day the King performed most high deedes of Armes, more then euer I saw in all the Battailes whereat I haue beene present. And one saide after the Battaile, that if it had not bene for his person, wee had all beene vtterly lost and slaine that day: And surely, I can no otherwise imagine, but at the very instant, his vertue and strength was doubled on him by the grace of God. For hee feared not a iote to thrust himselfe into the dangers and perils of the battaile: and where he saw his people in any distresse, there he laide most about him to helpe them, deliuering so many blowes with his Sword and Battle-Axe, as none of the Turkes durst come neere him. The Lord of Courtnay, and Messire Iohn de Salony reported to me, that they saw sixe Turks (the same day) preparing towards the King, and hadde forcibly laide hold on the bridle of his Horse, intending to leade him away. But the vertuous Prince, seeing the danger wherein hee was, stroue with all his might, and (in meere height of courage) laide such loading strokes vppon the Turkes which ledde him, so that hee alone freed himselfe from them.

Sixe Turkes seized on the Kings Horse, and yet he freed himselfe from them all.

In another place the same Lord relateth, that the king vnderstanding how the Earl of *Aniou* his Brother was engirt & hemd in with enemies, yea, and in such extremity, as hee had no meanes to get out from them; he gallowped immediately to rescue him. *Aud* (saith he) *without tarrying for any man, gaue the Spurs to his horse, his Sword in his hand, & rushed mainly into the battaile; charging the Turkes and Sarrazins heauily, vntill he came to the place where his Brother was. But at his arriuall, God knowes what paines he tooke, and how many worthy deeds of Armes hee did: for it is most certaine, that where hee saw the greatest danger and preasse, there hee bestowed himselfe without any feare. So that by his admirable prowesse, he brought his Brother out of danger, and droue the Sarrazines to flight, chasing them quite out of their owne Hoast or Army.*

In the 32. Chapter of his Booke. How the king rescued his Brother the Earle of Aniou.

Another

In the 29. chapter of his Booke.

Another day, ſpeaking how the King was ready to aſſaile the enemy, & exhorted his followers to all forwardneſſe; *His Helmet* (ſayth he) *was richly gilded, and in his hand he held a ſword of* Germanie, *readily drawne. But let me tell yee, that I neuer ſaw a more goodly man then he was, for hee appeared aboue all the reſt, by the height of his head and ſhoulder: and it is a thing hardly to be credited, how chearefully all the Soldiours were encouraged to the battaile, when they but looked on the King in that manner. So that many Knightes, without attending for the King, mingled themſelues amongeſt the Turkes, and there aſſayled them couragiouſly. The King vvould alwayes be the formoſt, and when he came neere to the Turkes, the battaile beganne ſo fiercely, as it vvas a matter maruellous to behold. And that verie day, there were far more woorthy actions of Armes performed, as well on the one ſide, as the other, as neuer had beene obſerued in all the voyages beyond the Seas. For no man drew a Dart, an Arrow, nor other Artillery: but all of them fought manfully, hand to hand, allpel-mell, one with another, onely by ſtroakes of Swords and Battle Axes.* Further hee addeth; *That the King did more then meruayles in fighting, and vvould alwayes bee in the verie ſtrongeſt of the Battaile.*

A very manly reſolution in fight.

After the rout and flight of the Turks, at his deſcent and taking of *Damieta*, and after the three great battailes in Egypt, betweene the Channels of *Nilus*, where he obtained full victory: if famine, and a certaine ſtrange diſeaſe (extraordinarily contagious) had not falne amongſt his people: it had bene Doomeſday vnto the Turkes and Sarrazins, and doubtles, they had bene quite exterminated, both out of Egypt, and the Holy Land. The Infidels ſo admired the vertue of this Prince, that although he was contrary to them in Religion, and their very ſeuere perſecutor, yet after the death of their Soldan, it was offered to him, and they would haue elected him to be their Lord. And they had done it, as beeing a matter already reſolued on among them: but that ſome labored to alter this deliberation, by alledging him to be the firmeſt, fierceſt, and moſt determinate Chriſtian that euer they did know. And they ſaid among themſelues; *That if their Mahomet had ſuffered them to feele ſo many miſchiefes as his God hadde let him (being a King) to taſte: they would neuer more haue adored or beleeued in him.* And yet (neuertheleſſe) ſome amongſt them, onely by the example, and good Life of this holye King, receiued the Chriſtian Faith.

Damieta won from the Infidels, and three great battails fought in Egypt.

The King of France elected to be Soldan of Egypt.

In chap 33. of his Booke.

Moreouer, he ordained ſo well for the ſtate and policy of his Kingdome: that his ſubiects (beeing before mightily oppreſſed) liued in perfect peace and quietnes. He vſed great wiſedome and prouidence in all his affayres, hauing thereby quenched and qualified many troubles and commotions in his kingdome: and by taking away the cauſes thereof, conſtrained the Duke of *Bretaigne* to acknowledge him, and render ſuch ſatisfaction as himſelfe deſired. With very much iudgement alſo he pacified the differences with the Engliſh, and induced the king of England to ſuch friendlineſſe, as he becam his Liegeman by faith, and one of the Barons of France: ſo that hee left not any war to his ſucceſſors, which cauſed them to enioy ſo long a peace.

A King carefull for his kingdome, as well in his abſence, as preſence.

Aboue all other things, he loued Iuſtice eſpecially, and was verie carefull thereof in himſelfe; correcting (by his owne example, and holye Ordinances) ſuch Vices and Abuſes as reigned among his Subiects. Hee was ſuch a Louer of trueth, that (as the Lord of *Ionuille* ſaith) *He was neuer knowne to falſify his Word.* For, it was reported vnto him, That the Sarrazines, in receyuing his Ranſome, were diſcontented with tenne thouſand pounds, he cauſed more to bee giuen to them.

No meane commendations in ſo great a perſon, whoſe life was a precious example to all his people.

Neuer could any feare or miſ-fortune diſfurniſh him of reaſon; but euer-more he was thankfull to God in all his aduerſities. When he ſaw his army in danger, by no meanes in the world, or for ſafetie of his owne perſon, would hee part from it; but would alwayes abide by his people, and endure (with them) the lateſt hazards and euents of fortune. Neuer ſhould hee make an end, ſ would recount the deeds (well deſeruing immortality) of this good King. It ſhall ſuffice then to ſay, as the ſame Lord of *Ionuille* reports of his time. *The common people called him true Father; the Nobility, iuſt Prince, and preſeruer of the Lawes;* France, *her King of Truth, and the Church, her Tutor and defender from oppreſſion.*

In chapter 19 of his Booke.

In chapter 16 of his Booke.

Philip the 3. succeeded his father S. Lewes, who deceased in Affrica at the city of Thunis.

In the same Schoole was bred and norished *Philip* the third, to whom the good ly examples, and profitable instructions of this good King his Father, serued as an absolute pattern and excellent institution, which he vnderstoode so well, and made profit of in such sort, as, although he got not so great a name, yet notwithstanding, he was the most worthy heyre of his Fathers vertues. And albeit S. *Lewes* dyed at the siedge of *Thunis* in *Affrica*, making warre the second time against the Infidels; yet this young Prince gaue so good assurance to the Armie, much danted by the death of the King; that hee bare away many famous victories from his enemies, although they exceeded his strength in huge multitudes. In the end, he constraind the king of *Thunis*, to come humbly, and entreate for peace: rendering himselfe, and his Vnckle *Charles* king of *Sicily* tributaries to him.

Guliel. de Nangis, in Philippo tertio.

Afterwards, returning home towards France, he passed thorow *Italy*, where he was entertained with such fauour and applauses by all the inhabitants, as the most part came and entreated him, that hee would take the command ouer them, desiring (aboue all things else) to be gouerned by so good a King, so louing and respectiue of his people. Beeing returned into his owne kingdome, he maintayned it in peace a long time; vntill being molested by the King of *Arragon*, and the Count *de Foix*, hee vndertooke Armes. Heereupon he entred into Spaine, where hauing made war very happily, by assault he tooke many places reputed impregnable, conquered a great part of the kingdome of *Arragon*, ouerthrew the *Arragonians* in diuers encounters, and slew their King, so returning home-ward with Triumphall victory, he died at *Parpignan*.

K. Philip entred Spaine, with an army, and killed the K. of Arragon

But one thing may not bee omitted, that this king most oftentimes did weare sackcloath, and a shirt of haire, liuing so holily, and vsing such abstinence, that the Authors of those times were enforced to confesse, that he rather resembled a good Religious man, then a King. Yet was hee a great Prince, & knew well enough how to gouerne his kingdome.

Charles the 5 surnamed the Wise.

Charles the fift, deserueth also to be set in this ranke of choyse men, being surnamed of his time, *the Wise*. Onely by his councell and good aduice, without stirring from his Chamber, he reconquered whatsoeuer his Predecessors had lost, by the Armies of the English. His prouident and well tempered wisedom, did diuers times rebate the keene edged sword of valiant *Edward* the Prince of Wales, and disappointed many of his forwarde purposes; so that, notwithstanding his high spirit, and well ordered Armies, he gained very little from him, nor yet the King of England his Father, but what they wonne one day, they lost againe in another.

Charles the 7 much molested by the armies of the English.

Heere also I cannot omit *Charles* the seuenth, who comming to the Crowne, his kingdome (for the most part) was in the power of the English: but yet recouered it myraculously, as not onely hee regained what he had lost, but also (as some say) all that the Englishmen did hold in France, wishing them to rest contented with their owne Island. And heere methinkes it is very strange, what all Historians haue reported of those times, that this king, being toyled & wearied by the long warres of the English, to him much vnprofitable, and lesse pleasing: should yet be excited by a poore Maide, dwelling in a village of *Lorraine*, named *Ioane d'Arc*. For she being brought before him, & being of great resolution, made him manie faire remonstrances, whereby to entice and kindle his courage, for the recouerie of his kingdome, and expulsion of his enimies, which surely could not bee but by miracle. And it cannot be denied but that there was a Genius in this Maide, far surpasing the natural and ordinary condition of her sexe. And so much the more strange, because she serued as a Captaine, conducted the Armies, and fought verie valiantly, when as occasion serued.

Otherwise called Ioane the Pucelle of France.

Non hæc sine numine diuum eueniunt.

Charles the 8 son & successor to Charls the 7.

Consider we also *Charles* the eight, his yongest son, who hauing past into *Italy*, to reconquer that which the *Arragonians* vsurped from his predecessours, filled all the Cities and Townes of *Italy* (at his arriuall, with no meane terror of his armes, none being found thet durst make heade against him. Euery Citty submitted to him, and set open their gates, in meer affection and respect, both to the vertue of the French, and dread of their name; Others

thers for feare, not beeing able to conteſt with them. So that in leſſe then fiue moneths, he made himſelfe Maſter of all *Italy*, *Geneway*, *Florence*, *Piſa*, *Sienna* and* *Liburna* being all in his power. He reconquered the whole kingdom of *Naples*, and expelled them of *Arragon*, who had vniuſtly vſurped there.

*The country Croatia, betweene Iſtria, and Dalmatia

The Great Turke *Baiazeth* the ſecond, feared nothing more then to meddle with him, & queſtionles, he would haue gon to aſſault him in *Conſtantinople*, wherein hee had ſhut vp himſelfe in meere feare, if vrgent occaſions had not called him backe to France, making ful account to returne thither againe afterward, to attempt that great and honourable expedition againſt the Turkes, whereunto hee was induced and called on all ſides, & for diuers good conſiderations. At his comming back for France, two maine impediments preſented themſelves to him, as well in regarde of difficult waies and mountaines, where (of neceſsity) hee was to paſſe his Artillery: as for daunger of enemies in ſuch places, where they might worke vpon aduantage many wayes; his army beeing alſo much afflicted with famine.

His intended voiage againſt Baiazeth the ſecond.

Beſide all this, a league was made againſt him, by the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Millaine*, and other Potentates, who had leuied an army of 40000. men, to cut him off quite: but yet hee ſurmounted all theſe difficulties, and paſſed through the daungers without any loſſe. The Armie of 40000. men was encamped on the Plaine of *Fornoue*, where it was moſt requiſit for the King to paſſe, they purpoſing to lock him vppe in this paſſage, to the end, that they might conſume his army, with Famine, neceſſity, and miſerie, amongſt the Mountaines where he was. The king with 7000 able fighting men onely, affronted this great army, gaue them battell, paſſed ouer the bellies of all them that hindered his way; and there was ſlaine about foure thouſand of them, the reſt beeing driuen to rout, or ſeized with feare, he ſuſtaining but very little loſſe, about thirtie French ſlaine, and ſome threeſcore Varlets. So not onely he reſcued his army, which hee led in ſafety with all his traine, baggage, Artillery, and carriages; but alſo fought ſucceſſefully, and hadde the victory ouer his enemies, which was a much more honourable Retreate, then that of tenne thouſand, ſo highly renowned by the Greekes.

The Venetians, the Duke of Millaine, & other Princes leagued againſt King Charles, and yet were foyled.

A very ſmall loſſe on the Kings ſide againſt ſo great an Army.

An example of rare vertue is recorded of him. At the ſurprizall of a certaine place in *Italy*, a young Maid (of moſt exquiſite beauty) flying from his Soldiours, who woulde haue violated her honour: came and threw her ſelfe at his feete, deſiring him earneſtly, to defend her from the force and outrage of his ſouldiers. As indeed he did; but yet himſelfe fel into an amorous affection toward her, & hauing her priuate in his Chamber, with full intent to accompliſh his pleaſure, the Maid all drowned in tears, humbly deſired him on our knees, ſupplicating and adiuring him in the name of the bleſſed Virgin, the vntoucht mother of the worlds Sauiour, whoſe picture ſhe ſaw hanging by his bed that hee would take pitty on her, and not compell her to that, for ſafety wherof ſhe had eſcaped from his rauiſhing Soldiers, and put her ſelfe wholly into his handes. The King became mooued in ſuch ſort, that being tranſported with loue and paſſion, and in the braue gallantry of his youth, he made a Kingly conqueſt of him ſelfe, and bedewing his cheeks with tears, as beeing much aſhamed at his immodeſt offer, he would not touch her in any vnciuill or vnchaſte faſhion, but gaue her moſt honourable freedome, with a verie liberall Dowrie to her marriage, ſetting alſo at liberty both her Parents and Kindred, that were then (at that inſtant) his priſoners.

A briefe hiſtory, declaring admirable vertue in this King.

Where vertue and honor is truly innated, luſt hath the leſſe power to preuaile.

Surely, this was an acte verie ſtrange and almoſt myraculous, if wee conſider him to bee a King, in the very vigour & flower of his youth, victorious: yet neerely touched with the loue of a Mayden, excelling, and no way inferiour vnto any in Beautie, and hauing her wholly in his priuate power. His great wiſedome, ſingular iudgement, and infinite goodneſſe heerein appeared; and beeing a familiar Prince, hee would oftentimes ſay to his Fauourites; *That hee had made choyſe of them, and loued them more then any other, becauſe he was perſwaded of theyr honeſtie, and might ſafely truſt them. Onely, he ſtill feared one fault in them, that they would ſuffer him to bee taxed with Auarice, in beeing eaſily ſollicited and tempted for acceſſe: in regard of the credite they hadde with him; and his owne faciluty, in granting what*

King Charles his ſpeeches to his fauorits

what they asked. But if afterwards, any such matter came to his knowledge, they vtterly loſt his fauour for euer: for he often entreated them, to continue in the true profeſſion of honour, the onely meanes to keep and preſerue his good opinion of them.

A worthy and Royall minde in a King.

The ſame King alſo vſed to ſay, *I could wiſh, that my Court were a Mirror for all my other Subiectes, to maintaine and continue them in doing well.* The ſweete ſmelling ſauour of this renown, attracted the ſouls of ſtrangers vnto his loue and liking. So that by very iuſt reaſon, the ſur-name might bee accommodated to this good Prince, of *The louer and delight of Men*: as it was attributed vnto the Emperor *Titus*.

Lewes the 12 ſucceeded Charls in the kingdome of France.

His ſucceſſor *Lewes* the twelfth, made himſelfe likewiſe as famous, by his Conqueſts of Italy. In the beginning of his reigne, he attempted warre againſt *Lodouico Sforza*, who vſurped the Dukedome of *Millaine*, which belonged to him. In leſſe ſpace then a Moneth, he conquered all *Lombardie*, and expulſed *Sforza*, who making a re-entry afterward, and cauſing the people to reuolt; the King went thither in perſon; where, after hee had vanquiſhed *Sforza* (whom hee ſent priſoner into France) he reconquered *Millain*, and receyued the moſt part of the Potentates Citties, and Common-weales of Italy, which ran (on heapes) to yeelde their obeyſance to him.

The ſucceſſe of his wars in Italy, and the kingdome of Naples.

From thence he ſent an Armie to the kingdome of *Naples*, which had reuolted after the departure of King *Charles* the 8. Then *Fredericke*, King of *Arragon*, ſeeing he could not reſiſt him, and being offended at the perfidie of the Spaniards, whō he had called to his ayde, and who (neuertheleſſe) would poſſeſſe themſelues of all: he ſubmitted himſelfe into the handes of the King, who vſed him royally, and gratified him with the Dukedome of *Aniou*, beſide thirty thouſand Crownes of rent. Heere (me thinkes) I ſhould not endure the malignity of *Paulus Iouius*, who hath ſet downe, that the King gaue nothing to *Fredericke*, and that he dyed miſerably in France. Afterward, war was alwaies continued at *Naples* againſt the Spaniardes, where were performed many goodly exploits, famous combates of enemy to enimy, charges, skirmiſhes, encounters, aſ-

Paulus Iouius axed with vntrueth.

ſaults, and ſallies: and where the French had many victories, & the iſſue of all had ſucceeded happily, if the enemie had not diuers times abuſed the King, vnder colour of treaties of peace, appointments, and arreſts. He beleeuing their plighted faith and ſlender aſſurances, was ſomtime the more ſlacke in ſuccouring his people; ſo that their perfidious dealing, rayſed a Million of enemies, leagued and coniured againſt this King, who found himſelfe aſſayled on al ſides. And yet notwithſtanding, he went away with honour, hauing aſtoniſhed and filled with terror, all them that were thus bandyed againſt him.

War continued againſt the Spaniardes at Naples.

The warre be made againſt the Venetians

He made war vpon the Venetians, in regard of that which they had detained & vſurped, during thoſe wars. He entred into their countries, and with a ſmall troop, & in a place of no aduantage, in the *Guiaradada* neere to *Agnadell*, he gaue battel to *Bartholmew d' Aluiana*, Generall for the Venetians, and wonne the victory: there being ſlaine aboue eight thouſand of the enemy, many taken priſoners, & the very cheefeſt Commander himſelfe.

Two memorable ſayings of the King on the day of battell.

Concerning that dayes ſeruice, two memorable ſayings of his are recorded. The one was at his arriuall there, when it had bin told him, that the enemy had taken vp *Agnadell*, and he came too late to haue any lodging there, hee returned this reply, *I will lodge vpon their belly, or they ſhall lodge on mine*. The other, was at his being ſo neere the enemies Artillery, as it might very eaſily play vpon the place; he was aduiſed to walke wanderingly, for feare he ſhould thereby be offended, hee made anſwer; *Neuer was King of Fraunce ſmitten by a Cannons bullet: And he that is afraid* (quoth hee) *let him come and ſtand behinde me.*

Places in Lombardie, belonging to the Venetians ſeized by the King.

Vpon the ſucceſſe of this victory, thoſe places in *Lombardie*, which appertained to the Venetians, were ſeized and made vſe of by this King: but afterwardes, they were manfully recouered by the Confederates, with whom *Ferdinand*, King of *Caſtile*, was a partaker, quite contrary to the contractes (not long before) paſſed by him vnto the French King. But the Lordes of *Trimouille*, of *Chaumont*, *Triwulce*, and other woorthy French Captaines, reſcued them backe againe ſo powerfully, that they continued alwayes Warriors. In the end, was giuen the battaile

The great battaile at Rauēna, wherof we shall haue occasion to speake more heereafter.

taile of *Rauenna*, where the French vanquished a puissant Army of *Italians* and *Spaniards* ioyned together. And an entire victory had ensued on the taking of *Rauenna*; but that they lost their cheefe Captaine *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, & Nephew to the king, who was slaine by pursuing (ouer-earnestly) the enemies, broken and flying in confusion.

The excellency of this good king consisted not onely in greatnesse of courage and valiancy; but likewise in all other vertues. Aboue all, he was most highly commendable, for loue to his people, to whō (notwithstanding all his other serious affaires) he was a Royall ease and comfort: so that this famous name was desertfully giuen him: *Father of his people, and a good King*.

Frances the first successor to Lewes the twelfth.

Of this battell also we will speake heereafter.

He had as his Successor, Great *Frances* the first, a Prince as valiant as euer the other had bin, and who in his very youth, and at the beginning of his raigne: ouercame the vnconquerable Nation of the Switzers, on the hot and dreadfull day at *Marignano*, an enterprize, which had neuer before, or at any time since, succeeded to any other King. A most remarkable thing in this battaile, was, that so young a Prince continued seuen & twenty houres in Armes, without receiuing any sustenance, and spent one whole night in the fielde of battaile, without lying downe or a nod of sleepe.

He contended with the Emperor Charls the 5.

This was the man that made head against the great Emperour *Charles* the 5. who neuer met with a keener enemy, nor that more disappointed his designes, or euery way more hindred him. And yet notwithstanding, it is hardly to be credited, with what honor, magnificence publikely, and courtesie in particular, hee entertained in his kingdome this Emperor, his principall aduersary. And although he with-held some of his estate vniustly, yet would he not demaund any reason for it, when he might well haue done it, hauing him in his owne power: but kept inuiolably the faith he had giuen him; and moreouer, gaue him all the contentment he could desire.

An admirable disposition in a king.

To speake no more then truth, hee was naturally generous & Royall, which euidently declared, that hee had no other ambition, then to excell all other men in vertue and well doing. He shall (for euer) liue commended to posterity, for the loue which he bare to Learning, and to learned men: whom hee sought for euery where, entertained, honoured, and gratified in all kindes. By which means, he filled France with learning and erudition in all Sciences: but especially the Vniuersity of *Paris*, which neuer was so flourishing, as in his reigne. So that (by good right) he was sir-named, *The Father of Learning*.

King Frances an entire louer of learning.

Wee may confesse as much of his Sonne *Henry* the second, a Prince truely generous and valiant: who continued warre against the Emperor *Charles* the 5. hauing sustained all his efforts, and stood continually opposite to his greatest enterprizes. But not long after, *Charles* the fift withdrew himselfe into a Monastery, fearing (as some supposed) the vertue and fortune of this young Prince, leauing the reignes of his Germane Empire, to *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, being his brother, and the kingdome of *Spaine* to *Philip* the second: who soone after made warre vpon the Pope, *Paule* the fourth, and then this King sent succour to his Holinesse, defended him, & reconquered the places which the King of Spaine had taken from him. And in the end, by his entremise, the Pope and the King of Spaine were accorded & reconciled.

Henry the second, Sonne & Successor to King Frances.

Charles 5. emperor entreth into a Monastery.

Occasion now carrieth me, to speake of Great *Henry* the fourth, miracle of the world: who gaue place (in nothing) to the vertue of his Predecessours, nor to the glory of all the greatest Princes and Monarches that euer were, if he did not surpasse them. But my Pen is too feeble, to take so high a flight, it is a subiect ouerworthy, which ought to bee reserued for the choysest spirits of this age, or of posterity, if any man conceiue themselues capable to vndertake it. For there hath bin some, the very best and skilfullest writers, who being thereto zealously affected, began to attempt the labour: but were constrained to giue ouer and leaue it, beeing ouercome with the immense greatnesse of so many high and admirable actions, acknowledging and confessing, that they could not set downe any thing, to equall or come neere so famous merit.

King Henry the fourth, Father to the king now reigning.

What hand can worthily describe so many wonne battailes, so many Cities and Townes taken (without losing any one)

He was reputed to be one of the worthieſt Soldiors in all the world.

one) ſo many fights and diuerſity of encounters? Who can figure him, ſhining in his glittering Armes, in the fierceſt and hotteſt brunts of ſo many ſharpe onſets, combates, ranged battailes, aſſaults, ſiedges, and ſurprizals, making himſelfe way whereſoeuer he went? A true Commander and Captaine, for councell and conduct; a moſt valiant Souldiour, to giue example for effect and execution. Finding all France troubled, the people mooued and diuided in parts, by the deuices and factions of ſtrangers, all *Europe* (to ſpeake truely) bandied & coniured againſt him, in very deplorable affayres; he yet gotte the vpper hand of all, diſſipated all ſtorms and tempeſts, ſaued and preſerued France frō that ruine, which euery one ſuppoſed certaine. All the enterprizes of his enemies, ſerued but as matter for his Trophees. Looke how many enemies, ſee ſo many Triumphs, and as many Laurels in his Helmet, to make his vertue the more illuſtrious, and fill the ſoules of his owne people and ſtrangers, with terror, amazement, and admiration, ſuch as cannot bee ſufficiently ſpoken off.

He ſaued France from an expected and hoped for ruine.

He guided all his intentions with ſuch wiſedome, and executed them with ſo high a courage, that they could haue no other yſſue but happineſſe: and it plainly appeared, that his vertue led Fortune by the hand: making truely knowne the ancient ſaying; *That the wiſe man diſpoſeth of Fortune*, and on the contrary; *It is to ſlender purpoſe, to impute that to accident, which prooues to be a mans owne error.* Neuer did any Prince finde an eſtate ſo confuſed and hurried; and neuer could any reduce it to more peaceable calmnes, thē he did meerely by his vertue, he not only danted his enemies, but (of enemies) they became his principall friends: *A ſoueraign degree, & the ſole perfectiō of a great Stateſman*, according to *Plato*. His valiancy, height of courage, and addreſſe to actions of Armes were ſuch, as admited no comparifon therewith: matchleſſe clemency euen towards ſuch as were his moſt determinate enemies. No acte of cruelty, neyther of reuenge, in the very fierceſt fury of warre: neuer was his ſword ſeene vnſheathed, but in the hot extremity of fights. His ſingular prudence, appeared not onely in the managing of war, and when hee was therein very ſeriouſly employed; but

Two ancient worthy ſayings.

Plato in lib. 7. De Legib.

No cruelty obſerued in him towards his greateſt enemies.

alſo in affayres of peace, whē he gaue himſelfe wholly for the good and quiet of his people, ſhewing at all times, and in al places, that he was an admirable, good and wiſe king, exquiſitely enabled with all perfections. Qualities in ſuch ſort incompatible by nature, as ſince the beginning of the world, they could hardly meet in any one man: in regard whereof, it hath bene ſometime ſaid & deſired, that two ſhould be taken to make one of.

In breefe, all things were ſo great and gracefull in him, as ſcarſely could any one ſpirit comprehend them: ſo that (to ſpeak truely) the beſt that men could do, was to ſit downe, and admire them with ſilence. This was the man, whom not only France acknowledged, & adored as her Conſeruator: but likewiſe on whom the whole world caſt an eye, as the true Arbitrator, Author, and Moderator of her quietnes. His right to the crown yeelded him to be the cheefeſt king: but his owne vertues made him confeſſed, to be the moſt worthy among all other Princes.

Henry the fourth accounted to be the man of men.

In that then which is ſaid to be the dignity of the French kings, for their rare vertues and great merits; no other people are thought to equall or come neere thē. There are certaine vertues, which are termed heroycall or diuine, becauſe they ſurpaſſe that which is common in men, or of humane vnderſtanding, euen as an exceſſe and hyperbole of vertue. So in *Homer*, *Priamus* being deſirous to commend the vertue of his Son *Hector*, ſaid; *He ſeemed to be iſſued not of a mortall man, but rather of ſome God.* In like manner the *Lacedemonians*, when they admired any rare or excellent vertue in any one, they would ſay, *That he was a diuine man.* Such great perſonages haue beene noted among our Ancients, whoſe vertues were ſo extraordinary: that their extraction was attributed to the Gods, as *Alexander* the great, and *Scipio Affricanus*: and the very ſame heroycall vertues haue beene carractred in the ſoules of French Kings, euen as being proper and particular to them.

Concerning vertue diuine and heroycall.

Homer in Iliad. Lib. 5.

It is a matter as common, as naturall, for a man to take Armes in his owne defence, or for his owne priuate profite, and to reuenge his vniuſt wrongs and iniuries. But a man to arme himſelfe for another that is offenced, to reuenge his cauſe in zeale of Iuſtice, without any

That which Nature alloweth, hardly admitteth any other exception.

any other hope, and to re-eſtabliſh him where he had bin formerly expulſed; queſtionleſſe is a carracter of vertue truely heroycall, and ſweetly ſauouring of the diuinity; which euermore hath beene naturall to the French. *Strabo* ſaith; *That they would willingly grow into choller, and vndertake Armes; for ſuch as they ſaw to be vniuſtly wronged, and manifeſt ſhames done vnto them.*

Strabo in lib. 4.

The Kings of France haue beene accounted admirable for Iuſtice, and by an extraordinary affection in them thereto: they haue taken care and paines, to exerciſe and render it in their owne perſons, declaring themſelues alwayes equitable Iudges, not onely betweene particulars, but alſo in theyr owne proper cauſes, whē in a doubtfull caſe, they haue layde the iudgement on themſelues, rather then to iniury any other. The Kings of France euer did ſo, as well when they rendred Iuſtice in theyr owne perſon, as by theyr Soueraigne Courts, and commendation of very ancient Iuſtice.

The Iuſtice of the kings of France.

This report and praiſe of their Iuſtice is very ancient, for *Agathias* the Greeke Hiſtorian admireth them herein, and ſeemed to ſay with great iudgment, or rather by a Propheticall ſpirit: *That liuing ſo, & carrying themſelues in the like behauiour to their actions; hee was not able to coniecture otherwiſe, but that their Eſtate would be alwayes ſtable, inuincible, & impregnable from enemies; being ſuſtained with ſo ſound baſes and foundations, as Iuſtice and the deſire of Honour are.* Among them moſt recent, *Baldus*, a famous Italian Doctor, about the yeare MCCCL. maketh eſpeciall reckoning of the Kings of France: which (for moſt certaine) long time they deliuered in theyr owne perſon.

Agathias Greec. in lib. 1.

Iuſtice & Honour are two good Pillars for a man to build on.

In L. Magis puto §§. in primis. verſic. Item que ſi inops D. *De reb. eor. qui ſub tutela vel cur. ſunt.*

But the multitude of affayres encreaſing, and they vnable to bee abſent, from rendring Iuſtice to particular perſons, except the State ſhould receiue ſome endamagement, diſtraites, either by the war, or other important charges of the kingdome; they were feigne to eſtabliſh Parliaments to that effect, and therefore appointed ordinary and ſedentary Officers. Before that time, the Eſtates made theyr meeting but foure times euery yeare, termed in the ancient *Annaliſts Conuentus Generales*: wherein aſſiſted the principall Lords of France, and Officers of the Crowne, as well to diſcerne and aduiſe, in what was to be done for the generall Eſtate, as to decide the greateſt and moſt notable differences, happening betweene particulars.

The first beginning of Parliaments in France.

Hauing then decreed and reſolued on theyr ordinary Parliament at *Paris*, there was the appointed place for rendring ſoueraigne Iuſtice: ſo that the arreſts and iudgements there concluded, were as if they had beene pronounced by the Kings owne mouth, and thereupon inſcribed & entitled in his Name. They were likewiſe verefied and publiſhed, as alſo Regiſtred by Letters of eſpeciall prouiſion, in the Offices and Dignities of the Crown, with ſolemne & publike reception of the greater part.

The place for Parliaments appointed at Paris.

It is alſo auouched, (that oftentimes) Lords and Princes, being ſtrangers, ſubmitted theyr differences to the iudgment of that Court, in regard of the great opinion they held of their Iuſtice. The Emperor *Frederick* the ſecond, referred himſelfe vnto the Parliament of the King of France; in the debate and contention betweene him, & Pope *Innocent* the fourth, concerning the kingdome of *Naples*, in the yeare MCCXLIIII. The Earles of *Nemures*, in the yeare MCCCXII. diſputed there the cauſe of his Earldome, againſt *Charles de Valois*, Brother to *Philip le Bel*, & won the day. Likewiſe the Prince of *Tarente*, in the yeare MCCCXX. gained there a ſuite againſt the Duke of Bourgongne, concerning the charges & expences layde out, for the conqueſt and recouery of *Conſtantinople*.

Differences of Princes being ſtrangers, decided by the Parliament of Paris, and worthily ended to their contentments.

In the yeare MCCCXLII. the Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Guy de Chaſtillon* debated there their partages. In like manner the *Daulphine*, and the Count of *Sauoye*, hauing proceſſe together, entreted for their Iudges the Court of Parliament, in the yeare MCCCXC. The kings of Spaine made ſuch account of Iuſtice in the kings of France, and integrity of theyr Parliament, that they ſent their ſuites to be conſidered there. The kings of *Caſtile* and *Portugall*, hauing made peace together in the yeare MCCCCIII. ſent theyr difference to the Parliament, to be there veryfied, for the more ſolid and ſound aſſurance: and there it was fully confirmed at their requeſt, and publiſhed at the open doores.

The Kings of Spaine eſteemed the Iuſtice of the Kings & Parliament of France.

We

The familiarity and manſuetude of the Kings of France, in talking with their ſubiects plaine and openly.

We may alſo account among the fauours and prerogatiues of the Kings of France, as an eſpeciall marke of their greatneſſe and Maieſty: one thing which is found in few of the Kings & Monarchs of other Nations. Which is, that they themſelues doe ordinarily conferre with their ſubiects, ſuffering themſelues to bee ſeene daily, not onely in publike, but alſo in particular, vſing priuacy, granting eaſie acceſſe to any one: and yet notwithſtanding, they are not a iote the leſſe reuerenced, obeyed, honoured, and reſpected, nay, rather much more then ſome other kings, who by artificiall trickes and myſteries, ſeeke to haue themſelues honoured of their people. Neyther doth this facility in communication, and friendly familiarity, beget any contempt towards them, or diminiſh the leaſt part of theyr Maieſty: but rather maketh an addition thereto, cauſing them to bee the more eſteemed, in venerable and moſt happy manner.

The ſubiect-like affection of the French to their kings and Princes.

This is that which attracteth, & (moſt of all) winneth the hearts of the French, rendring themſelues wholly affectionate, yea, vowed and deuote to theyr Prince; whom they loue, feare, and honour altogether, euen with an entire and cordiall affection, and not by any force or conſtraint. A matter truely as admirable, as rare, and which the Lord *Suriano* an honourable *Venetian*, and other ſtrangers hauing well obſerued, ſtand not a little amazed thereat, it appearing (naturally) almoſt impoſſible & incompatible. Wherin it is no eaſie matter to ſay, which is the greateſt honour and aduantage, eyther to ſuch kings, or to theyr ſubiects: but bee it howſoeuer, it is a great happineſſe both to the one and other.

In lib. 1. Delle cauſe delle grandezzo della Citá.

Moſt part of the kings in this world, at all times haue ſought many exteriour meanes, by different habites, extraordinary faſhions, crafts, ſecrets, and diuerſity of inuentions, to maintaine their Maieſty, to make themſelues feared and reſpected by theyr ſubiects, and yet notwithſtanding, could not compaſſe it. The ancient *Deioces*, beeing elected king by the *Medes*, frõ a particular man as hee was before, changed into all manner of behauiour. Hee would build a great magnificent Caſtle, enuironed with many walles, the very ſight wherof procured amazement. There would he ſhut vppe himſelfe, cloathed in garments of no vſuall wearing, neuer ſhewing himſelfe to the people, but very ſildome and rarely: deliuering Iuſtice by written papers, & by interpoſed perſons, and likewiſe all his anſwers, expeditions, and affayres, euen as if they came from an Oracle.

Of the Deioces elected Kings of the Medes.

The Kings among the Perſians.

The kings of the Perſians did vſually weare a *Tiaras* on theyr heads, a Diadem or royall Head-band, all gliſtering with Pearles and precious ſtones, cauſing thẽſelues to bee adored by ſuch as ſhall ſee them. And now adayes, moſt part of the Kings and Lords in diuers countryes, obſerue the very ſame order. The great Duke of *Moſcouia* will neuer be ſeene, but cloathed with a rich Sacerdotall habite, vnder a precious Pauillian, accompanied with a ſmall choyſe number of his Domeſtiques, ſo ſumptuouſly apparelled, as one would ſay, they were an aſſembly of Gods. The great king of the *Abyſſines*, or *Æthiopians*, is neuer ſeene at all, he ſpeaketh to Ambaſſadours, with a Curtaine drawne betweene them, no other ſight haue they of him. But when he pleaſeth to ſhew himſelfe, hee weares a Crowne richly faſhioned, exalted or rayſed very curiouſly, a garment all of beaten gold, thickly beautified with precious ſtones; hauing his face couered with a veyle of Taffata, for feare leſte any ſhould ſee his face. It is alſo a rare, and no accuſtomed fauour, when he lifts the Taffata neuer ſo little, that any part of his viſage may bee ſeene.

The great Duke of Moſcouia.

The king of the Abyſſines and Ethiopians.

The king of China.

The king of *China* neuer commeth abroad, but keeps himſelfe continually encloſed in a Pallace, round engirt with very ſtrong fortifications, and cauſeth his very Pictures to be adored. The great Seigneur of the Turkes, is neuer ſeene, but in a habite wholly different from any other, both for the faſhion, as alſo the vnſpeakable riches on him: he dazeleth the eyes of all ſuch as looke on him, in regard of the glorious ſtones ſhining on his head, and cauſeth himſelfe to bee ſerued with ſuch Maieſty, reſpect, & ceremonies, as is moſt wonderfull. The king of *Monomatapa*, is not ſerued but by men on their knees. There are other, who cauſe themſelues to be ſerued with ſtrange faſhions, and very ſeruile ſubmiſſions: ſhewing themſelues ſildome or neuer, and ſpeake not a word, but

The great Seigneur of the Turkes.

The King of Monomatapa.

but it is accounted as an especiall fauour.

The kings of France liuteable to their subiects.

But the Kings of France haue no medling with these apparences, and exquisite cunning, whereby to support theyr greatnesse, authority, and Royall dignity: because they differ in nothing (for the most part) neyther in habites, food and fashions, from their subiects, maintaining thēselues without any subtilty. And the more they are seene, the more are they honoured, and not only honoured, but also loued of the French: as being borne to reigne, carrying Maiesty in theyr Fronts naturally, which maketh them venerable, rauisheth the people with obedience to them, and crowneth them with continuall respect. And although it is no matter rare or difficult for the French, to see their King, because it is so ordinary and common to them: yet as learned *Budeus* hath discreetly obserued, the people runne on heapes, when they heare that the King passeth to any place, reputing it as a happinesse, to haue so fauourable a sight of him.

Budeus in lib 1. cap.7.

To this great and immense loue of the French towards theyr naturall Prince, may well be attributed the long continuance of that Monarchy, one of her other excellences, that hath subsisted twelue hūdred yeares, which few kingdomes else can say beside. And that which is most admirable of all, is, that the kings haue bin of the same race and extraction, without any change but twice, & yet in changing, still it came to proximity and kindred, as we haue already declared. One thing also maketh it commendable, that it neuer bare command of a strange Prince, nor so much as desired it: but alwayes hath bin gouerned by her naturall Princes, originaries, and of the most noble blood, not onely in Europe, but in all the rest of the world.

The kingdom France hath continued 1200. yeares.

Natural born Princes, originaries and successiue.

Learned *Onuphrius*, a famous Italian, obserued it as a matter worth maruaile, saying, that in no other Estate, can be obserued the like felicity. I will set downe his owne words. *Mirum illud obseruandum est, quod cum nulla gens vnquam fuit, quæ aut externos Principes non admiserit, aut assumptos interdum non expulerit, sæpe etiam per summum scelus non occiderit, solis Francis peculiare hoc est ac proprium, nullos vnquam exteros Reges pati, suos autem vsque adeo amare & colére, vt pro eorum dignitate & Maiestate tuenda non opes tantum sed vitam profundere soleant. Hinc euenisse credendum est, vt per mille & ducentorum fere annorum interuallum non nisi ex tribus familijs Reges orti sint.* Wee must account (saith he) *that this is meruailous, albeit there hardly hath bin any other Nation, but hath receiued strange Kings, and after receipte of them, hath expelled them againe, yea, many times massacred them, through some extreme mischiefe. Yet notwithstanding, it is proper and particular to the French, to haue endured no Kings strangers, and therefore haue so loued and reuerenced their Princes, that they not onely imployed all their goods and meanes, but likewise laide downe their liues, for the defence of their Dignity and Maiesty. And this may be thought to be the cause, that for the space of about twelue hundred yeares, there hath beene but three families, from whence haue proceeded all their Kings.*

Onuphrius Ital. In lib. 4. Imperat.

CHAP. IIII.

A Funerall Oration, written vpon the most vnnaturall and vntimely death of Great Henry *the fourth, Father to the King now reigning.*

THE *Egiptians*, hauing sufficiently tasted the fauours of * *Harpocrotes* theyr God; did consecrate the Peach-Tree vnto him, in thankfull retribution of his infinite benefits. The leaues of this Tree are shaped like to tongues, and the fruite doth carry a resemblance of

* The God of Silence. *Plin. in l.9.c.7.*



hearts:

hearts: whereby they would ſeeme to ſay, that their hearts ſhould thence-forward ſerue that *Harpocrotes*, and theyr tongues be continually buſied in celebrating his prayſes. O France! wilt thou bee leſſe thankfull then thoſe people? So many choiſe benefits receiued frō the cheefeſt of thy Monarchs, can they well eſcape thy memory, or glide into the depth of bottomleſſe oblivion? No, no, wee will not onely conſecrate the Peach-tree vnto him, but our hearts and tongues ioyntly together, becauſe this is the beſt offering, remaining in our power to giue him.

The greateſt loſſe that euer France ſuſtained.

Telemachus, the youngeſt Son of *Vlyſſes*, ſporting himſelfe (on a day) childe-like vpon the Sea-ſhore, by accident fell into the water: but a Dolphin happily came, who receiuing him vpon his backe, did ſet him ſafe and dry vpon the land againe. The Father, not knowing how to expreſſe his gratitude to the Fiſh, that quickly was carried farre off from him by the nimble waues; to auoyd the foule blemiſh of vnthankfulneſſe, cauſed all his Gates to bee painted with Dolphins, engraued them vpon his Sword, yea, hee honoured his Seale with a Dolphins Image.

The ſtrange eſcape of Telemachus, preſerued from drowning by a Dolphine.

Henry, great *Henry*, a moſt Chriſtian, Potent, and Royall King, ſuccourd France in a Sea of ſeditions & dreadfull tumults, and like a gracious Dolphin, receiued her on his ſhoulders, and ſet her vp in ſafety, euen on the ſhore of a moſt happy peace, whereof as yet ſhee enioyeth the benefit. His name ſhall not onely bee written on our Gates and Walles, but his greatnes, his victories, his mildneſſe and paternall bounties, ſhall bee engrauen on an euerduring Piramede of thankfull acknowledgement, neuer to depart out of our memories. Our eyes, hitherto buſied in teares, granting no liberty to our ſighing hearts, to let our mouthes memorize his Trophees, and tell the world his countles Triumphs; we do now begin to open thē, and now wee would breake the doores of ſome ſad Funerall diſcourſe, in remembrance of his great Maieſty, and excelling vertues.

A familiar alluſion to the vertues of Royal Henry.

If *Caliſthenes* durſt make refuſall to *Alexander*, who commanded him to commend the *Macedonians*, alledging for his excuſe, that their vertues were ſo well knowne, and their merits ſo great, as hee ſhould not gaine the leaſt honour or reputation (whatſoeuer) thereby. How dare I then appeare in publike, and in this common habite of mourning, to commend the eldeſt Sonne of the Church, the Father and Patrone of Soldiours; eſpecially in theſe dull times, when that diuine fire of Eloquence, ſometime ſtolne from the Gods by * *Tantalus*, ſeemes to haue taken her returne to heauen, from whence ſhe came at the firſt.

Herodot. in Terp. ſich.

* Sonne to Iupiter and Plota.

No eloquēce ſufficient to expreſſe his high deſeruings.

There are now no *Ciceroes*, not a *Demoſthenes* to be found, no, nor an *Hortenſius*. And albeit they were all aliue againe, to ioyne their beſt abilities together in well ſpeaking; yet could they not ſpeake in ſuch ſort of that famous Prince, but their elegancy would fall farre ſhort, and infinite goodly things would nere come neere them, which are no more then due to his happy memory. If then I ſpeake, it is but by appointment, and as feeling a certaine combate within me, between baſhfulneſſe and nature. Baſhfulneſſe taxing me with ſhame, to be ſilent when the whol world cries and complaines; aſhamed alſo, that I cannot ioyne my ſighes & teares to yours. Nature likewiſe tels me, that by an indiſſoluable obligation, I ought to render this duty and ſeruice, to the eternall memory of my King, my Lord & my Prince. This then may ſerue for my diſcharge. The * *Epizephyrian Locrences*, in former times, not hauing the commodity to performe any ſolemne ſacrifice to *Hercules*, according to their vow (becauſe there were not any Oxen, Sheepe, or other Beaſts for oblation left in their Citty, through the length of a greeuous peſtilence, which had conſumed them all) when their Elders aduiſed them to take Cowcumbers, Mellons, and ſome other kindes of fruites, fitting them with ſhort ſtickes in forme of feete, and then calling them Oxen, Sheepe, and ſuch like Beaſts, they threw them into the fire, & ſo made their ſacrifices. Among their neighbours, there was not any but commended their inuention, and gaue cheereſull applauſe vnto this acte of theirs.

* People of great Greece, ſo called of the Promontory Zephyrium about which they dwelt.

If I haue not wherewith (worthily) to anſwer the admirable vertues of that Monarch; let me accuſe my neceſſity, and giue you what I can, which (I hope) will be acceptable to you. Or elſe (if you better affect it) I will imitate thoſe Sauages of *Florida*, who reputing the Sunne to be their

An obſeruation vſed among the Sauage people of Florida.

their God, and seeing him so highly exalted ouer their heads, as it is impossible for them to come neere him: in looking on him, they hold vp their hãds at him, which bringing backe to their mouthes, they kis, deliuering testimony (by this meanes) of the reuerence, honour, and respect they beare vnto him. If I cannot touch (dazeled with his beams) the Sun of so bright a Maiesty, or my tongue shal this day seem dumbe, in the infinity of his glory: I will yet essay by signes, and shew some-what that way, when other helpes fayle me.

Cæsars funerall Oration for his daughter Iulia.

Concerning the rest, my aime hath no other end, then that of *Cæsar*, in the Funerall Oration he made for his Daughter *Iulia: Vt adstantes admonerentur quanta iactura ex illa morte facta esset: That the bystanders might bee admonished, how great a losse ensued by her death.* For what losse can be greater thẽ ours? A losse which neuer had his like, a losse springing out of our iniquities, which made vs altogether vnworthy to enioy so great, so happy and so dreaded a Prince.

2 Reg. 1. 19. 21

O desiderabilis terra Israel! in excelsis tuis vulneratus est. Quomodo ceciderunt potẽtes? Quomodo abiectus est Clypeus fortium? Thus did *Dauid* bemone the death of *Saul*, King of Israel. Thus was a King extolled by a King, being filled with the spirit of Prophesie. Thus did the annointed of God streame forth his teares, in A Funerall Oration for A Prince, slaine vpon the mountaines of Gilboa, which he wished might (for euer) continue barren like Rocks, listen the effect of his diuine maledictions. *Nec ros, nec pluuia descendat super vos, quia proiectus est Clypeus fortiũ. Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee; because there the shield of the mighty is cast downe.* Behold, how he would haue some sad and lamentable monument to remain there, answerable to an acte so sad & dismall. Monuments ought to agree in resemblance with the things which they signify. What thing could be more horrible then the murder of an Israelite Prince? The Monument then ought to bee euery way as yrkesome and horrible.

2 Reg. 1. 21.

What ought the nature of Monuments to be.

In Funerall pompes, we vse to goe in blacke garments. Dewes doe make the Mountaines verdant, and raine drunk vp by the Vallies, enammels thẽ with a thousand flowers, and giues them such a garment of greene, as is both faire to see, and maruailous pleasing. Therefore *Dauid* would haue nothing to grow vpon *Gilboa*, but thornes and brambles, that so (among rude Rockes) nothing might appeare but rough thorny passages: to the ende, that such places might bee condemned, as of deeds of horror and darknesse; so likewise to sterility, and wofull perpetuall deuastation. But are not dewes the gift of God? Doth not raine come from the hand of him that is almighty? Thẽ, not to receiue these, is a dreadfull malediction. It should seeme then, that *Dauid* inuoked the wrath of heauen vpon that *Gilboa*, the land being subiect to many curses, for the sinnes that were there committed. *Let neyther dew nor raine descend vpon yee, because the shield of the mighty is there cast downe.*

Blacke, best befitteth Funerall pompe

Dewes and raines are the blessings of Heauen.

Alasse, what greater Shield of strength, more generous and mighty, then Great *Henry* the fourth? *Henry*, the Rampier of his people, the Shield of his Souldiers, & the Buckler that defended the heads and hearts of his Princes? He couered them against all their enemies attempts and encounters. Hee serued as an Armour of proofe to the French Monarchy, vnder which defence they continually raunged themselues, yea, the Seigneurs and Principalities of many strangers, sheltred thẽselues vnder that Sunny Banck. Therfore of him may now be said, as somtimes was of *Dauid: The Lord sought him a man after his owne heart, and commanded him to bee a Gouernour ouer his people.* For if *Dauid* declared himselfe couragious, in the greatest heate of Alarmes and fights; *Henry*, great *Henry*, hath not hee beene (euery where) a true *Mars*, and a true thunderbolt of warre? If *Dauid* were still crowned with victory, because his clemency was acceptable to the God of Armies, & therefore elected him among thousands, to bee the Ruler of his people: then may we say, that (after his fights) neuer was found a kinder Prince then great *Henry* the fourth, to whom this Elogium rightly appertained. *Qui in aciete conspexit superatus est, qui in pace nihil timuit: Euermore a Conquerour, both in warre and peace*, deriuing his victories no lesse from loue, then from power. Vnder which (as *Ennodius* spake in the Panegyrique of *Thierry*, King of the Gothes) *Vidimus euentus optimos de aduersitate generari*, so may wee say; *That out of greatest extremities,*

No better Shield of defence to any kingdome, then a truely generous King.

1 Reg. 13, 14.

King Dauid crowned with many glorious victories.

Ennod. in Paneg. Thier. Reg Got.

we haue beheld the birth of higheſt and faireſt fortunes.

For in conquering the Rampiers of our Cities, at the very ſame time he won our hearts alſo, and (by a ſoueraigne amplitude of kindneſſe) ſweetly inſinuated himſelfe into all our ſoules, that behelde him ſo brightly ſhining in Armes. So that ſaying was verefied in him, which *Agapetus* ſpake to the Emperour *Iuſtinian. Imperium exornauit ſuperiores Imperatores, tu vero præſtantiſſime illud illuſtre reddidiſti: That which Empires (in former times) gaue to their Emperours; thou thy ſelfe (O great Prince) haſt giuen to thine, to wit, luſter and ſplendour.* Thou didſt finde it full of quarrels, ſeditions, and tumults, thy vnciuill ſubiects made mad (by what new *Circes* I know not) becam enemies to thy crown. But by the right hand of God, & ſtrength of thy martiall arme, thou didſt diſplant their Fortreſſes, peopled with Spaniards, expelling both the one and other; and from the limits of thy French Empire, thou didſt exterminate that proud *Bellona*, that (without all pitty) did cruelly labour to teare her in peeces, and quite deuoure her.

Agapetus in Articulis de recte adminiſtrando Imperio.

The hand of heauen euer ſupporteth the right of true kings.

Oh what a goodly day was that, when we beheld bright victory to deſcend vpon his head, euen glorious and celeſtiall victory, holding in her hand a thouſand Laurels, diſperſing them in the fields of ſo many faire Prouinces? Victory was figured by the Romans, with a gracious countenance, and two great wings diſplayed on her ſhoulders. The Athenians made a mockery thereat, and portraied their victory quite contrary, without wings or any feathers, to the ende, ſhe ſhould neuer flye from them, but alwayes keepe within the girdle of their Citty walles. *Victory* (Companion to the merits of this great Prince) was of the *Athenian* nature. In former times ſhe had bene full of inconſtancy, firſt on one ſide, then on another, neuer long continuing in any one Prouince. But at length, ſhe ſeated herſelfe on the *Louure* of this onely *Mars*, where (firſt of all) ſhe threw off her wings, neuer to ſtart thence all the time of his Reigne. This was ſhe, that not only made him beloued of his owne people: but ſo feared & reuerenced of ſtrangers beſide, that they had and held him alwaies in admiration.

The ſucceſſefull iſſue of his long troubleſome wars.

Victory that accompanied Great Henry.

Pliny tels vs, that there is found in *Africa* a certaine precious ſtone, called *Liparis*, which hath ſo faire a looke, that all eyes are at a ſtand to gaze vpon it. Hunters ther haue no need of ſculking hounds for their game, or any Arrowes to kill it, becauſe this ſtone, laide open in the midſt of any field, all wilde beaſts (getting but a glimps thereof) gather together about it, and as amorous of the ſtones beauty, doe nothing elſe but looke vpon it. Our Monarch, our great Monarch, was as a *Liparis* in the midſt of his French world, the *Germane*, *Italian*, *Spaniard*, *Engliſh*, *Swethen*, yea, the very *Turkes*, were all drawne hither by the fame of his vertues, & renown of his Armes, euery one ſtood at gaze to behold him, not any one but wiſhed his preſence, each one loued & admired him, as a new miracle, or prodigy of valour and greatneſſe in the world. In ſo much, that his preſence ſerued not onely as an ornament to this State: but it was alſo here as an horne of abundance, out of which, al kindes of goodneſſe that could flow from a ſacred peace, were in a moſt plentifull affluence deriued from him. The poyſons of diſſentions could heere no more produce their Gangrenats; the high vnderſtanding of the King was too preſent an Antidote. And as the dryed body of a Baſiliske, hung with a golden thred in the midſt of *Apollos* Temple (ſaith *Geſner*) kept it alwayes cleane, reſtraining (by an hidden vertue) Spiders from working cobwebs along the pillars and walles: Euen ſo great *Henry*, liuing in our France, kept it cleane from all the inſolences of enemies, and ſuffered no ſtrange Spiders to come weaue their webs of diſcord within his Prouinces. So auaileable to this Monarchy was his long experience & promptitude, that he held the affaires (in eyther condition) both of church and commonwealth, in an vpright ſway of pollicy, were it in peace or warre. And ſo profitable did this people finde their ſubiection & obedience to him, that in all & quite through the body of France, they reuerenced him as their Lord, their Paſtor, and Father.

The rare vertue of the Stone Liparis

All eyes and harts drawne with admiration at the preſence of Great Henry.

Geſnerus in lib. Animal. cap. 9.

His care of the Church and Common wealth.

Doe you not know the great vnity which Nature hath planted betweene the *Pinnothere* and the *Pinna*? Haue yee not read of the benefit enſuing to them both, by their mutuall concord & intelligence? France hath beene as the *Pinna*, and the King her *Pinnothere*. The *Pinna* is that great

Plin. in lib. 12. cap. 7.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.

great kinde of Cockle, which we vse to call a Naker or Scallop. The *Pinnothere* is a little creature, in the kinde of a Crabbe or Creuise, that continually stands as a Porter, awayting the opening of the Cockle; which he keeps still wide gaping, vntill such time as he perceiueth some prey to enter, which may be beneficall to them both. For then hee pricks or bytes the Cockle, and shee shutting her shell, they then feede both friendly together. And neuer (without this admonition) doth the Naker shut her shell, nor euer (without the liking of this her Gouernor) will shee admit any strange creature to come neere her.

A strange cõformity betweene the Naker or Scallop, and the Creuise or Crab.

Euen so France, referring herselfe to the managing of the King her *Pinnothere*, and neuer receiuing any impression but his; she liued with that foode which was apt and naturall for her, and by this reason, she neuer felt in any of her parts and members, those intemperate vile diseases, that heeretofore bred her so many warres and troubles. A great misfortune is it thẽ, when such a precious Iewell is taken from foorth the midst of our Temple, whẽ such a Master and Gouernour is carried away from his people. *O decus Israelis in excelsis tuis vulneratus est.* O France, the honor of Israel, glory of the Militant church! O *Paris*, the very fairest among the *Gauls*, or in the world, Metropolitane of the goodliest state in Christendome: thou hast seene him wounded in thy streetes, slaine in thy bosome, and parricided inhumanely in *excelsis tuis*, in thy places most frequented. O vnspeakable mishap! *Quomodo proiectus est Clypeus fortium? How is the shield of the mighty cast downe?*

The comparison alluded to the Realm of France.

* *Timanthes*, a most famous Painter among the Grecians, being desirous to portrait a Soldior ful of courage, sprightly in valour, and as fiery as *Mars*: gaue him all the grace that Arte could deuise vpon his cloth. But afterward, setting it before his doore to bee seene, hee caused foure Trumpets to sound before the Picture, that the person might appeare the more furious and dreadfull. O deare people, if I could worthily, and (according to true life) represent before your eyes, the prouidence, wisedome, and happines of councell, that remained in this Prince; I should then set before ye (one after another) euen all the great and serious assemblies, of the cheefest Heads and Captains of war, and of all other states wherein hee presided. Then shold you see him not like a silly * *Nestor* by *Agamemnon*, but *Agamemnon* himselfe, and (in him) a million of *Nestors*. If you would see his vigillancy & the care he had of his State affairs; I should then set before yee (in grosse) the Ambassadors of the greatest Princes, the Courtiers and Postillions flying from all parts, their packets open, their Secretaries standing by, & that magnificent King in the midst, spending many nights together, for the conseruation of them, that soundly slept in their beds at ease. If you would haue a picture from mee, of his mildenesse & clemency; then must I paint a thousand potent enemies, not humbled at his presence, or crouding to his feete, but seated in safety by him, at one and the same Table, in one and the same Caroch, yea, in one and the same bed.

* A most excellent Painter, liuing in the time of Parrhasius of Ephesus.

In breefe, if it were in me to shew you his valour & *Non-pareill* courage; I shold thẽ here instantly set before ye 50 ranged battailes, with their Squadrons of armed horse, and Regiments of foote, their Pikes aptly placed, the flame and smoak smouldring from Canons, the noyse of Drums, the sound of Trumpets, and at the maine of euery battailion, this king encouraging his followers to the fight; and then himselfe to giue the onset, & (like a true *Mars*) beating downe his enemies about him. Then would you say, that you saw a God armed, the terror of the world, the honour of valiancy; euen where *Cæsars* and *Alexanders* might well crowd in, there to learn warlike lessons of him. But oh insignall disaster! he being dead: *Quomodo ceciderunt potentes? Proiectus est Clypeus fortium? How are the mighty ouerthrowne? And the Shield of the very strongest cast downe?*

Filiæ Israelis super Saulem flete, quia vestiebat vos coccino in delicijs. Daughters of Israel, weepe for Saul, which cloathed you in skarlet with pleasures. Ladies, Daughters, and Wiues of *Paris*, weepe for your king, he that cloathed you in Scarlet with pleasures, that gaue you these Imbroyderings, Laces, and Bracelets of Gold. Indeed Ladyes, peace purchased by the prowesse & sweat of this great king, gaue you all these things in great abundance, filled your houses with the beauties of the

2 Reg. 1, 24.

[z] Sonne to Neleus and Chloris, and being well neere 300 yeares olde, went with the Greekes to Troy.

King Henry the 4. might well be a mirrour to all the warriours in the world.

Peace is the nursing mother of plenty & abundance.

East, and precious rarities brought from the eyther of the Poles. Rich and poore might eate their bread (feareleſſe) with their families, might conſolate themſelues with God, and offer the ſacrifice of their hearts (at eaſe) in his Church. Weepe then, weepe then rich and poore, great & ſmall, the inhumane death of this common Father, vnder whom you receyued ſuch infinity of pleaſures.

2 Reg. 1.23. *Saul & Ionathas amabiles; Aquilis leuiores fuerunt Leonibus fortiores. Saul and Ionathan were louely; they were ſwifter then Eagles, and ſtronger then Lyons.* Swiftneſſe onely in any one ſubiect is vnprofitable, and ſtrength without ſwiftneſſe is as great a maime, as lazineſſe or neglect. Both theſe were ioyned together in our Prince. What legerity was that, when in leſſe then two Moneths, like to a flaſh of lightening, hee made himſelfe ſeene through the Prouinces of *Picardy*, *Normandy*, *Champaine*, *le Perche*, *Aniou*, and *Maine?* Trayling after him a weighty Army, great ſtore of weapons, Canons, Chariots, and great aboundance of other Artillery. O good God! in how ſhort a time did hee winne more thē 160 Leagues of ground, and ſubiected vnto him (euen in paſſing along) fifteene or ſixteene ſtrong Towns. In diuers other places, what power and magnanimity did appeare in him, euen in his very greateſt difficulties, withdrawing the lighted fires from all the parts of his kingdome. There did he ſhew himſelfe like to another *Hercules*, being foulded in the skin of his conſtancy and high valour, his moſt tedious trauailes (which ſeemed to him but as Dwarffes and Pigmeis) hee ſtrangled and cruſht them all, euen as if they had beene ſo many Mice or Muſhrumes, that haue no vertue or reſiſtance whatſoeuer. Wherfore O France, we may well ſay of thee, as it was ſometime ſpoken of the people of Iſrael. *Nunc Rex graditur ante vos, & pugnabit bella veſtra. Thou haſt now a King that walketh before thee.* He ſpared not himſelfe in marching before thee, and this was the man, ordained to terminate the fights and battailes.

Ariſt. in Politic. lib. 4. cap. 9.

The notable diligence and ſwiftneſſe of the King, and in a very ſhort time.

King Henry a ſecond Hercules.

1 Reg. 12,2.

Oh, how many meruailes do I behold, meeting in him all together. Let vs take him in his originall. Albeit he deſcended frō the loynes of the moſt happy S. *Lewes*, by a long extended Genealogy, wherein there is not any but Kings: yet had he nothing (in his kinde) more abiect and contemptible, then to be ſhut vp in the Pyrenean Dens or Grottes, badly followed by his owne, threatned and purſued by externe accidents, throwne out of his Cradle, and the armes of his Nurſſe, into the Fordge of *Mars*; wrapt vp in partiality of opinions, which held a high ſayle in his time, and yet doth the like in many places of this Realme. They that fed his hopes, to preuaile thereby, deceiued him: others that thought (by ſuch inſtruments) to ouerthrow him, did the higher exalt him. And perforce muſt I (in this caſe) without looking on the pointes of his conſcience, commend his morall vertues.

King Henry deſcended frō the holy S. Lewes.

Some troubles attēding the courſe of his life.

Achilles, the ſonne of *Aeacus*, who was to conclude the *Troyans* greatneſſe, & to ouerthrow their * *Illium* from the top to the bottome, was long time hid vnder the garment of a woman, among the daughters of *Lycomedes*. And our great *Henry* (who was to be a terror to *Spain*) the prop and ſupport of our French Commonweale, was (in his yonger yeares) euen as hidden vnder the habite of a poore & diſinherited Prince, in the ſolitude of the Bearniſh Lands and Mountaines. But yet notwithſtanding, God had (euen then) deſtined him to be a ſubiect of his wonders, yea, to the cheefeſt dignities, & very greateſt powers of this Land. God I ſay, the great God of hoſts, *Per quē Reges regnant*, & hath his hands ful of crowns, & beſtoweth them where himſelfe beſt pleaſeth.

* Troy was called Illium of Ilus, who enlarged it greatly.

Reade what *Iob* ſpeaks of the Oſtrich, & there ſhall you ſee this Prince naturally, euen accordingas deſcription is ther made of her. That Bird (being depriued of wiſedome & loue) without couering her egs, leaues them in the duſt, and ſo loſeth all remembrance of them. The world would be quite bereft of Oſtriches, if God did not play the part of a mother, and by the beames of his bright ſhining Sun, make the duſt warme about the egges, and ſo cauſe the yong to be hatched, to maruaylous fayre and goodly forme. In like manner, our great *Henry*, was not he forſaken? Left in the duſt of diſfauour, and neglected all the time of his childhood? God had a care of him, notwithſtāding, as purpoſing to make him an *Atlas*, for the ſupport of his Church, and defence of this State. So that by beholding him ſo much abaſed in his beginning, and afterward ſo highly

Iob 39,16,17, 18,19.

Plin. in l. 13 c. 7

What God will haue to be preſerued, in deſpight of all extremities, ſhall not periſh.

highly exalted: we haue great reason to say with the same *Iob*, *Lampas contempta ad tempus statutum. A Lambe, whereof no account at all was made; yet ordained for honour, and to be honoured at the time appointed.* God would bring him by the paths of aduersity, to the highest place of prosperity, and made his trauailes seeme as Mallets, to harden him for such paynes as hee was to endure, for the re-establishment of peace and vnity, in all the diuided Prouinces of France.

Iob 12 5. Tribulatio dat intellectum.

In euery estate, afflictions do make the greatest persons, where contrariwise, in the midst of highest prosperites (as standing vpon an ouer-slippery place) oftentimes they soonest lose themselues. We may deduct an example heereof, from a Glasse, vpon whose Christall, Flies can get no footing (saith *Plutarch*) & yet stand firmely on the borderings about it, because they are more rough and apprehensiue.

Plutar. in Moral.

Lucan. *Labuntur nitidis, scabrisque tenactus hærent.*
Smoothe paths are slippery, rougher wayes haue hold.

And from the same ground, it seemeth that *Homer* fetcht his *Moly*, the rootes whereof were blacke, but it bare fruite of most fine gold. So the life of this French *Atlas*, did shew it selfe (euery where) to be very blacke in the bud, and wholly obscured with aduersity: but the rest thereof (euen to his vntimely ending) carryed three Flourets of true gold, in an Azure field of heauenly beauty. Afflictions in him, serued as an apt subiect to * *Polycletus* and *Miron*, whereby to mould, carue & forme the true shape of Vertue; which was the very fayrest and most goodly Statue, that euer could (by Arte) be imagined.

Homer in Iliad. Lib. 7.

* Two famous Caruers of Images.

Let vs instantly conceite that happy houre, when wee beheld heauens prouidence to call him from *Bearne*, and the Banicks of * *Garona* and (with goodly Ensignes) to shew him the *Loire*. He being (not long before) sharply pursued, was then sought for in the Grottes, many royall Armies (euen then) trusting to his arme: but sent for (soone after) by the K. his brother, *Henry* the third, whom hee would not forsake at a time of need. Then was it, when France couered ouer with rebellions and Armies against her selfe, was constrained (more then euer before) to approue the spirit, wisedome, and hand of him, who quickly became her *Halcyon*, to appease and calme those furious tempests.

* A Riuer called in Latine Garumna in France, parting Celtica from Aquitania.

Troubles before the death of king Henry the third, who was murdred by a Iacobine Fryer.

The blowes began at *Tours* and at *Blois*, but within few daies the fiery furie of those Souldiers proceeded through *Beausse*, euen to the engirting of *Paris*: where the execrable and bloody parricide committed on the person of the king, opened him the doore to the whole State. The Princes and French Nobility, both proclaimed and acknowledged him to be their king. Meane while, the troubles encreasing, and the Armies rent (as it were) in many peeces, beheld him (neere hand) as soone shut vp in *Dieppe*. But like the Steele that strikes on the Flint, to extort thence the liuely sparkes of fire: euen so, the neerer a warriour is pursued, the more splendour is added to his glory.

There liueth a certaine monster in the Sea, vulgarly called the Scia or Sawe of the Sea, in regard of a horne he hath, seruing him in stead of a snoute, carrying no meane resemblance with a Sawe. This creature, meeting with a Ship vnder full sayle, by diuers times of attempting, doth grow angry thereat, and seemeth to make open warre against it. He passeth and repasseth many times vnderneath it, imploying his horne (with his vttermost strength) to sawe, as he thinks, and cut in twaine the keele of the Ship. But in vaine doth he torment himselfe, for so long hee vseth the teeth or razors of his snout, till beating himselfe out of breath in the conflict: at length hee floates on the water with his belly vpward, remaining at the mercy and laughter of the Pilote.

Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 17.

A very singular comparison, with as apt an alluision.

And what great act (I pray ye) did so many Armies, as quite couered the plaines of *France*? They imployed all their endeuour and weapons in vaine, hoping to sawe in sunder and diuide this State. After all their malicious wrastling with this Soueraigne holy Ship, did they not become ennerued and broken in pieces, by the power of this great King her Pilote? Wherefore wee may well say, as *Velleius Paterculus* said of *Cato*. *Virtuti quam simillimus, & per omnia ingenio Dijs quam hominibus propior; qui non recte fecit vt facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat.*

Malice hath no greater enemy to contend against then it selfe.

Plut. in vit. Marcato.

It is not for any ambition, or desire of glory

The honorable words of a Kingly Soldiour.

that I fight (would he oftentimes say) *but to maintayne the liberty of my Subiects, and preserue my Crowne*. And euen so did God fauour his designes, and laide at his feete (myraculously) an infinite number of Trophees. Heere *Arques* made her most signale surrender. There *Yurie* published his high fortune. *Dijon*, *Fontaine-Francoise*, *S. Helena*, and the *Molets* engirt his browes with a thousand Laurels. And for the higher pitch of his honours, the vanquished themselues did (euen then) reioyce at his prosperity and victories. He fought not in one place only at a time but like to a second * *Briarius*, with an hũdred hands, and by his Lieutenants, hee smote as many places together. So that posterity reading his heroycall actions, not onely will make doubt to beleeue thẽ all, but rather grossely receiue, or repute them for fables.

A mighty Giant, the Son to Titan, called of the Gods Briarius

I will leaue them to our Histories, & to tell ye, that his clemency appearing aboue his other vertues, did make him vniuersally both beloued and admired. O good God! how ready was he alwayes in helpe and subuention to the oppressed? How diligent, in finding out for our diseases, both soueraigne, peculiar, & conuenable remedies? When I cast mine eyes on the gastly Theater of our France, me-thinkes I doe there behold that terrible fight betweene *Brutus* and the * *Xanthians*, the very cheefest Inhabitants of *Lycia*, when they (being besiedged, the fire getting mischeeuously into the crannies of their walles, threatning their neighbors houses, and the whole Citty together with a generall deuastation) in a desperate rage and fury, threw on fresh Faggots, made of dryed Reedes, the more to nourish and augment the flame, whereas *Brutus* (being their enemy) employed the vttermost endeuour, both of himselfe & all his Soldiors, to slake and qvench it. He sate on horse-backe, full of compassion, essaying by all possible meanes, to take some good order; and turning him round about, hee held out his hands to the vnhappy Inhabitants, desiring them to spare their owne Citty, and to saue themselues.

The especiall care of a worthy Prince.

* A people of Scythia aboue the Lake of Mæotis.

A hard extremity, when people are pittied by their enemy.

How many of our blinded French (desperately madded in our last wars) did the very like? What intended those Armes, and hostile preparations in the greater number, but onely the ruine of themselues, and the whole State together? And what was laboured (on the contrary part) by this great King our *Brutus*? Nothing else, but to preserue his people, and stifle the fires, furiously flaming in the foure corners of his kingdome; yea, to keepe his people from destroying themselues. This was euer (doubtlesse) the full butt and aime of all his warres, during which time, and euen in the very fiercest broyles, hee was heard to cry aloud in the thickest throngs: *O Frenchmen, Frenchmen, saue your selues*. And the blood of them, although they were in Armes against him, hee did value at a dearer rate then his owne. An acte truely generous, and which (afterwards) made him so much admired, that they who refused to accept him as their Lord; threw themselues at his feete, and (in endeared loue) called him their gracious Tutor and Father.

A great honour in a king to preserue his people frõ spoyling thẽselues.

Let *Paris* (onely) stand as a witnesse of my words, which was seene (almost) without Subburbs, without Pallace, without Vniuersity, or any other Ornament whatsoeuer. The Field of the slothfull man, and the Vineyard of the mis-vnderstanding foole, described by *Salomon* in his Prouerbs; *Which were all ouergrowne with Thornes and Nettles, and their Hedges broken downe*, might be compared with it. Our buildings beautified with Porphiry and Marble; his Royall goodly places; his *Louures*; his *Tuilleries*; his new Bridges; his *Arsenall*; the streetes newly redefied, and adorned with so many new deuices of Silke and Tapistry; the new foundations of publike Readings: these are as so many Trumpets, to publish the loue and vigilancy of this King. Very true is it then, that his life, so obscured and trauersed in the beginning, did well resemble a fire, which in the making, and before it attaineth to any light, doth cast foorth very grosse and thicke smokes: but being fully kindled, it yeeldeth a bright flame, & giueth no meane delight to the beholder. We haue seene his originall to be dimly obscured and darkened with the clouds of enuy. Afterward wee beheld him, not like *Iobes* despised Lampe, but shining as the Sunne in brightest splendour.

The wofull condition of Paris, during the warres.

Prouer. 24. 29. 30.

Vertue long obserued at length deliuereth the brighter splẽdour.

An industrious and skilfull Architeck, labouring his minde with the designe of an intended stately building, walking among

mong the ſtones in a Quarry, if hee perceiue any one to be of groſſe Marble, half earthy, miſhapen, and that hath not (as yet) felt the Hammer and Chizell, he doeth appoint that ſtone to ſome important place in his edifice. Euen ſo God, proiecting (long time) the building of his Church, did not forget this Prince: but at the time appointed by his eternall preſcience, he tooke him out of the Quarrie of darkneſſe, to make him ſhine as bright day, and ſerue as the Maſter-pillar to the whole frame. Behold him then (O myracle) in midſt of ſo many victories and fauours from heauen, proſtrated at the feete of the Church, and no other cryes were among the people, but *God ſaue the King*.

The Stone neglected and refuſed by the builders, became the head-corner ſtone.

Deare people, from the beginning of my Oration, I haue feared to fall ſhort, & my feare is very iuſt, handling ſo highe a ſubiect, and ſo full of meruailes. Yet notwithſtanding, that great goodnes of his furniſhed me with courage, and hath hitherto vpheld me, in the plentifull field of his flowing vertues. Wherein I felte ſo great a conſolation, and ſuch a boundles liberty of ſpirit, that my tongue (without impeachment) hath (in ſome weake manner) expreſſed thoſe things which I conceyued of his praiſes. But now I feele my ſenſes arreſted by an accident, alas, as nouell, as it ſtrange and lamentable.

The Poets make mention of certayne trees, that ſometime did grow about the Tombe of *Proteſilaus*, and they hauing attained to ſuch hight, that (with their tops) they could couer the ruine of olde *Troy*; withered in an inſtant, and loſt all theyr leaues. Euen ſo my diſcourſe could entertaine it ſelfe vnto this point; but when I ſee this great Prince (alas) ſetting from his *Louure* in his Caroach, a ſmal traine, indeed, without traine; my whole heart is frozen, my diſcourſe withereth, and there remaineth no verdure in my words. A miſcheeuous aſſaſſinate, let looſe from *Acheron*, created of the filthy driuell falling from the foule chappes of *Cerberus*, (to bury our whole France) followes haſtily after him. I ſee the Caroch ſtayed; O *Paris!* hapleſſe City of *Paris! in excelſis tuis*, in one of thy cheefeſt foure cornered ſtreets, I ſee the murtherer likewiſe ſtay there with it.

A Thracian captain, ſonto Iphiclus, who firſt of all the Greekes went on Land at Troy, albeit he had heard that he ſhould ſurely die that did ſo. He was ſlaine by Hector.

O God! what iſſue depends vpon his boldneſſe? Gracious Heauen, thou didſt preſerue this great King (before) ſo many times; as againſt *Barriere* at *Melune*, againſt *Chaſtel* in his *Louure*, and againſt an infinite number more of moſt pernitious coniurations. Thy goodneſſe (O Lord) ſhall it ſleepe at this blow? Behold (deare people) it was our ſins that weighed downe the ballance of eternall Iuſtice, for one chaſtiſement. *Auferetur ab impijs lux ſua, & brachium excelſum confrigetur. The light that ſhined vpon thoſe Nations, rebellious againſt my Edicts, ſhall be take̅ from them, and the ſtrong Arme that defended them, ſhall be broken.* Yea, and ſo farre it proceedeth, that our great God ſeemeth weary of further aduancing the Name of the glorious French.

Great Henrie eſcaped diuers great dangers before.

Ieremy 19, 7.

O Fury! O barbarous wretch! inſtructed in the ſchoole of Sathan, and enchanted with a diuelliſh Doctrine, that (vnder the ſubborned name of a tyrant) woulde approoue and maintaine the Maſſacre of Kinges. O Deuill, and no man, thy parricide hand is not hindered, but dares boldly imploy the vſe of that helliſh liberty, in a moſt deteſtable ſacriledge, againſt God, againſt his Annointed, and againſt thy naturall Prince. O Sunne, thou bright daybringer, that heeretofore veiled thy golden Treſſes, and didſt with-hold thy heauenly lookes, from the infamous houſe of the *Pelopides*, and the enraged abiding of *Buphales* that vnworthy Romane Citizen, becauſe thou wouldſt behold no Butcheries and maſſacres: how couldeſt thou keep thy Chariot in his ordinary way, but with one touch of thy hand turned it ſom way elſe, that this day might haue bin couered with darkneſſe?

The doctrine of Marianus the Ieſuite, inſtructing to kill Kings, by his authoritie and warrant.

Among inſect or iniuried Creatures, Bees (ſayth *Pliny*) do ſo much honor their head and King, as they will not liue after the loſſe of him. And among other Animals, haue wee not (almoſt) an infinite number, that haue conſecrated their liues for the defence of their Maſters? *Quintus Curtius*, as one of the faireſt ornaments of his Hiſtory, brings in the Elephant of K. *Porus*, which Elephant ſeeing his Maſter on the ground, in the bloody battel giuen him by *Alexander*: with his trunke drewe him ſoftly out of the crowde (as fearing to hurte him) notwithſtanding all the points and ſtaues of Lances, being thruſt into his breſt and ſides.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 14.

Quint. Curtius, in lib. 4. cap. 9.

The

The *Scythians* alſo do eternize the memory of a Horſe, who ſeeing his Maſter ſlaine, became the reuenger of his murder, neuer ceaſſing, till (with his heeles) he had inſtantly beaten out the braines of the murderer. The Dog of *Heſiodus* is alſo remembred, becauſe he attainted the children of *Ganiſtus*, for the murder committed on the perſon of his Maſter.

Heſiod. in lib. 2. cap. 7.

But that which our owne Fathers haue ſeene, is much more memorable, of a worthy Dog, belonging to a Groome of the Chamber, attending on King *Frances* the firſt. Which Dog, not ſatisfied with the apprehenſion of him that had ſlaine his Maſter, in the Forreſt of *Fonteine-belleau*; but beeing preſent (by command of the Prince) he rent him in peeces, before the face of the whole Court, that then were gathered together, to behold this ſpectacle. O moſt ſtrange caſe, that brute beaſts ſhall loue, reſpect, and reuerence theyr Kings and Maſters, and creatures reaſonable (yet without all reaſon) contrary to Nature, or any inſtinct of her, ſhall ſoyle their fellonious hands, in the ſacred & venerable blood of their Prince.

Phil. Commin. in lib. 3 cap. 8.

Some men are more inhumane then brutiſh creatures.

Tertullian, ſpeaking of Kings; *Secundi ſunt poſt Deum* (ſaith he) *inter quos & Deum optimum maximum nullum eſt medium. They are next after God, betweene whom and the greateſt God, there is no meane.* *Homer*, by a name more proper, doth call them, *The children of the great God*; as they that do very neere participate in the beames of his diuinity. The Greekes were wont to call them, *Bazilées* of *Bázis*, which ſignifieth a Foundation. As in the holy Scripture, one of them is called *Femur*, the *Thigh*, he being as the Thigh, baſe and foundation, whereupon the repoſe of the State and people is ſupported. But to what end are all theſe Epithites, both ſublime and diuine, in compariſon of *The moſt Chriſtian King*, the eldeſt Sonne of the Church, which Titles our kings attained vnto by infinite merits, euen from the Cradle of Chriſtian Religion.

Tertul. in Dial. Ad Reg.

Homer. in Illiad. lib. 4.

Attributes and titles giuen to kings.

If Emperours haue done any good to the Apoſtolicall See, what deuotion can compare with that of our Kings? *Clouis*, the firſt Crown-bearer among ſo many kings, offered a Diadem of ineſtimable value, called *Regnam*, vpon the Altar of S. *Peter*: the which Diadem, according as ſome of our Hiſtorians haue written, ſer-

The offering of king Clouis on the Altar of S. Peter

ued for the *Tiaras* to the holy Fathers preſiding in the Church. What ſhall I ſay of *Charles Martell*, who receiued from *Gregory* the third, the keyes of the Sepulcher, and the Chaines wherewith S. *Peter* was bound? was not this done, as acknoledging him the Churches Protector, and yeelding him an honourable ſummination, for defending that holy Toombe, and excellent prerogatiues therto belonging, againſt the fury and inuaſions of the *Lombardes*? Againſt whom, this Prince began to arme himſelfe, when at the very firſt report of his preparation, the *Lombard* yeelded, and ſubmitted himſelfe to the holy See.

Charles Martell the Churches Protector.

I cannot let ſleepe in ſilence, the piety of king *Pepin*, who went twice ouer the Alpes, to check the inſolences of the ſaid *Lombardes*, againſt *Stephen*, then ſitting in the ſacred ſeate. There remaineth (yet to this day) an ancient inſcription, engrauen vpon one of the Towers of *Rauenna*; *Pipinus-plus primus amplificandæ Eccleſiæ viam aperuit, &c.* Deliuering teſtimony to all Chriſtendome, of that Princes gift and liberality to the Church. *Charlemaigne*, *Philip Auguſtus*, *S. Lewes*, many Kings among them, & many others ſince then, euen vnto our time, haue no way degenerated from this affection, in piety & ſuccour anſwerable to the former Kings, and their enterprizes were moſt commẽdable & perillous, to maintaine the truth, and to confound the *Sarrazins*, *Mahumatiſts*, and other ſects of Infidels. VVhereof matter ſufficient is giuen to our Hiſtorians, to make their volumes the more cõpleate, and to *Innocentius* the third, a worthy ſubiect of writing, in an Epiſtle which he directed *Archiepiſcis & Epiſcopis per Galliam conſtitutis*, *Exaltatio regni Francorum eſt ſedis Apoſtolicæ ſublimatio.* And if that execrable and diuelliſh murderer, had not impeached the courſe of the great deſignes, and holy intentions of this King (O France, for whom thou now ſo iuſtly lamenteſt) he had ſhaken the Scepter of the Turke, and we might well haue hoped, to haue ſeene our faire Lillies gliſter in the Church of the Eaſterne Empire, & once more to haue made the true God worſhipped in *Paleſtine*.

The ancient inſcription at Rauenna.

The famous enterprizes of many French kings in defence of the truth.

Then, O vnhappy Realme of France, redouble thy ſorrowes, and reuiue the ſourſe of thy teares, as often as thou ſhalt remem-

remember the death of this Prince. A Prince? yea, thy Shield, and the Shield of the mighty, proditoriously ouerthrowne in the Capitall of his Prouinces. Oh that I could (in this case) according to the māner of a Pegasus, strike with one foote into a fountaine of eloquence, or that the Muses and the Graces meeting together, would giue new motion, or rather new life to my languishing Oration, that I might reach to the point first proposed to my selfe, which was, either to lay open before you the praises of my King, or to let you see his life and heroycall vertues, and how much we are al interessed in his losse. These two attempts were very great, and if I feele my selfe to shrinke vnder the weight of the first, I must needs fall flat thē with the charge of the second. *Because the wretchednesse of a priuation can neuer be really vnderstood, but by knowing the excellency of the thing whereof we are depriued*; so said (long agoe) a learned Philosopher.

The worth of a Iewell is neuer truely valued till it is lost.

For as a Player of Comedies, may easily bring foorth vpon his Stage, a man of goodly shew, in shape of *Hercules*, couered with a Lyons skinne, and bearing a long great Club on his shoulder, but yet made light and hollow within, and al this dreadfull appearance, comes nothing neere the vertues and incomparable strength of the true *Alcides*: Euen so an Oratour may easily produce some grosse description of great *Henry*, that most inuincible Prince, giuing him golden Armour, mounted on a gallant Courser, attended with Drums and Trumpets, in middest of a confusion of armed men, a thorny wood of Pikes and Lances about him; and as the last ornament of renown, writing with an Eagles quill (yet lagging weary with circkling the world) to make knowne to the two Poles, the admirable battailes wonne by this Monarch, and āll this nothing indeed to great *Henry* the 4. This were no other then a meere phantasma, because his inwarde man, with his principall vertues, remained still hidden the viuacities of his spirit, the heates of his generous courage, and that true countenance of Maiesty, which carried on his brow the loue of his subiects, and terrour of his enemies: these are things that strike dumbe all tongues, and are not any way to be declared. The interest and the damage then, which the whole world endureth by his death, can neuer be sufficiently declared. Euery man by himselfe (from the least to the greatest) may frame out his owne discourse, and finde himselfe immeasurably offended: yet all this is nothing else, but as if each man should point with his finger at his owne heart, and no iudgment to be made, whose paine is the most greeuous?

Resemblances differ frō the true substances.

The inward vertues of a man are his true glory.

Syfaganbis, the Mother of *Darius*, her Neeces and other Persian Ladies wept more extremely for the death of *Alexander* (saith the History) then did the *Greeks* and other *Macedonians*. For he was the common bond of peace, and hee being broken, they found themselues (among all them which he had left) the very weakest, furthest off from succour, and most subiect to the iniuries of warre. Without all question, our sorrow hath bin common through the whole State, for this vnhappy accident, falne vpon the common and publike head. Our Princes pierced throgh with greefe, haue (to the whole world) sufficiently witnessed their affections. But great men stand safest on the boord, the lesser serue as poore Pawnes, & they haue the greatest cause to complaine. That great chaine or bond of peace, which vnited together so many kindes of spirits, is broken in the midst; yet peace and vnity (God be thanked for it) doth still remaine among vs.

Plutarc. in vit. Alexander.

Common afflictions doe not so neerely touch great men, as they do the meaner sort.

As an Arrow shot from a good strong arme, flyeth farre through the ayre, not in regard of his owne proper or naturall wings, but by the Archers vertue who (in the loose) gaue it the vigor of aduantage; euen so our peace as yet continueth by that strength and vertue, which the high vnderstanding and credite of our deceassed king gaue vnto her. If we war against abuses, if vices may be cut off, and vertues replanted; wherefore should not this strong bond be new knit againe? But if they encrease, as they do, look then (deare people) for your danger to be neere. The mighty can daily maintaine themselues; but the weake and feeble, they altogether vndergoe the worst, especially when disorders continue.

In this case, the body of a Commonwealth, and that of a beast do carry some resemblance. For as the members (which are sound) doe not finde themselues so subiect to rheumes or defluctions, but so soone

Comparison of a Common wealth to the body of a Beast

ſoone as they preſent themſelues, do ſend them to the diſeaſed parts: Euen ſo, in a body politike, thoſe great ouerflowinges that engender diſcords, do not ſo neerely touch the ſtrongeſt in the State. Noblemen, as being more robuſt & powerfull, know how to hurle ſuch annoyances behinde them, and then their weight fals vpon the vulgar, who are compoſed of ſlendereſt reſiſtance. Who ſeeth not then that the principall intereſt is ours? It is vpon vs that this blow is falne. That fatall knife hath ript open our breſts, and hath ſluced forth our bloode, euen ſo farre as the very furtheſt Nations; who wholy affrighted at ſo damnable an attentate, haue teſtified, that this diſaſter was in common to them, communicating likewiſe in our ſighes and teares.

The murther of a king is no mean motiue of griefe to al neighbouring Nations.

But now wee ſacrifice ouer much vnto griefe. O *France!* thou muſt giue a breathing time to thy ſorrowes; thy great *Henry* yet liueth, God hath not left him after ſo many victories; he hath rather ſnatcht him from beneath the armes of a temporal peace, to lodge him in his euerlaſting reſt, & made him change the Scutcheon of his Lillies for an eternal Diademe, the floures whereof are without number and value, and the glory void of any date or limitation. This life hath nothing in propriety; what any man holds here, it is but as a depoſt or pawne, it is but for a ſhort vſance, and a preſent of ſlender continuance. *Spuma gracilis, quæ aprocella diſpergitur*, ſaith the wiſe man: *Fumus qui à vento diffuſus eſt.* It is a highway common to kings & ſubiects alike; to the haughty, and to the humble. *Omne capax mouet vrna nomen.* Death (notwithſtanding he is familiar to vs) yet in his paſſage along, if he hit his foot againſt a ſhepheards cottage only, or if a poore labouring man meet with his ſickle, theſe are blowes that mooue no terror. But contrariwiſe, when he ſmites the greateſt into the bottom of a tomb, when he ſhiuers Crownes in peeces, and breaks royal Scepters with a touch of his Biere, this is that which moueth aſtoniſhment in men; this is that wherin they ſee themſelues, euen as in the cleereſt Chryſtall, beſt repreſenting to the life, the defects of their fraile and wretched nature.

No man in this life hath any certaintie of his abiding

Eccleſ. 19, 12.

They that haue contemned God al their life time, may take example by *Entelidas*, loſt in the loue of his owne peculiar excellencies: who afterward becomming a knight of *Athens*, tooke a Graſhopper in the fields of *Egrettum*, wherby he learned and came to acknowledgment of his lifes ſhortnes. Wherupon, he builded a houſe of piety, in contempt of himſelfe; wherein bequeathing all his hopes to God only, hee founded life and ſaluation for his ſoule. For, as a goodly Roſe in rainy weather (being prickt with a pinne) will ſend forth a maruellous pleaſing ſauour: euen ſo, al the degrees of a great State, beeing prickt in the death of their K. by the intolerable piercing thornes of bemoning, do then ſend vp to heauen the moſt ſweete Odors of infinite prayers, whereby they procure Diuine bleſſinges to deſcend downe vppon their heads.

All degrees in a State are wounded by the death of their King.

This is alſo the benefite, which (among our teares and laments) we ought to ſeeke for in our loſſe, becauſe euen therin God himſelf hath giuen vs matter, whereby to comfort our ſelues. Set before your conceits, that great deluge of waters, which (in the time of *Noah*) drowned the whole world. Neuer did heauen before, or ſince, deliuer ſo great a ſign of anger againſt the ſins of men. And yet notwithſtanding, among all the billows and floating of dead bodies aloft on the waters: the height or top of an oliue tree did ſhew it ſelf, whereof the Doue brought a preſentation to the good old man, as a ſymbol of grace, carrying an aſſured teſtimony, that the ouerflow ſhould ſoone ceaſe, & the Ark be deliuered from all perils whatſoeuer.

In the midſt of moſt violēt extremities, God is then readieſt with his diuine helpes.

Euen ſo, in the frightfull deluge of tears, which appeared to ſwallow vs al vp in the waues, wee haue a ſacred Oliffe plant, a branch of that royall tree, euery way anſwerable to that holy Doue, verily raiſed to this purpoſe by the holy ghoſt, to bring this aged French State a thirteenth *Lewes*, the liuely image of the great *Henry*, ſo lately taken from vs. *Lewes* I ſay, the true Oliue braunch ſent from heauen, to preſage our great mercy; vnder whō we are to expect the increaſing of al thoſe choiſe vertues and felicities that wee felt vnder the flouriſhing reigne of his Father.

Lewes the 13. ſon and ſucceſſor to great king Henry.

In behalfe of whom, I may wel (O France) addreſſe thoſe ſpeeches to thee, deliuered by the wiſe K. *Salomon. Beata tu terra, cum Rex tuus filius eſt Nobilium: Bleſſed art thou (O Land) when thy King is the ſonne of Nobles.* Happy art thou O France, for thy

Eccleſ. 10, 17.

A worthy example for all Atheiſtes to take warning by.

King

King is the ſon of Nobles. For the Father of thy king, deſcending frō ſo many kings, was no leſſe adorned with Vertues, then Crownes: And his Mother on the other ſide) beeing iſſued from ſo many great Dukes of *Tuſcany*, the very beautifulleſt ſeate of all *Italy*, from the illuſtrous blood of that great *Coſimo de Medicis*, that afforded ſo many Fathers to the Church, and floures to thy Diademe, witneſſeth the hight of thy good fortune, hauing broght foorth this young, yet great Prince, who truly *Filius eſt Nobilium*.

Coſimo de Medicis the Great Duke of Florence.

The Iſle of *Delphos* was ſomtime moſt wretched, and yeelded it ſelf to the greedy appetite of the waſting billowes of the ſea; till *Apollo* was borne there, who made it immoueable, and conſtantly confirmed it againſt all tempeſts. O *France!* if heeretofore thou haſt bin beaten with ſtormes and the rude windes of diſcord, agitated by the flux and refluxe of ſome vnhappie partialities, what needeſt thou nowe to feare, *Cum Rex tuus filius eſt Nobilium?* Thy totterings are already paſt, and I ſee thee (for euer) ſetled in the Bay of a moſt bleſſed peace, euen in the armes of thy King, ſo Noble in extraction both by Father and Mother. Theſe are the wiſhes which we yeelde thee, euen from all Orders and eſtates, vnited both in harts and wils, to ſubmit our ſelues in a perfect obedience: As we alſo proteſt, neuer to be ingrateful to the moſt happy memorie of that Great *Henrie*, from whom ſo manie bleſsings hath continually fallen vppon vs.

Vertue and Nobilitie are the beſt pillars to ſupport a kingdome.

In elder times, the Graces were figured holding handes together, teaching men thereby, that a benefit receiued with one hand, ought immediately to be requited with the other: But Kings are ouer-great to attend the returne of ſuch benefites, as they poure out vpon their people. And as for vs, wee are not able to acknowledge them, which haue beene receiued from our good Prince; except in ſeruing him loyally both with hearts and hands, as becommeth moſt faithfull & obedient ſubiects. If that the hand (to our great greefe) hence-forward can do nothing; yet let the heart (as being more powerfull) continue that office, in waiting, vntill it ſhal pleaſe the heauenly Maieſty, to make vs bleſſedly ſee him againe, in the Celeſtiall repoſe of his glory.

Seneca in Lib. Ben. cap. 17.

CHAP. V.

The Battell of Rauenna:
Which was fought in Italy, in Anno, 1512. *betweene* Gaſton du Foix, *Duke of Namures, Generall for Lewes the xij. King of Fraunce, on the one party: and* Raymond de Cardonna, *Viceroy of Naples, Generall for the King of Spaine, and Pope Iulio, on the other.*

THE Generall of the French Army in *Italy*, being named *Gaſton du Foix*, for *Lewes* K. of France, againſt the Pope and King of Spaine, beeing giuen to vnderſtand that the oppoſit powers for the Pope and Spaniard, were marching onward (according to a former paſſed promiſe) for giuing aſsiſtance vnto *Marco Antonio* of *Cardonna*, who was beſiedged by him in the Cittie of *Rauenna*; miſdoubting ſome ſodaine irruption in his politike enemy, brake vp the ſiedge, making a retreate for the ſpace of ſome three miles from *Rauenna*, as it were to meete with the leagued army. That night they made a bridge ouer the riuer of *Roueo*, and leuelled the higheſt banks equall with the Riuer, for the eaſier paſſage of the Souldiers in all places. Afterward the 11. day of Aprill, beeing then Eaſter day, the Germane foote ſouldiers made their paſſage ouer this made Bridge of the Riuer: but the ſouldiers appointed for the vaw-ward and middle battell, they went thorow the Foord. As for the rere-ward, being led by *Don Iuo de Alegres*, and conſiſting of foure hundred bolde reſolued men, they remained ſtill on the riuer bank towardes *Rauenna*, for better aſſiſting the maine army when neede required, and curbing the Garriſon of *Rauenna*, if they ſhould preſume to ſally foorth. But for keeping a Bridge (formerly made vppon *Montano*) hee left a valiant Gentleman, named *Paris Scot*, with a thouſand foote vnder his charge.

The Authour doth not ſet down the reaſon that vrg'd this battaile.

The paſſage of his people ouer the riuer

All things being ordered in this maner, his battailes were raunged in this order. The vant-gard, that had the great Artillery before them, conſiſting of 700. horſe, beſide

In what manner he ordred and ranged his ſeuerall battailes, in expectation of the enemie

beside Germane foote, led by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Seneschall of *Normandy*; this power was placed on the bank of the riuer, beeing then on the right hand, whereby the foot troopes flanked the left wing of the horse. Somewhat nere to the vantgard, the foot appointed for the mid battalion, being partly *Gascoignes*, and the rest of other Prouinces in France, tooke their charge, and *Don Iuo de Alegres* was their Commander. Further remote from the Riuer banke, the reregarde had theyr place, being in number fiue thousād foot and all Italians, vnder the conduct of *Frederico de Bozzolo*: and this battel was flanked by all the Archers mounted on horsbacke, and other light horsemen, amounting to three thousand.

The Councel of Pisa leuyed forces against the Pope.

These battailes were not ordered to rere one another, but in the shape of a Cressant or halfe Moon, and directly behinde them were marshalled six hundred well appointed horse; conducted by *Seigneur de la Palice*, and the Cardinall *Sanseuerino*, Legate for the Councell of *Pisa*, who bent their intentions against the Pope. He was a man of no meane constitution, full of heate and courage, armed *Cap a pie* in faire bright glittering Armor, and meeter (in deede) for the office of a Commander in field, then to supply the place of a Cardinall. As for *Gaston du Foix*, ayming onely at honour and victory, he would not betake himselfe to anie particular charge in the Campe; but selecting som thirty choise Gentlemen, such as he thought fit to share with him in his best fortune of the day; wandered at liberty, as to bee prouident in all places, and for the readier helpe, where neede should require.

Gaston du Foix, a man of especiall note from all the rest.

He was the man of best marke amongst them all, not onely in regard of his splendant Armes, but likewise for his sprightly countenance, dreadfull carriage, & resolution no way to be daunted. Hauing ranged his battalions into such due form, as nothing wanted but the signal for fight aduancing himselfe on the bay of the Riuer, where best he might haue attention, and animate his army with boldest spirit, more eloquently then Souldier-like (as some suppose, thus he spake.

The Oration of *Gaston du Foix, before the fight, to his whole* Armie.

Mr Fellow-Souldiers, the thing which you haue so long coueted & desired, to wit; to encounter the enemy in an open champaign groūd: behold how Fortune hath this day blest yee withall, as not forgetting her former Motherly care of ye, in many a famous and well-won victory. See what a gracious opportunity is heere presented to ye, such as precedent times, nor memory of man hath euer acknowledged, victory houering ouer your heades, embracing ye within the very winges of her bounty, not onely for * Rauenna *it self, fully and meerely prostrated to your power: but likewise all the Townes and Citties of* * Romania, *though but slender attributes of recompence to your high deserts, yet as an earnest of her further intended fauour vnto ye. For, finding* Italy *naked and emptie, not a man left to stand or encounter with ye: what shall hinder your marching on to* Rome *it selfe? Seeme as if (euen now) you saw your entrance into it; and consider withall, the boundlesse wealth of that gripple and greedie Court (for many ages together) haled & violently torne, euen out of the bowelles of poore abused people, and iustly ordained now, to be at your mercie as pillage and spoile. Proud Ornaments, Siluer, Gold, precious Stones, all in heapes, and numberlesse summes, beside most rich and sumptuous prisoners, you may already plead full possession of, the wide world standing amazed at your fortunes. And* Rome *thus being yours,* Naples *lies fairely before ye, inuiting ye to com thether with the same successe, and there to reuenge your manifold iniuries.*

When I consider your valour, fortune, & famous victories, woon within the compasse of so few dayes; when your manly lookes, and more then manly actions, do quicken my memory, that there is hardly one among yee, but hath made good proofe of his courage, by apparant and pregnant testimony of his great spirit: there is not any obiection whatsoeuer, to forestall the assured felicitie of victorie. What are our enemies, but the verie same Spaniards, *that (meerely vpon our coming) fled*

*An ancient City by the Adriatick sea

*A very spacious & fruitfull countrey.

fled by night out of Bologna? *Nay more, they are the same white-liuer'd men, that (not many daies since) escaped our swordes by base running away, sculking within the wals of* Imola *and* Fauentza, *or the neighbouring mountains. They are a nation that neuer durst fight with our armies in the Neapolitan kingdom, in any place of indifferencie or easie accesse, but euermore vpon aduantage, beeing supplied with munitions, riuers, and ditches, as relying more on close hid ambushes & treacheries, then on any iot of manhood or valor.*

And yet let mee further tell yc concerning these Spaniards, that they are not those tried and ancient wel-skild seruitors in the Neapolitane wars, but meere fresh-water souldiers, vtterly without skill or experience, neuer fighting against other weapons of resistance, but Bowes, Arrowes, & the blunted Launces of the Moores. And yet notwithstanding, by that timorous people, weake in body, worse in spirit, wanting knowledge in armes and military actions, they were (with great shame) ouerthrowne the last year, in the Isle of Gerba. And there this very man, Don Pedro de Nauarro, *one of so great note & name amog them, that by taking himselfe to his heeles, hee deliuered a notorious testimony of the difference betweene the beating downe wals with shot and powder, & fighting with true fortitude & hardiment. See, how they are shut vp within a ditch, made this last night, euen in meere trembling feare, & how their foot are couered with a rampier, consisting of Carriages & hooked waggons, as meaning to try the battel with those childish instruments, & not with the Marrow, Muscles, and Arteries of men, or with the chearfull viuacity of spirit. Make no doubt (deare hearts) but our great Ordenance shal driue them out of their holes, and beate them to the open field: where they shall plainly perceiue, that the power of the French, the courage of the Germanes, and vnconquerable resolution of the Italians, doth go far beyond the cunning subtilties of the Spaniards. The greatest obscurting of our glory, is that we ouermatch them in nũber, being (very neere) twice as many as they. Neuerthe'les, seeing fortune hath bin so bountifull to vs, it were indiscretion not to make vse of so happy a benefit, which will rather be imputed to temerity and improuidence in them, then to any cowardly aduantage in vs. Nor doth courage or valour intite them on, but the authority of* Fabritio de Colonna, *in his rash promise made to* Marco Antonio; *or rather the iustice of heauen hath thus prouoked them, to the end, that the pride and vnspeakable heynous actions of* Iulio, *that false and counterfet Pope, as also the deceitfull treacheries of the King of* Arragon, *may haue condigne and worthy punishment.*

But why wast I time in so many words? Or why should this victory be so long kept from ye, by circumstantial speeches in a skilfesse Oration, vtterly needlesse for souldiers of vndanted spirit? March on then, my valiant fellowes in armes, with full assurance, that this day I shal giue the whol Empire of Italy *to my King, & the wealthy spoyle among you all. I, your Captaine and Commander, will bee present with you in euery place; and, as I euer haue done, so this day more especially wil I oppose my life vnto al perils, rather then a man of ye shall miscarry. Nay, I shall repute my self for the most fortunate Captain that euer was seeing that by this dayes victory, I shall not onely make my soldiers most glorious, but the richest of all other Armies, within the compasse of three hundred yeares.*

This Oration ended, and the aire ecchoing the noise of Drums & Trumpets, the Spaniards espying the French past the riuer, in this maner they ranged their battailes. The vantgard, consisting of 800. horse, and conducted by *Don Fabritio de Colonna*, stood placed along the banke of the riuer, wherto was added 600. foot on the right hand. Likewise along the Riuer, stood the middle battel of 600. horse, being flanked with 4000. foot, the Viceroy being the Leader therof, & with him the Marquesse of *Paluda*, as also *Iohn de Mediti*, legat to the Pope. Moreouer, along the same riuer bank stood the rereward, conducted by *Caruaial* a Spaniard; & in that battell were 4000. horse, and 4000. foot. Al the light horsmen (whose General was *Daualos*, Marques of *Pescara*, a very yong Gentleman, but of exceeding great hope guarded the right side of the foot behind, for succoring any part that fainted. The great Ordenance was placed in the front of the horse; & *Don Pedro de Mauarro* General of the Spanish foote, accompanied with 500. horse, had not any place of certainty, but had planted at the ditch in the front of the foot, 30. waggons, like to the crooked Chariots vsed in ancient time. Whereon he had placed field pieces, and very long Boures speares, for easier sustaining the furious feaze and charge of the French.

How the battalions of the Spaniards were ranged in the field.

*A Towne of Campania in Italy.

*A City in Italy cald somtime Forum Cornelij.

Nauarro was Generall of the Spanish footmen, a man of great skil in vndermining.

Both sides stand in expectation of battell.

In this order they expected the assault & charge of their enemies strong army, with in the munitiõ of the ditch, but this councel, as it profited nothing in the end; so in the very beginning it appeared to be pernitious. For it was the mind of *Fabritio de Colonna*, to inuade the enemies, so soon as they began to come ouer the Riuer; as thinking it more commodious to incounter with one only part of the enemies, thẽ to abide in the camp, defenced but with a single ditch. But when *Don Pedro de Nauarro* (whose councel the Viceroy followed as Oracles) repugned this aduice: it was decreed (though nothing prouidently) that they should be suffered to passe ouer the riuer. The French being com within 200. paces of the ditch, stayed; perceyuing that their enemies, kept themselues within their camp, not stirring any further least they should giue their enemies such aduantage, as themselues desired to haue.

Much harme done by the great Ordenance on eyther side.

For more then two houres, both the armies were thus at a stand, but no meane store of shot came from the great Ordenance all that while on either side, whereby the French foote endured great detriment. For *Nauarro* had planted his artillery in such a place, as he might at his pleasure hurt them; but the Duke of *Ferrara* made great hast, & brought his Artillery in the rere of the army, to another wing of the French, where the archers on horsback were planted, which wing, in regard that the army stood in the form of a cressent, was (welneere) on the rere of the enemies; from whence he beganne cruelly to flank their sides, especialy of the horse, for the *Spanish* foot being brought by *Nauarro*, into a low place along the rampier of the riuer, & (by his command) laid flat on the ground, could no way be iniuried by the shot. *Fabritio* called out aloud, and vrged the Viceroy by messengers often sent to begin the battel, before they were torn in pieces by the great Ordnance. But *Nauarro* being guided by peruerse ambition would not agree therto. For, in regard he had promised himselfe victory, only throw the valor of the Spanish foot, yea, & although al the rest of the army wer slain, yet he imagined, that his glory would bee the more augmented, the more ẏ harmes were heaped on the rest of the army.

The wilfull obstinacie of Don Pedro de Nauarro.

By this time, the men of armes and light horse, had endured so great a slaughter, as it could be no longer born: and as a most miserable & dreadful spectacle, here horses, there men from off those horses, fell down dead, and heads & arms being torn from the rest of the body, were seen flying aloft in the aire, whereat *Fabritio* beganne thus to exclaime. *And must we all* (quoth he) *dy here shamefully, by the wilful peruersnes of one* Marano? Must this army be vtterly lost, and not one enemy slaine by vs? Where are our so many Trophees ouer the French? Must the honor of Spaine and Italy perish, for one only Nauarro?* No sooner had he spoken these words, but without staying for the signal, or any command frõ the Viceroy, he droue his horsmen ouer the ditch whom the rest of the horse following, *Nauarro* was forced presently to giue the signal to his Regiment, & they rising with violent fury, encountred the Germanes, who were by this time come verie neere them. So the battels being met pelmel on all sides together, it was wonderful to behold; & surely this battel was the greatest that euer *Italy* had seene in many yeares: because that at *Tarro* was hardly any thing else, but a strong encounter of horse. And the battels in the kingdom of *Naples* were rather disorderings of array, or rash attempts, thẽ deseruedly to be termed battels. And at *Giaradaedda*, the smallest part of the *Venetians* power had fought: but heere two potent armies fought with harts firmly combined, either to vanquish or dy. Being enflamed, not only by perill, glory, and hope; but also mutuall hatred, which ẏ seuerall nations bare each other. In the encounter of the *German* foot with the *Spaniards* two Colonels of great fame the one named *Iacob Emser*, a German, & *Zamudo* a Spaniard, fought as if it had bin by way of challenge, before the fronts of the battailes: in which fight, the Spaniard killing his enemie, became the conqueror. The horsemen of the Confederates, were not compareable to them of France; beside that day they had bene so endamaged, and meerely torne by the great Ordenance, that they were thereby made farre inferiour. So that, after they had a while sustayned the force of their enemies, rather by stoutnes of stomacke, then strength of body, and *Alegres* sending for *Palice* with the rereward, and the thousand foote also left at *Montona*; they were charged on all sides. Beside,

*A nick-name giuen in scorn to a Spaniard.

This battel of Rauenna was termed the most terrible and dreadfull battell.

A valiant fight between the chief Colonels on either side, Iacob Emser, & Zamudo.

Fabritio

Fabritio de Colonna fighting very valiantly, had bin taken by the Duke of *Ferraraes* Soldiers. Wherefore, seeing themselues no longer able to hold out against the enemies fury, & enstructed also by the example of their Captaines, turned their backs likewise. For the Viceroy and Caruaiall, neuer tarrying the vttermost triall of valour in their Souldiers, fled; leading away with thē the rereward, almost whole and vntoucht. With them also fled *Antonio de Leua*, a man (as then) of mean condition; but afterward being exercised in all degrees of martiall seruices, became a very famous Generall.

The flight of the Viceroy and Caruaial, and Antonio de Leua.

Now all the light horsemen were ouerthrowne, and *Pescara* their Captaine, weltring in blood & wounds, was taken also, and so was the Marquesse of *Paluda*, who brought the second battail into the fight, through a field of ditches, bushes, & bryars, which much disordered the aray. Beside, the field was couered wholly (as it were) with the mangled bodies of men & horses, which proued no small hinderance to them. But yet the Spanish foote being forsaken of the horsemen, fought with incredible fiercenes. And although they had bin somwhat repulsed, at their first encoūtring with the *Germanes*, by reason of the strong ranks of Pikes: yet after they came within the reach of their Swords, many of the Spaniards (being couered with their Targets) got between the legs of the *Germanes*, wounding them in those disarmed parts with their Daggers, and so committing a very great slaughter among them, attayned (almost) to the midst of the battaile. Among whom the Gascoigne foot, hauing won the way betweene the Riuer and the Rampier, had sharply charged the Italian foote, who although they had sustained great losse, by the Ordenance playing hotly vpon them, yet they had vtterly expelled them, if *Alegres* had not giuen a fresh and violent charge on them with his horsemen, & with greater force thē good fortune. For when he saw his Son *Viuerroes* slaine in his sight, and almost at the very first encounter, he, vnwilling to suruiue, after a losse so great and greeuous; ranne in with his horse, euen among the thickest of his enemies, and fighting like a most valiant Captaine, after hee had slaine many, was slaine himselfe.

The Marquesses of Pescara and Paluda taken.

The spaniards policy in killing many of the Germans

The valiant death of Alegres and his son Viuerroes

The Italian foote, when they could no longer hold out against so great a multitude, began to shrink: but part of the Spaniards comming to their succor, they kept stil in the battaile, and the German foote, oppressed by the other part of the Spaniards, could scarsely stand vp any longer. But now, all the Spanish troopes of horse being put to flight, *Gaston du Foix*, with a great multitude of his horsemē, set freshly on the Spaniards, and they, retiring rather, then driuen out of the field, marching in good array, and in no part broken, took the way lying betweene the Riuer & the high banck, going in an equall pace, with their Front very thicke of men, and repelling the French with the strength therof, began to retire, and orderly depart out of the field. Which *Nauarro* beholding, was more desirous of death then life: & therefore not departing out of the battaile, was takē prisoner. But high-minded *du Foix*, not brooking to see the Spanish foote march thus away safely, & (Victors-like) with their whole rankes vnbroken, perceiuing also, that the victory was imperfect, vnlesse they were broken as well as the rest; in a vehement fury, he charged on their rere with a troop of horse. But he beeing immediately enclosed in among mong them, and throwne off from his horse, or (as others say) oppressed with the flundering of his owne horse, was slaine with a Pike thrust into his side. And doubtlesse, if they ought to wish for death (according as common opinion is) that haue attained to the highest degree of felicity: then assuredly, the death of this noble Gentlemen was most vnfortunate, hauing gotten so glorious & eminent a victory. He dyed a very yong man, hauing now won (among all mē) immortall fame, because within the space of 3 Moneths, (being a Generall, almost before he was a Soldier) with incredible celerity & good successe, he had gotten so many glorious victories. The Lord *Lautrech* (his Cousin german) hauing receiued twēty greeuous wounds, lay beside him, well neere dead; but being carried to *Ferrara*, was saued, by the diligent care and cure of good Chyrurgions. Thus through the death of noble *Du Foix*, the Spanish foote were suffered to march away without impeachmēt. The rest of the Army was put to flight, all the bag and baggage taken, together with their Ensigns & Ordenance: as also the

Pedro de Nauarro taken prisoner.

The death of the Generall, Gaston du Foix, & meerly through his own rashnesse

The Lord Lautrech cousin germane to Gaston du Foix.

What prisoners were taken in this battel.

Popes Legate, *Iohn de Medicis*, *Fabricio de Colonna*, *Nauarro*, the Marqueſſe of *Paluda*, *Bitonto* and *Peſcara*, and manie other Princes, the cheefe of the Nobilitie, and men of beſt name among the Spaniardes and *Neapolitans*. The number of them that were ſlaine in this battell, is altogether vncertaine, yet among the variety of many reports, moſt do affirme, that (on both ſides) there were ſlaine ten thouſand at the leaſt, whereof the third part vvere French, and the reſt made vp among their enemies. But without all controuerſie, the loſſe on the victors ſide was farre the greater, by reaſon of the death of *Du Foix*, *Alegres*, and many of the French Nobility, as alſo of *Iacob Emſer*, and other the valianteſt Captaines of the German foot, to whoſe valour and manhood this victory (bought with ſuch a deere effuſion of blood) was chiefly attributed.

The number of men that were ſlain on both ſides.

Moreouer, many Captains of the *Gaſcoignes* and *Piccards* (which Nations loſt that day all their glory amõg the French) were ſlaine with *Mounſieur Molard:* but the death of *Du Foix* ſurpaſſed all other loſſes, with whom the courage, ſtrength, life, and fiercenes of that army was vtterly extinguiſhed. The greateſt part of the vanquiſhed, that eſcaped from the battel, fled to * *Ceſena*, & from thence to further places: neither did the Viceroy ſtay any where, vntill he came to *Ancona*, whether he brought but very few of his followers. For, the Duke of *Vrbine*, not onely rayſed vp the Countrimen againſt them, but alſo ſent ſouldiers to doe the like in *Peſaro*; onely they eſcaped ſafe, that paſſed thorough the *Florentines* Dominions.

*A Towne of Picenum in Italy, beyonde Appeninus.

And although after this battell, the victor Army tooke and ſacked *Rauenna*, yet within very ſhort time after, when the couetous Treaſurer of *Normandie* (to ſaue charges) had diſmiſſed the *Italian* Soldiers; and part of the men of Armes vvere returned for *France*, and the Emperor had reuoked the Germanes: they were (by a new Army of Switzers that came in the Popes ayde, and with whom alſo ioyned the *Venetians*) quite diſpoſſeſſed of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, and all that euer the French King had beſide in *Italy*.

The couetous Treaſurer of Normandy.

CHAP. VI.

What they were whom the world tearmed by the name of the Sibillaes; *Of their Propheſies: but more principally of thoſe things which they ſpake concerning Chriſtian Religion.*

THe Hiſtory of the *Sibils*, is generally held to be very certaine, becauſe euery one (almoſt) knoweth, that they foretold and propheſied many things. Neuertheleſſe, to know when, whence and what they were, what they did, & at what times they wrote and propheſied, is moſt familiar to him that hath read ancient and authenticall bookes. It made me therefore the more willing, to make a Collection of their hiſtory, and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is a matter of no meane maruel, to contemplate the gift of Propheſy, which God gaue to thoſe women in diuers manners. But particularly to propheſie of the comming of Chriſt, of his life, of his paſſion, and other great myſteries of our holy faith: theſe we do purpoſe to ſpeake of briefly, to the end, ỳ the Ethnicke Pagan may not any way excuſe himſelf (althogh he will reade but his owne bookes onely) no more then the Iew in reading his, and will not accept nor beleeue our faith. I write this the rather, becauſe (by common conſent) thoſe bookes were receyued among all the Gentiles, and the *Sibillaes* credited, eſpecially by the Romanes, who in all theyr affayres and neceſſities had ſtil their recourſe to the *Sibilline* bookes, and tooke their beſt and moſt ſerious counſels from them.

The certainty of the Sibilles hiſtory.

The diuers gifts of Propheſie beſtowed on thoſe women.

The Sibilles bookes receiued among al the Gentiles.

All Hiſtorians, both Greeke & Latine haue written of them: our intent then ſhal beſt fit it ſelfe, without ſelecting ſo great a number, to make choiſe of the cheefeſt, the better to auoide prolixity, & ſet them down in ſome orderly maner. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Seruius*, *Martianus Capellus*, *Lactantius Firmianus*, *Elianus*, *Suidas Strabo*, *Marcus Varro*, *Virgil*, with the ſoundeſt part of al the Poets. S. *Auguſtin*, *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and the more part of all our Hiſtorians, largely writeth on them.

Authors that haue written concerning the Sibils.

Diodorus ſaith, that the word *Sibil* or *Sibilla*, implieth ſo much, as if a man ſhould ſay, *A woman Propheteſſe*, & filled or inſpired

Interpretation of the word Sibilla.

red by God. *Seruius* on the fourth of the *Æneides*; and *Lactantius* in his first Booke of *Diuine Institutions*, nameth them, *The Councell of God*. *Suidas* termeth it *Prophetesse*. These Authors doe not agree how many there were of these women, neither consent at what times; because some determine more, and others lesse. *Martianus Capellus* makes mention but of two, others remember foure, as *Ælianus* doth in his variable histories. *Marcus Varro* recordeth ten, whereof *Lactantius Firmianus* speaketh in his first booke, & him I meane to follow.

Diffent about the Sibilles number.

Lact. Firm in Diuin. Instit. lib. 1.

1. *Sibilla Persica*, called also *Samberta*.

The first was of *Persica*, named *Samberta*, of whom *Nicanor* maketh great mention, euen he that wrot the actions of great *Alexander*. Others say, that shee was of *Chaldea*, & others, that she was a Ieweesse, borne in a town seated nere to the red sea, called *Noa*. Her father was named *Berosus* and her mother *Erimantha*: she composed 24. bookes in verse, wherein she recounted wonderful things, concerning the coming of Christ, his life, and miracles. But yet they were vnder concealement, and deliuered with an artificiall obscuritie, which was not to be vnderstoode of euerie one: whereto al the other *Sibillaes* conformed themselues. So that *Lactantius Firmianus* without particularizing any one of them, describeth their particular Prophesies of Christ. Saint *Augustine* maketh a summary of some things, which this woman and the rest said of Christ, and (among other) these very wordes.

Lact. Fir. in diuin. instit. lib. 4.

The prophesie of Sibilla Persica, concerning christ

He shall be taken by the wicked handes of vnbeleeuers, and they shall giue him blows on the face with their sacrilegious hands, & spet on him with their foul polluted mouths: And he shall giue them his shoulders, suffering thē to be whipped, and he holding his peace, without speaking any word, they shall thereby not know whence his words came. He shall likewise be crowned with thorns, giuing him gall to eat, & vinegar to drink. Behold what feasting they shal make for him: so that thou blind and ignorant people, thou shalt not know thy God, conuersing among men. But shalt crown him with thornes, prouiding for him vinegar & gall. Again, the veile of the Temple shall be rent, & the plaine bright day at noone, shall be like night, obscured or darkened for the space of three houres. And when he hath bin in hel, he shal returne to life, and rise againe.

These words are so pregnant, that they are the very proper tearmes of the Euangelists writing on Christ, and the verie same that the Prophets prophesied, especially *Esay*, whereunto our holy Church giueth absolute beleefe. Beside, these Prophesies of the *Sibillaes*, are deriued frō the writings of *Lactantius*, S. *Augustine*, and *Cicero*, from *Marcus Varro*, & other Authors of the Gentiles, who dyed before the birth of Christ, as *Lactantius* aproueth. And say moreouer (of thēselues) that they said, *That he shall raise the dead; The lame & impotent shall walke and runne soundly; the deafe shall heare; the blind shall see; the dumbe shall speake plainly.* A little farther is added, *With fiue loaues & two fishes, hee shall feede fiue thousand men in the wildernesse: and that which remaineth, shal serue for satisfaction to the hope of manie.* Thus farre for the first *Sibilla*.

Her words agreeth with the Prophets and Euangelists.

Lact. Firm in diuin. Instit. lib 4. cap. 15.

2. *Sibilla Libica Euripid. in Pro. Lam.*

The second, they say, was a Natiue of *Libia*, and therefore named *Sibilla Libica*. Of her is large mention by *Euripides* in his Prologue called *Lamia*.

3. *Sibilla Delphica*, called also *Themis*. *Chrisip. in Lib. diuin.* *Plin. in l. 7. c. 9.*

The third named her selfe *Themis*, and was sirnamed *Delphica*, in regard that she was borne at *Delphos*. Of her speaketh *Chrisippus*, in his booke of Diuination: & this woman (according to *Pliny*) the Romans made a Statue vnto, and shee liued before the destruction of *Troy*: so that *Homer* hath set downe in his workes, manie verses concerning her. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that she was called *Daphne*, and was daughter to *Tiresias*, and that the *Argiues* hauing subdued *Thebes*, they sent her to *Delphos*, where afterward shee became a Propheteesse in the oracle of *Apollo*; so that (according to his relation) in that respect she was called *Delphica*.

Diodor. *Sicul. in lib. 9. cap 14.*

4. *Sibilla Cumæa*, or *Italiana*.

The fourth was named *Cumæa*, or *Italiana*, & not *Cumana Amalthea*, of whom we shall haue cause to speake anon. She was a natiue of *Cimeria*, a City of *Campania*, neere to *Cuma*. Her learned and iudicious Propheesies, are written by *Neuyus* in the Punicke Bookes, and by *Pisonius* in his Annales, and referred by *Lactantius*, and by *Virgil* in his Eglogue, which beginneth *Sicelides musæ, &c.*

Nenyus in Lib. Punic. Pison. in Annal.

5. *Sibilla Erythræa.*

The fift was that so famously remēbred *Sibilla Erythræa*, who so clearly (by Gods assistance) propheesied the greater part of our Religion. VVherefore as *Lactantius* sayeth; *In times long since, those Gentiles reputed it as folly, & a defect of braine,*

Lact. Firm in Diuin. Instit. lib. 5.

to talke of the Sibillaes verſes : becauſe they vnderſtood not how it might bee, that a virgin ſhould haue a childe; and other ſupernaturall things which they wrote, beeing declared in Bookes of ancient Hiſtorians and Poets. *Appollodorus* writeth of this *Sibilla*, that the Greekes going to beſiege *Troy*, ſhee propheſied to them that *Troy* ſhould be deſtroyed. Wherfore, all thoſe that ſpeake of her, make her more ancient then the deſtruction of *Troy*: yet *Euſebius* maketh her more nouell, for hee woulde haue her liue at ſuch time as *Romulus* lyued in *Rome*. And *Strabo* ſaith, that ſhe liued in the time of *Alexander* the Great. The Verſes of this *Sibilla Erythræa*, are recited by *Euſebius*; the firſt words whereof, being traduced into our language, are thus: *Ieſus Chriſt, Son of God, the Sauiour:* which is a moſt admirable thing to think on. The conſideration of thoſe verſes, and their further addition, are ſet downe by S. *Auguſtine*, in his 18. Booke of the City of God, deliuering it in theſe expreſſe words.

Appollod. in lib. diuinat.

Euſeb in Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5 cap. 3

Aug. in lib. 18. de Ciuitate dei.

The prophe ſies of *Sibilla Erythræa.*

The earth ſhall ſweate, a ſigne of iudgement; from Heauen ſhall come a King, who ſhall be King for euer: and further, known in humane fleſh, to the end, that by his preſence he ſhall iudge the world. By which means, the incredulous, as well as the faithfull ſhall ſee God with their eyes, exalted amõg his Saints. And in the end of the world, the ſouls of men ſhall appeare in their owne fleſh, and hee ſhall iudge them himſelfe, when the rotunditie of the incaulted earth, ſhall be full of clods of duſt and graſſe. Men ſhall caſt away Idols and Images, and all their Iewels and riches. He ſhal penetrate the inferiour parts, and breake the gates of the darkeſt hell. Then ſhall fayre and cleare light be giuen to the Saints, & the flame of eternal fire ſhall burne the Wicked. All ſecrets ſhall be diſcouered, euery man ſhal be knowne of his companion: and GOD ſhall diſcouer the Conſciences and hearts of all. There ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth, and the Sunne and the Starres ſhal bee darkned; the heauens ſhal breake, and the Moone loſe her light; the mountains ſhal be humbled, and the valleyes made equal with the hilles. There ſhall not be any thing in the world that ſhalbe higher or lower one thẽ another: mountaines and valleyes ſhall be euen and plain, & all things ſhall finiſh. The earth ſhall be dryed, and conuerted to duſt, Wels, ſprings, and riuers ſhall burne, and with the ſame fire ſhal the earth, ſea, and ayre, be burned alſo. Then from heauen ſhall ſound a Trumpet, with a dreadfull and horrible ſound, and the earth in opening, ſhall diſcouer the darkeneſſe and confuſion of hell, and the paines & torments of the miſerable damned.

These things, and many more beſide, are ſpoken of this *Sibilla* in thoſe Verſes, declaring clearly Chriſt God incarnate, with the laſt iudgement, and reſurrection of the dead. Now theſe things, before they came to paſſe, were no way intelligible; & that was the reaſon, why the Ethnickes and Gentiles might holde them to be follies and mockeries. In like manner, this *Sibilla Erythræa*, knowing well that which ſhould happen, concerning her owne ſelfe, ſpake theſe words: *They vvill repute me for a blind & mocking propheteſſe. Neuertheleſſe, when thoſe things vvhich I ſpeak ſhal be accompliſhed and verified, they will remember me, and no more tearme me a lyar, but a Prophetes of the Great God.*

Sibil. Erythræa her propheſie of her ſelfe.

The *Romans* had great ſtore of the verſes written by this *Sibilla Erythræa*, whereof *Feneſtella* ſpeaketh more at large, and ſaieth; *That by a decree of the Senate, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto her, in regard of her Propheſies: and that they brought backe great ſtore of her verſes, which they laid vp in the Capitoll, with them which they had before.* She was borne in *Erythræa* in *Ionia*, a Prouince of the leſſer *Aſia*, and abutting vpon *Caria:* this I relate the rather, becauſe there are found many other Cities to be of that name; as one in *Lybia*, another in *Bœtia*, another in *Locris*, and another in the Iſle of *Cyprus*. But that ſhee was of that *Erythræa* in *Ionia*, *Strabo* is my Author, and ſaith, *That it hath a Port on the ſea, neere to a Mountaine.*

Feneſtel. in lib. 1 de For.

*A City in Aſia neere vnto Chios.

Strabo in lib. 14.

Another *Sibilla*, being the ſixte, was borne in a place named *Phiton*, in the Iſle of *Samos*, which is in the *Ægæum* ſea nere to *Thrace:* or elſe in the other Iſle of *Samos* in the ſame ſea, and oppoſite againſt *Epheſus*, for which cauſe, ſhee was called *Sibilla Samia*, of whom further mention is made by *Eratoſtenes*.

6. Sibilla ſamia Eratoſtenes.

The ſeauenth in order, is *Sibilla Cumana*, named *Amalthæa*; others call her *Demophila*; and *Suidas* tearmeth her *Hierophyla*. Shee was called *Cumana*, becauſe ſhee dwelt and propheſied in the Citie of *Cuma* in *Italy*, a Prouince of *Campania*, neere vnto * *Baiæ*. Of this woman

7. Sibilla Cumana.

*A pleaſant City in Campania on the Seaſia.

Nine Books brought to Tarquinius Superbus to be sold, by this Sibilla Cumana.

man writeth *Dionisius Halicarnasseus*, *Solinus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Serutus*. This *Sibilla* brought to sell to *Tarquinius*, the proud King of *Rome*, nine seuerall books; neuertheless, *Suidas* saith, that it was to *Tarquinius Priscus*. For which Books, she demanded three hundred peeces of gold, monie then of great value: but because the price seemed excessiue to the king, he would not buy them. Whereupon, she burned three of them in his presence, and yet demanded the same summe for the six that remained. Then the King thought her motion to be more impertinent then the former, and seemed to mocke her: whereupon she burned three more of the sixe, and told him, that she had but three left of the nine, and yet he should giue her as much for those three, as if hee had bought them all. The King being amazed at this her confident determination, and conceiuing (by good aduice) that those Bookes must needs containe some extraordinary great mysteries; bought the three at that price, which formerly she demanded for them all, and those Bookes were placed in the Capitoll, where they were held in soueraigne reuerence & veneration.

Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 4.

Pliny saith, that she had but 3 Bookes in all, and that she burned two of them, & yet would haue as much for that one, as for all the three. But it sufficeth, that those Books were kept in great reputation, with them that the Romanes had of the other *Sibillaes*.

Mar. Varro in lib. 7. cap. 14.

For as *Marcus Varro* reporteth from *Lactantius*; the Romanes bestowed great cost and paines, in searching all Cities and Townes of *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Italy*, and brought to Rome all the Verses & Propheties, that could bee recouered of the *Sibillaes*; especially those of *Sibilla Erythræa*; for the care and safe keeping of which Bookes, fifteene men were particularly appointed, and none other but they might touch them.

Fenestel. in lib. de Forc.

Fenestella sayeth, that when the Capitoll was burnt, the Senate sent againe, to entreate *Sibilla Erythræa*, to helpe them in those Bookes. In which respect it is to bee presumed, that they had not at Rome the Bookes of *Sibilla Cumana* onely, but likewise al the rest.

Virgil. in Aen. lib. 6.

And that *Sibilla*, whereof *Virgill* maketh mention in the beginning of his 6 Book, who kept herselfe at *Cuma*, where (he sayeth) *Æneas* tooke shipping; must needs be the other *Cumæa*, whereof we haue already spoken. For it can be no way likely, that *Virgil* should suppose a *Sibilla*, at such time as *Aeneas* entred into *Italy*, nor that she liued till the fist King of Rome. Beside, *Seruius* interprets the same passage, saying. *Or else it must needs be, that shee who sold the Bookes, was named Cumana, although it was not her name, and yet notwithstanding, she dyed in that Citty.*

Seruius in lib. 3 cap. 9.

The eight *Sibilla*, is said to be a natiue in the Territory of *Troy*, in a place named *Marmisa*, and this woman is reputed to be very ancient. For * *Heraclides Ponticus* saieth, that she liued in the time of *Solon* the Philosopher, and of the great King *Cyrus*.

8 *Sibilla Hellespontia.*

* Hee was scholler to *Plato* and *Aristotle*.

The ninth *sibilla*, diuers Authors doe report to be of the Country of *Phrygia*, and that shee prophesied in the Citty of *Ancyra*; of which name were two Cities, one in *Phrygia*, and the other in *Galatia*.

9 *Sibilla Phrygia.*

The tenth *Sibilla*, named herselfe *Albunea*, and was borne in the Citty of * *Tibur*, which standing sixteene miles distant from from Rome, shee therfore was tearmed *Sibilla Tiburtina*.

10 *Sibilla Tiburtina.*

* A Citty of the Sabines 16 miles from Rome.

Now, all these *Sibillaes* left many Bookes and Verses, wherein they propheSied of things that were to come, & principally of the fortunes of *Rome*, were they good or bad: so that in all important affaires, the Romanes would diligently search, and turne ouer the leaues of the *Sibilline* Bookes, and order their gouernment wholly by them. And in the same manner, as when wee would haue our speeches credited, we vse to say, this is Gospell: so would they say, these are the words of *Sibilla*; such was their credite & account among them. And for this cause *Iuuenall* said,

The Romans respect of the Sibilline Bookes.

Credite me vobis folium recitare Sibillæ.

Iuuenall. Virgil. in Aenid lib. 6.

Heereupon some said, that the *Sibillaes* gaue their answeres, written vpon leaues of Trees, as *Virgill* witnesseth in his sixt Booke. *Cicero* speaketh of those *Sibillaes* with great reuerence, saying: *As wee haue formerly done, euen so from the capitall Letters of their Verses, we may deriue, great, good and gracious sentences.*

Cicero in Diuinat. lib 2.

Among many other things, they haue spoken much of Christian Religion, concerning the birth, life, and death of Iesus Christ, as we haue already declared. *Si-*

Diuers Propheties concerning Christ

billa

billa Delphica said, *The Prophet shall be borne of a Virgin, without any fleshly copulation.* Another said: *Hee that is to come, shall come, and shall reigne in pouerty, concealing his Soueraignty, and shall come from the wombe of a Virgin.* And *Iosephus* (although he was a Iew by race and profession) speaking of the Tower of *Babylon*, hath these words. *Sibilla well remembred it, when she said thus. At such as men hauing but one Language, some of them shall build a very high Tower, as if thereby they would mount vp to Heauen: God shal (euen then) send great windes to destroy it, and diuers Languages shall happen among the workmen, and therefore is the Tower named* Babylon.

Ioseph. in lib. 1. de Antiquit.

The acknowledgment of the Sibillaes writings.

These things, and others such like, were written by the *Sibillaes*, and acknowledged both by Christians, Iewes, and Gentiles, which the Gentiles (for their sinnes) scarsely vnderstood. But it fell out well for christians afterward, into whose hands these Bookes came, as *Lactansius, Eusebius, S. Augustine*: the knowledge of which Bookes, or the least part of their Prophesies, greatly confirmed the Christian, and quite confounded the Pagane and Gentile. There is report made of some other, who were also named *Sibillaes*, because they were reputed to be Diuineresses and Propheteesses: as *Cassandra*, the daughter of King *Priamus*; and *Campusia Celophania*, the daughter of *Calcas*, and *Manta Thessalonica*, daughter to *Tiresias* the *Thebane*; neuertheless, Historians speake onely but of these ten.

Report of some other Sibillaes.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the seuen Maruailes and Wonders of the World; what they were; also in what seuerall parts and places of the World, they are remembred to bee by graueſt Writers.

Some difference made about the 7 wonders

SVch as haue read ancient Historians, Orators, and Poets, do finde, that they make mention in many of their Books, of 7 Meruailes or Wonders of the World, and that they were in diuers places. All they that haue written, do consent to six, but concerning the seuenth, there are variable opinions, and likewise a great difference, in placing one before another. Notwithstanding, I purpose to speake first of the walles of *Babylon*, which are ranked in the number of these Wonders, & vpon good reason, because the greatnesse of the place, as also the scituation thereof, seemeth incredible.

The first wonder of the world.

In our former Volume, and in the Chapter of the diuersity of Languages, wee haue sufficiently declared, that they were founded in the same place, whereas *Nimrod* builded the Tower of *Babel*, and whereof the Citty tooke name. Concerning those walles, according to the soundest opinions, namely *Iustine*, and also as *Trogus Pompeius* saith, they were founded by the famous Queene *Semiramis*, Mother to *Ninus*. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Paulus Orosius* doe maintaine the same, with the greater part of our Gentile Authors. Neuertheles, S. *Augustine*, and *Iosephus* in his Antiquities say, that they were builded by *Nimrod*, assisted by the proud Gyants then liuing. But bee it, that the foundation or reparation of them was done by *Semiramis*; it is sufficient, that they were greatly ennobled by her.

A reference to the first volume of this worke.

Iustin. in Hist. abrog. lib. 1. Trog Pomp. in lib. 3. Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 3. Ammian. Marcel. in lib. 23. Paul. Oros. in lib. 2. S. Aug. in lib. 1. de ciuit. Dei. Ioseph. in lib. 6. de antiquit.

The scituation of the City was with a Plaine on the one side, and on the other ran the Riuer of *Euphrates*. The modell & figure of this Citty, was in a quadrangle, and the walles wonderfully high, as also wrought with maruailous cunning. The matter was of stone, ioyned with Lime & Ciment, growing in the Mines of that Country; but especially in the great Lake of *Iudea*, where sometime stood *Sodome* & *Gomorrha*, named *Asphaltida*, which yeeldeth such a kinde of slime or mud, as bindeth like Pitch or Glue, the very strongest that is to be found. Historians do disagree about the height and largenes of the circuit, which might happen, through the diuersity of the measures they then vsed. *Pliny* saith, that the circuit of those walles was threescore thousand paces, so that one of the squares was fifteene thousand. He also saith, that they were two hundred foote in height, which foote exceeded by three fingers breadth, the measure of the Romane foote: and the thickneſſe was fifty foote of the same measure, which was (indeed) a matter very admirable.

The scituation of the City and Walles

Concerning the circute of the Walles.

Plin. in l. 6. c. 26

The height of them, and the thickneſſe

Diodorus Siculus saith, that the wals contained in all round about 360 Stades, and that

Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 3.

A Stade is reputed 200 paces.

that they were so broad and wide, as sixe Chariots might easily be trained in front together, without offending one another. The Bridges, the Mounts, the Towers, & the Gardens, *Semiramis* caused to bee made, which were works of great astonish ment. It is credibly set downe in Records, that shee kept daily at this worke, three hundred thousand mē, out of all the kingdomes which were subiect to her. *Quintus Curtius* addeth thereto eight Stades more in length, and saith, that they were an hundred cubites high: but *Paulus Orosius* saith, that they were 480 Stades in length, which amount (taking six score & fiue paces in euery Stade) to threescore thousand paces, as *Pliny* said. *Strabo* saith and affirmeth, that they contained three hundred, eighty fiue Stades, and also that they were so broad, as the former named Chariots might in that manner goe on them, and yet not hurt or hinder one another, in their passing along together.

Three hūdred thousand men set on worke daily.

Paul Oros. in lib. 2.

Strabo in lib. 16.

Moreouer, Authors doe report maruaylous things, of Gardens made vppon the Arches and Towres, wherein grew Trees of vnmeasurable height. *Iulius Solinus* confirmes the same with *Pliny*. Some among the Authors do auouch, that the walles without, were engirt with Ditches full of water, as large and deepe as an indifferent wide Riuer. In this Citty there were an hundred Gates of mettall, very admirable. And for conclusion, all that is written of the greatnesse and height of the walles, may well be credited, because (in truth) this Citty was the proudest in the whole world, and long time held the vniuersall Monarchy, which is an especiall argument of her greatnesse. And the same is also described by *Aristotle*, when he saith: *That being once taken with enemies, they that dwelt at the one end or side of the City, had no aduertisement thereof, till three whole daies space after.*

Iul. Solin Polybist. in lib. 3. c. 9.

An hundred Gates of mettall in the City.

Arist. in Politic. lib. 3.

The second place of the worlds wonders, we giue to the Colossus of the Sun, which was at *Rhodes*. It was a Statue or Figure of a man, offered by the Gentiles, and dedicated to the Sunne, and some say to *Iupiter*. It was made of mettall, of an incredible greatnesse, and in height also like a huge Tower: so that it could hardly be imagined, how it was made and raised in that manner. *Pliny*, who discourseth on all things, saith, that it contained three score and ten cubites in height, and although at the making of it, there were many good workmen continually labouring; yet were they twelue years before it could be perfected, and it cost three hundred Talents. He that vndertooke the workmanship thereof, was named *Cares*, an Indian by birth, and Scholler to * *Lysippus*.

The second wonder of the world. The Colossus of the Sunne at Rhodes.

Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 26.

* A nomble Caruer of Sicyon.

This Statue was so immeasurably great, as it seemed, that the earth could not any longer sustaine it, because according to *Pliny* and *Paulus Orosius*, it stood not aboue sixe and fifty yeares: at the end of which time it fell, by reason of a great quaking and trembling of the earth. After which fall, and namely in the time of *Pliny*, many went to see it as a thing to wonder at. For, saith he, there were few men found, that could embrace the great fingers of this Statue: so that the very least of his fingers, was greater then any other Statues, how great soeuer. And yet he speaketh of an hundred other Colosses of meaner stature, which were also at *Rhodes*. But that is nothing to our purpose, except some one be desirous to say, that in regard of this greet one, and the other lesser, the *Rhodians* thereon were called *Colossenses* or *Colossians*. But that opinion is not approued by *Erasmus*, for he saith; *That those Colossians to whom S. Paul wrote, were people of a Citty in Phrygia*, named * *Colossæ*.

Paul. Oros. in lib. 2.

Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 26.

A friuilous obiection answered by Erasmus.

* A Towne of Phrygia, not farre from Laodicea.

Returning then againe to our wonderfull Colossus, I say that it lay there ruined a very long time, euen till the dayes of Pope *Martin* the first, which was in the yeare sixe hundred, when the Infidels, and the Soldane of Egypt their Captaine, came vpon the *Rhodians*, and according as *Platina* writeth in the life of Pope *Martin*, and *Antonius Sabellicus*, in the third part of his Booke: they carried away that which they found of the reliques of this Colossus, and they finde nine hundred Camels to be loden with the mettall. Of other Colosses that were at *Rhodes*, and in other places, nothing so great, we purpose not to speake, because our present aime is at the seuen Wonders of the world onely.

Platina in vit. Martini Pap. An. Sabellic. in lib. 3.

In the third place, wee determine the Piramides of Egypt, and vndoubtedly, if that be true which Historians haue written of them, they are things deseruing admiration.

The third wonder of the world.

The Piramids of Egypt.

miration. Theſe Piramids were certaine buildings, which began beneathe in quadrangle forme, and ſo roſe vp (in a diminiſhing manner) a huge height, in the ſhape of a painted Diamond. And yet notwithſtanding, they were of ſuch greatneſſe and taulneſſe, conſiſting of ſuch and ſo many ſtones, as alſo wrought with ſuch perfection, as it is no eaſie matter to deſcribe them, neyther to winne credible opinion of them. And yet (me-thinks) things ſo ſufficiently authorized, by Authors both Chriſtians and Gentiles, men well eſteemed and approued; their credence is not raſhly to be ſlighted or denied. Theſe Piramids then are as very high towers, finiſhing in a ſpire or ſharp point, and the etimology of the word commeth of *Pyr* in Greeke, as much to ſay, as fire, becauſe it ſeemeth, that the height commeth to leſſen and fayle, like as a flame of fire doth.

The Etimologie of the word Piramid.

Among all other Piramids, Hiſtorians make particular mention of 3 which were in Egypt, betweene the Citty of *Memphis*, which is now the *Cayro*, and the Iſle that maketh or createth *Nilus*, named *Delta*, one of which is rancked among the ſeuen wonders. For it is ſaid, that to the making thereof, there were continually imployed three hundred and threeſcore thouſand men, and the work laſted twenty whole yeares. Many do affirme it, and particularly *Pliny* in ſpeaking more amply, alledging twelue authors for his warrant, as *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and many more, whereof ſome ſay, that the foundation and ground-work of this Piramid, couered and contained eyght dayes iourney of ground: others ſay ſeauen, and moſt agree on ſixe, and as many (little more or leſſe) in the height. *Pliny* ſaith, that each quadrangle or ſquare contained 883 foote in bredth. The ſtones were of Marble, brought out of *Arabia*, and *Pomponius Mela* maintaineth, that the moſt part of them were thirty foote in largeneſſe. Whereby may be gathered, that ſo many thouſand men muſt needs be buſied, ſome in cutting and ſquaring thoſe ſtones, others in bringing and carrying them, and other in laying them, beſide the mighty multitudes, imployed for fetching them ſo far off, and about other neceſſary occaſions.

Plin. in lib. 36. cap. 2. Diodor. Sicul. in lib. 1. Strabo in lib. vlt Pomponius Mela in lib. 1. Herodot. in l. 2. Ammian. Marcel. in l. 2

The bredth of euery ſquare.

Three hundred & threeſcore thouſand men imployed dayly, twenty yeares ſpace.

Of the other Piramids the like is ſpoken, at leaſt of the other two fore-named, one whereof was made by the vanity of the Kings of Egypt, who were the very richeſt in all the world: as well by the fruitfulneſſe of the earth, as in regard alſo, that no man poſſeſſed any thing in proper, but onely the King. Beſide, after ſuch time as *Ioſeph* the Sonne of *Iacob*, aduiſed *Pharaoh*, to preſerue the Corne in ſeuen yeares abundance, as prouiſion for the time of famine: during which ſpace, by meanes of that Corne, he had all the Lands of his people. Thus you ſee how the Kings became rich, and were ſerued by their ſubiects, euen as if they had bene their ſlaues. And Hiſtorians doe faithfully report, that the Kings cauſed thoſe Piramids to bee builded, onely to feed their people that labored about thē, and becauſe they ſhould leaue no wealth to their ſucceſſors. For they affected rather, to diſpenſe in this manner with their people, then that any of their heyres ſhould attaine the meanes to exceed the deceaſſed by their goods and money.

The Kings of Egypt the richeſt of the world.

The reaſon of building thoſe Piramids.

I finde it recorded alſo, that thoſe Piramids ſerued for Sepulchers to theyr Kings. And whoſoeuer doth well conſider the multitude of hebrew people that ſerued in Egypt, and by whom the Kings made their Citties and Fortreſſes to bee builded, will not be much amazed heereat, in regard that it is very certaine, that ſixe hundred thouſand men on foote, beſide a great multitude of women & ſmall children, departed out of that ſeruitude, and that all of them were imployed, and ſerued in thoſe wonderfull works. Wherby it is no meruaile at all, that ſuch buildings ſhould be made; for good Authors do auouch, that in Rootes, Garlike, and Onions, to ſuſtaine the multitude of workers, there were diſpenſed 18 hundred Talents, which at the rate (now adayes vſed) is a million and foure-ſcore thouſand Crownes. *Diodorus* ſaith, that round about it, and a large compaſſe alſo ſomewhat farre off, there was not to bee ſeene the very ſmalleſt ſtone, neyther apparence that any man had trodden there, nor any ſigne of a foundation; but onely Sand, as ſmall as the fineſt Salt. Whereby it ſeemed, as if that Piramid had beene planted there by Gods owne hand, or to haue growne ſo naturally, and the top appeared

Thoſe Piramids were Sepulchers for their Kings.

In what manner the workmen were fed.

Diodor Sicul. in lib. 1. cap. 17.

red to touch heauen.

If we set aside those ancient Bookes, we shal yet finde testimonies of our owne times. *Peter Martyr* of *Millaine*, a very learned man, who was Ambassadour for the Kings Catholique, *Don Ferdinand*, & Dame *Isabell*, to the Soldane of Egypt, in the yeare 1501. wrote a Booke of what he had seene and done in his Ambassage. There he declareth, (as he did the like by word of mouth) that hee had seene those Piramids, & agreeth with that which those ancient Authours had written of them. Particularly, he speaketh of two seene by him, which were of incredible height, and saith, that he measured the square of one, finding it to be 315. paces, so that it contained about thirteen hundred in circuit, and on each side very huge stones made vp the buildings. Moreouer he saith, that certaine men in his company, ascended vp one of them, with very great labour, & long space of time, and they declared to him, that on the toppe of all (as we vse to say) there was one stone wholly of it selfe, so great, as thirty men might easily stand vpon it. And when they were aboue, they said, they seemed as if they had lost their sight, and onely with looking downward, and tooke themselues to bee in a Cloud, such was the extremity of height, their braines being much troubled, and turned vpside-downe. So that (saith hee) there neede no doubt at all be made, concerning the great number of people employed, and the expences spoken of, in doing those works.

The testimony of learned Peter Martyr of Millaine, concerning his owne sight of those Piramids.

A great large Stone on the top of the Piramid.

THe fourth Meruaile or VVonder, was the *Mausolaa*. *Artemisia* was wife to *Mausolus*, King of *Caria*, a Prouince in the greater *Asia*. This woman (according to *Aulus Gellius*, and other historians) so dearely affected her husband, as it was generally recorded for a most notable example. Her husband the king dying first, she lamented his death with teares and complaints, more then were of ordinary custome. Needs would she erect a Toombe or Sepulcher for him, answerable to the extraordinary loue shee bare him; and such (indeede) it prooued to be, that it was recorded among the seuen wonders of the world. The stone of the whole constructure, was of a most excellent Marble, consisting of foure hundred and eleuen foote in circuite about, and fiue and twenty cubites in height: it had also about it, sixe and twenty Colombs of admirable stone, and likewise of as famous sculpture.

The fourth Wonder of the world. Mausolus Toomb. *Aulus Gellius in Noct. Attic. 10.*

The building was open on all sides, with Arches of seuenty three foote in wideneese: and it was framed by the hands of the most exquisite workmen then to be found. The part towards the East, was made & engrauen by *Scopas*; that on the North, by *Briax*; the South side by *Timotheus*, and that on the West, by *Leochares*. The perfection of the work was such, and that on the whole body so sumptuous & beautifull, as partly it was therefore called *Mausolæa*, and in regard also of the king, for whom it was made: so that euen to this verye day, when any Toombes of such superficiall Arte are made, they are called *Mausolæs*. Of these things mention is made by *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Herodotus*: *Strabo* also remembreth them, so doth *Aulus Gellius*, and many other historians. It is found written, that *Artemisia*, after the death of her husband, liued in continuall teares and mourning, and that she dyed before the worke could bee fully finished: hauing drunke the bones of her husband, beatē into powder, which she burned and buried in her owne body, that it might be the Sepulcher for his.

What famous workme made the Toombe, such as the world as then had not their like.

Plin. in lib. 35. cap. 5. *Pomp. Mela in lib. 1.* *Herodot. in l. 2.* *Strabo in lib. 7.* *Aul. Gelin Noct. Attic.*

THE fift Edifice of these VVonders, was the Temple of *Diana*, whom the Gentiles adored as a Goddesse, and it was builded in the Citty of *Ephesus* in *Asia*, in the Prouince of *Ionia*. Of this Temple, great speech was made throughout the world: so that one named *Democritus*, wrote a particular Booke thereof. *Pliny* writing of this Temple, saith that the *Amozones* caused it to bee builded, and that it contained foure hundred and fiue and twenty foote in length, and two hundred and twenty in largeneese. The worke was so admirably artificiall, that it had 220 yeares to the perfecting. It was built in a Lake, to preuent the peril of earthquakes; and it is said withall, that on the foundation was laide great store of coale-dust, & wooll thereupon, the better to make firm and sure the moist and marshy place. It had an hundred and seuen Colombs or Pillars of most excellent Marble, & each of them was made by all the Kings of *Asia*:

The fift Wonder of the world. The Temple of Diana at Ephesus.

Plin. in lib. 16. cap. 34.

The foundation of the Temple.

sia: thirty seuen of them were of most curious cunning and sculpture, and all the other of the choysest Marble.

The principall Masters of this worke, according to *Pliny*, was *Dresiphon*: but beleeuing *Strabo*, it was *Archiphron*. Notwithstanding, this diuersity of opinion is sufferable, considering, what length of time the businesse lasted: and therefore there must needs be more then one Master, especially for so many performances & varieties, in the diuersity of such times and intelligence. *Solinus* and *Pomponius Mela* say, that the *Amazones* builded & dedicated this Temple: and yet *Solinus* affirmeth, that when the mighty King *Xerxes* went to the conquest of Greece, & that he burned all the Temples; yet hee reserued this onely still standing. All Historians do consent with one accord, that the Pillars of this Temple supported the planked seeling of wood, the most excellently wrought that could be deuised, and that this whole couering was of Cedar, and all the doores and wainscotted works were of Cipres.

Strabo in lib.14

Solin. in cap.14
Pomponius Mela. in li.1.

Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 49.

Yet afteeward, a villaine seeing this solemne and soueraigne building, conceiued a lewd desire to burne it, as (indeed) he did. And being taken for the fact, confessed, that he did it to no other ende, but to leaue a famous renowne of his deed to the world. Wherefore *Valerius Maximus*, in his titles of desire of renowne, and *Aulus Gellius* affirmeth also, that it was prohibited (vnder greeuous penalty) that any man should doe so much as write his name, because he should vtterly lose the fame and renowne, which he so earnestly affected. Yet all this serued to slender purpose, for *Solinus* and *Strabo* both say, that he was named *Herostratus*, and that of him came vp the vsuall Prouerbe, that when any man would striue to be famous for some vicious deed; people would cõmonly say; *This is the renowne of Herostratus.*

Valer. Max. in lib. 4.
Aul. Gel. in l. 2.

Solin. in lib. 3. cap. 14.
Strabo in li. 14.

The fame of Herostratus.

To speake yet of some other memorable matters to this purpose, it deserueth some respect to remember, that the very same day as the Temple was burning, *Alexander* the Great was borne, the Conquerour of all *Asia*; heereof are Authors, *Plutarch* in the life of *Alexander*, and *Cicero*, in his second booke of the Gods nature, where he speaketh it in two places, and likewise in his booke of diuination. Further he saith, that while the Temple burned, the Sages prognosticated the destruction of all *Asia*; euen as afterward it was ouercome by *Alexander*. Some do write, that this Temple was built againe afterward, in much more great and excellent manner then before, and that the Master of the worke was named *Democrates*.

Plut. in vit. Alex.
Cicero in Nat. Deor. lib 2. & in lib. de Diuinat.

THE sixt Wonder, was the Idoll or Image of *Iupiter Olympus*, which was in his Temple in *Achaia*, betweene the Cities of *Elis* and *Pisa*: and the place was named *Olympus*, as also the Temple, in regard of *Iupiter Olympus*, of whom write both *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela*. They maintaine, that this Statue or Image, which stood in the Temple, was much renowned, as well for arteficiall perfection and admirable workmanship, as also for the greatnesse thereof. It was made of Porphiry, some say of Iuory, and by the hand of *Phidias*, the most excellent Caruer and Engrauer for Imagery (in Gold or Iuory) that euer was; albeit *Pliny* nameth diuers other. *Strabo* saith, that the excellency thereof consisted in the greatnes, and yet the matter which made it more admirable, was in being wrought of Porphiry, knit and vnited together of infinite small peeces.

The 6 Wonder of the world. The Image of Iupiter Olimpus.

Strabo in lib. 8. Pomponius Mela in lib. 2.

Plin. lib. 35. & 36.

Some say, that *Phidias* was taxed with one onely imperfection, to wit, that hee had not proportioned the Image to the capacity of the Temple, because hee had made it fitting, and so great, as when due consideration was made, what the height thereof would haue bene, if he had made him standing vpright on his feet, the temple had no way bene able to haue contained him.

Neuertheless, the renowne of this Image did most highly illustrate the place, and made the Temple more knowne, then otherwise it would haue bene, although it was formerly held in great esteeme, by reason that in the very same place, were kept the sports and wrastlings called *Olympian*. And thence it came, that the yeares were counted by *Olympiades*, which they made from fiue years to fiue years: which pastimes were first instituted by *Hercules*, and afterward being left off, they were againe re-established by *Aemanius*, but (according

The place where the Olympian games were kept, being fiue in number, viz. *Cursus, Saltus, Discus, Palæstra.*

cording to some Authours) by *Sphiron*, foure or fiue yeares after the destruction of *Troy*, especially according to *Eusebius*, and then began the yeare of the first *Olympiade*.

The seuenth Wonder of the World. The Tower of Pharos.

NOw concerning the seuenth VVonder, some say, that it was a Tower which stood in the Isle of *Pharos*, neere to the Citty of *Alexandria* in Egypt. *Pharos* was a small Island, long and narrow, seated on the coast of Egypt, ouer against the mouth of *Nilus*, which in former time (according to *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*) was wholly (as it were) engirt with firme Land, and afterward in the times of these Authors, the Sea imbraced this firm land, excepting onely a Bridge, whereby men went from the one place to the other. In the firme land is the great Citty of *Alexandria*, builded by *Alexander* the Great; which Citty was afterward a Colony of *Iulius Cæsar*. In this Isle (named *Pharos*, after the name of a great Pilot, which belonged to *Menelaus*, and was there buried) the Kings of Egypt erected a Tower of Marble, maruailous in height and cunning workmanship, vpon a Mountain enuironed with water: the artificiall performance of which Tower was such, that it cost 800. Talents, which value foure hundred and fourescore thousand Crownes, after the computation of *Budæus*. And it was built for no other purpose, but to set vp (in the night time) a lighted fire thereon, Beacon-wise, to guide and direct such Ships as came to take landing there: and this Tower, according to the greatest opinions, was erected by King * *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*, and the Master Architect that made it, was named *Sistratus*, which is confirmed to vs by *Pliny*.

Pomponius Mela in lib.2. Plin.in lib.5. cap.7.

How the Isle came to be called Pharos

Cæsar in his Commentaries, highly praiseth the height and workmanship of this Tower; and saith, that it was also called *Pharos*, as taking name of the Island. As much saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, declaring the history of this Tower. Also *Solinus* in his *Polyhistor*, in the ende of his 34 Chapter saith, that all the Towers which were afterward made, and for the like occasion, each of them was named *Pharos*, after the name of this, as was the *Pharos* of *Messina*, and in other places. And I am of the minde, that the kindled fires or lights, which are ordinarily carried in Ships, as guides to other in the night, vpon this occasion are called *Pharoses*.

*He also made a goodly Library, which contained 50000. Bookes. *Plin.in lib.35. cap.10. Iul Cæs. in comment.lib.4.*

Ammian. Marcelin l.1

Solin.in cap.34

Thus this Tower is the last of the wonders, although (by diuers) it is not named in their number, but in stead thereof, the hanging gardens of *Babylon* are reckoned, wherof we haue already spoken. *Lactantius Firmianus* confirmeth it, and saith, that these gardens were vpon Arches & Towers, yet sheluing downward, admirable for great Trees in no meane abundance, and great store of Fountains: the forme of this building is amply described by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Cælius Rhodiginus*, discoursing on the seuen VVonders of the world, doth not insert this Tower of *Pharos*; but the Obelisque of *Semiramis*, which was made after the same structure and forme of a Piramid, for it began so in a quadrangle, and finished vpward in a point, and there was no difference betweene an Obeliske and a Piramid; but that the Obeliske was all of one entire peece, and therefore of no such height as the Piramids. I finde it written, that some of them haue bin great, like Towers, and of a very goodly stone. There is one now at Rome, nam'd a Needle, which was brought out of Egypt; and it is admirable, to see the greatnes therof, as also to iudge how it was brought thither. Concerning the Obeliske of *Semiramis*, wherof *Cælius* reporteth, and nameth it in the number of the 7 VVonders: he findeth it credibly auouched, that it was an 150. foot in height, and 24 foote square in a quadrangle, so that the whole circuite was 90 foote, and this Stone was so taken whole, out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*, & by the command of *Semiramis*, brought into *Chaldean Babylon*. But in truth, when due consideration is made, how it should bee taken out of the Quarry, brought thence, and erected vp on end: it might appeare a matter incredible, if Antiquity had not yeelded things as strange, and certified to vs by Authors, well deseruing beleefe, yea, and of other great Obelisks, made by the kings of Egypt. *Pliny* describeth how they are fetcht foorth of their Quarries. Of the Piramids, Obelisks, Statues, & Colosses, mention is made by *Polyphius*, in ỹ beginning of his Booke, cald *Hypne-rotomachia*. Therefore I need not to make any further relation of them, fearing I haue offended already, by presuming ouer-farre vpon your patience, in what hath bin said, concerning these 7 VVonders of the world.

The hanging Gardens of Babylon. *Lactan. Firm. in Diuin. Instit. l.4*

Diodor. Sicul. in lib.1. Cæl Rhod. in l.3

The Obeliske of Semiramis.

Cæsars Needle at Rome, a true Obeliske.

The height of Semiramis Obeliske, and the squarenes

Plin. lib.6. cap.8. & 9.

Polyph. in lib. Hypnerotomachia.

CHAP. VIII. The Oration of *Antipater*, the Father to *Herod*, which he made before *Cæsar*, standing accused, for following *Pompeies* part.

THE ARGVMENT.

After that Pompey *had bin vanquished by* Cæsar, *he was massacred in Egipt, by them whose liues he had sometime saued.* Antigonus *the Iew, aspiring to the Royalty, accused (before* Cæsar*)* Antipater *the* Idumæan, *to haue serued and fauoured* Pompey *in his enterprizes. And that he had done no matter of seruice in Egipt, which could bee interpreted for* Cæsar; *but rather for the succour of* Mithridates, *and to couer his fault committed in following* Pompey. *But* Antipater, *for the better apparance of his good seruices, renting off his garments, shewed what wounds he had receiued in the seruice of* Cæsar, *and suddenly accompanied this scarry testimony, with these words ensuing.*

The effect of the accusation obiected by Antigonus against Antipater.

Wounds are a Soldiours speaking witnesses, when himselfe is silent.

BEhold heere assured and certaine witnesses, of my hatred against *Cæsar*, these wounds so apparant, and which are shining markes of my soules conceptions, to speak & defend the poore accused criminall. I offer to thee (Lord *Cæsar*) these wounds, as pledges of that affection which lies hidden in my heart, and wherof I make you a liberall present. These are the gages of my faith, and this is an obligation written in my heart, and which wil remaine engrauen heere all my life time. If you will not please to credite my fellowes in Armes, nor to listen to thē of my Nation; let it be demanded of mine enemies, and know from them, for whose sake I haue receiued all these wounds. And what is the reason that I am thus pursued? but because I haue bin noted loyally affected, in offering you my faithfull seruice.

I vnderstand and perceiue, that mine enemy reprocheth me with friendship to *Pompey*, and fixeth before his owne eyes, that I haue fauoured his cause. I confesse (Lord *Cæsar*) I confesse, that I haue bin a friend, not to men, but to the Romane name: and that neuer my desires were elsewhere addicted, nor my duty & diligence any way applyed, but onely in doing my most humble seruice to the Senate and people of Rome. I haue then born Arms, not for a Romane, neither for his particular profite, but for the seruice of all. And let the case be admitted, that *Pompey* was acceptable to me, that I carried his cause, and maintained his quarrell; wherein am I therefore to be blamed? Hee was long time (before) my friend, that hee had war with you, or any discord grew betweene him and *Cæsar*. Moreouer (my Lord) he was your Kinseman, and you were his Father in law. He being in *Iudea*, there was not any particular affection (whatsoeuer) that made me follow him: for I assisted him, as being Generall of the Roman Army. And yet notwithstanding, I neuer hazarded my selfe so far for him, neither did he euer finde such kinde knowledge of affection in me; as (for his sake) to take so many wounds, as I haue receiued in seruing you. It is for you that I gaue the pledges of death, and for whom I became an enemy to mine owne body, exposing it to the Darts, Arrowes, and Weapons of your enemies.

A Soldiour stands obliged to follow his Generall.

But is it any matter of amazement, if a slaue, nurssed vp in seruitude, do not know what wounds are, nor the hazards happening in warre? Or should it offend any man, if a disloyall fugitiue should be ignorant what the worth of faith is, and what honesty remaines among good minded men? Who can reproue me, but this my perpetuall enemy and yours, for fayling in loue and affection to the people of *Rome*? I am astonished, how *Antigonus* should be so hardy, as daring to blame or accuse any man before the Romans, against whō it is his custome to make war; and that he shold be so impudent, to make complaint before them, as if his Realme were snatcht or rauisht from him. If it were so, yet his power should not bee exercised for his greatnesse or aduancement: but onely to seize on you, to assaile the Romane Legions, & to practise vengeance against you for his father and brother. It much amazeth me, that such a wretch, & so vnthankfull as he is, feareth not the throne of the Romane Emperour, but dare (euen there) oppose and pursue innocents: without remembring, that a Kinseman of his, and a companion in the crime, hath there beene punished for fellony, treason, and reuolt.

The Coward cannot iudge of blowes, nor the disloyall, of faithfulnesse.

A free and most honourable confession.

THE

THE EFFECT.

Reason appearing (in Cæsars *iudgement) to be vpon* Antipaters *side, he iudged also for him, and gaue him the gouernment of* Iudea. *By this meanes hee opened him the way, to giue the Iewish kingdome to the children of the said* Antipater, *and disseized them that were of the blood Royall, and of the true seed of* Dauid.

CHAP. IX. The Oration of *Herod* to his Martiall troopes, being vpon the point of fighting with the *Arabes*.

THE ARGVMENT.

HErod *seeing that his Army stood like men amazed, as fearing a disaduantageable successe of the warre, through (I know not what) superstitious conceite, grounded vpon prodegies, and tremblings of the earth, which at that time had happened, and in regard whereof, his Souldiers shewed themselues very vnwilling to fight against the* Arabes: *Hee laboured by this Oration to perswade them, that all such things are naturall, exhorting them, not to leaue the victory to their enemies, for any distrust in them; and these were his words.*

Fond prodegies and superstitious opinions conceiued in mens braines, make them cowards to warlike attempts.

THE forces of the enemy hauing bin enfeebled and abated by many of our aduantageable encounters, ful of fortune to vs, and transporting them with furious despaire, yea, making them to massacre our Legates and Ambassadors: I cannot chuse but meruaile, how you should be thus affrighted without any occasion. At leastwise, it were reasonable and dreadlesse, without some good foundation, to preferre accidentall occasions to any euident successe, when men are assured of their owne vertue and forwardnesse. We haue had some encountring with the enemy, where the *Arabes* did not turne their backes vpon vs, & yet dealt but fraudulently (as they can well do) not to vanquish, but to delay vs from the victory: which matters, as they ought to encourage ye to the fight; so you should withall consider, that as you haue felt (I know not what) weakning of hart, by some earthquakes hapning, they shold be no terrors at all to vs, no more then to thē, who stand with vs to endure this war.

An Army vsing fraud and deceit, seekes no meanes of conquering, but to delay the victory from his enemy.

And if we would but respect, on whom the damage of this persecution is falne, you should perceiue, that it is vpon the *Arabes*, constraining them to keepe themselues in the field, becausе they should be still before them, that far go beyond them in courage and valiancy. For I see, that they distrust their owne strength & manhood, and yet taking heart, on the hopefull ruine of our troopes, they will needs aduenture to endure the war. But alasse, that is a feeble hope, which proceedeth not from his owne proper vertue and valour, but rather dependeth vpon others misery: insomuch, as there is nothing more fraile nor mutable, then are felicities and aduersities hapning to men. For the estate & condition of humane occasions, whatsoeuer ouerthrowes they chāce to feele, relieth vpon a very little time, & as felicity is neuer durable; euen so aduersity can neuer bee perpetuall, and a man continueth no longer miserable, then hee had a precedent time to bee fortunate. And of all these I can giue you a goodly and most manifest example.

The vncertainty of mens felicities and aduersities.

In the first fights, wee had the victory ouer the *Arabes*, but war taking his course and altering the lot and fortune thereof; we were vanquished by them whom (not long before) wee surmounted and ouerthrew. Which therefore yeeldeth reason to beleeue, that we shall againe conquer them which vanquished vs: considering, that presumption is alwayes guided by indiscretion and want of fore-sight, wheras aduised feare armeth men with prouidence, to fit themselues for following successes, and thereby to learne duty and diligence. It neuer is otherwise in the state of felicity, but that boldnesse and temerity are equall companions, and want of discretion in Souldiers, neuer tarries for the wise aduice & councell of their Captaines; in briefe, they rush into the warre, without their leaue or commission. But I see that you are iudiciously fearefull, which makes mee to hold the victory so much the more assured. Courage then (deare friends and companions) take hart and hardiment, by aduancing the glorious and ancient magnanimity of the *Iewes* your Predecessours.

Presumption maketh a man improuident, but discreete feare maketh him wise.

Ordinary and naturall occasions shold neuer breed dismay in Soldiors.

And let not the mouings of insensible things, breed any terrour in you, neither carry any conceite, that earthquakes can be any argument or presage, of any other disaster or mishap, then what hath already happened. For the Elements haue their defects as well as we, and no other harme or danger is to be doubted, then what ensueth to themselues: considering, that neither trembl'ings of the earth, nor mortality of creatures are but their owne iniuries, and signifie no other perill or preiudice at all.

And yet we should not feare to suffer matter of greefe, in regard that (already) we haue endured most afflicting and insupportable greeuances: he that hath punished vs, will bee appeased, and become againe as milde vnto vs, as if hee had not chastised vs. For what can we expect from him, after this irksome pestilence, but only his holy fauour and mercy, seeing for two offences, he hath bin pleased to afflict and punish vs? For the rest, as concerning that which belongeth to this war, all is in his entire condition; because the plague hath ended them that were not in the Campe, and our victory hath taken them from the enemy, euē those men that were the cheefest for his battailes. If our Flocks or Heards of Cattell are dead, the enemy hath had a losse of much better things, being bereft both of wit and sence, when (contrary to all right and equity) he slew our Ambassadors. The *Arabes* haue broken the law common to all Nations: for no people are so cruell and barbarous, but Ambassadors ought to be inuiolably respected of them.

Ambassadors ought to be respected of the people, how barbarous soeuer.

Let them therefore expect from God, a iust vengeance for such crimes, to chastise their euill doing; for the sinnes of our aduersaries are of such importance, as there is not any law, be it humane or diuine, that will leaue them vnpunished. Let vs go forth then, yea, let vs go to fight; not to get their spoiles, or conquer their lands; but for the glory of God, and the defence of his honour. Let not the loue of your wiues and children spur ye on to the war; but only the diuine fauor, which you know to be present with you. So going on this manner to the fight, our desires shall not be thereby effected, but our obedience to God, for doing vengeance on them, whom the Law forbiddeth any man to touch. Beside, Ambassadors are they, who (among the furies of armed enemies) onely mediate peace, & such men are neuer numbred or ranked with aduersaries; because their blood being shedde, cryeth incessantly for iust vengeance in our soules. Haste wee then in going to the fight, in regard that God is hee, which offereth himselfe to reuenge our friends slaine. The very murdred Ambassadours will fight for vs more furiously, and better then our selues: and ringed round with a squadron of Angels, let vs on to the battaile, and vtter confusion of our enemies.

Ambassadors are neuer accounted or rankēd among other enemies

THE EFFECT.

By these words of the Generall, the Iewish Soldiors recouered heart, and seeking occasion to affront the enemy, at length assayled them with such fury; as the Arabes were enforced to fight, and had a great losse of men. Beside, such as fled, retired into the Mountaines; except a part of them, which yeelded themselues to the Iewes. The rest, affecting rather to die like honest men, then submit themselues basely; fell to handy blowes againe, where they were slaine and hewd in peeces, yet not without leauing sufficient testimony to the Iewes, of their valor.

CHAP. X. The Oration of *Herod* before *Augustus Cæsar*, who had conceiued anger against him, because he had taken part, and followed *Marke Anthony*.

THE ARGVMENT.

AVgustus Cæsar, *hauing vanquished* Marke Anthony *in Egipt, it seemeth he was aduised, that except he chastised* Herod *also, he was not fully possessed of the victory.* Herod *tasting the euill affection of this Prince, went to him to Rhodes, where presenting himselfe, and vsing the generosity of an inuincible spirit, he declared to* Augustus; *that if he did not helpe* Anthony, *it was not through want of any good will, but because he had no meanes to do it. Affecting much rather, to confesse that he had beene an enemy to* Cæsar, *then shew himselfe ingratefull to his friend. And although he presented himselfe before him, without a kingly Crowne on his head, and cloathed like a man that had no dignity: yet his words expressed the Maiesty of a great Prince, and these were they.*

Diuers hard measures wer offered to Herod, which made him rather goe to Augustus, thē he to send for him.

I Confesse (O mighty Monarch *Augustus*) that I haue beene a loyall companion to *Marke Anthony* in his affayres, as to the man, from whom I receiued the kingdome of *Iudea*. And I will not deny, but that I was very highly beholding to him, as I would more plainely haue expressed by Armes, if the enuy of *Cleopatra* had not giuen mee hinderance, and if the *Arabes* had not broken my designes and enterprizes. For which cause, and constrained by such necessities, I came not against you (in his assistance) with weapons in my hand: because I had no desire at all to forgoe my deare friend, and much lesse was I affraid to enter battaile against you in his behalfe; but onely in this respect, that I was busied in defending mine owne Countries. And albeit that I assisted him not personally in the battaile, yet *Anthony* found mee not vnthankfull to him; for I furnished him with men and victuals, for the succouring and refreshing of his Army, and I am well assured (Great *Augustus*) that you would not haue thought me ingratefull to *Mark Anthony*, if you had beene in the battaile at *Actium*.

A benefit receiued, doth so oblige a true harted friend, as no feare can keepe him from confessing it.

You see Sir, that I hide not my selfe, fearing more to be reputed ingratefull on your aduersaries behalfe, then doubting that any one should imagine me your enemy. I make more account of your iudgement, then of all the successe of warre: because before you, the merits of vertue are not in any perill, in regard you know how to purchase honor, and punish mis-behauiours and vices. Consider (gentle Prince) that as I neuer forsooke *Anthony*, so long as Fortune spake fairely to him: euen so, all disasters, and dead as he is, cannot yet make mee to forget and leaue him. You haue vanquished (O *Cæsar*) you haue vanquished *Marke Anthony*, by power, and by a great number of your Legions; you haue surmounted him by the wisedome of your Councels: the strength of the Empire hath cast him downe, from which hee was farre gone, and whereof he made not any reckoning; your vertues haue ouerthrowne him, or rather he hath beene ruined by his owne vices. For an Egyptian woman charmed and enchanted him; the delights of Egypt made him too soft and delicate, yea, he was wholly effeminately drowned in the *Alexandrian* luxuries. In briefe, hee hath beene conquered, because he better affected to be cast downe with *Cleopatra*, then to conquer without her: and so to be deiected by a woman, was more greeuous and insupportable to his friends, thē euer it could be to his enemies.

There is nothing comparable to the entire affection of one mā to another; it goeth far beyond the loue of women.

I aduised him, to vntwine himselfe from that wretched woman, and to bee the death of a beast so dangerous; I promised him succour in his affaires, and forces to preuaile by in his flight; yea, I offered to beare him company in this warre. But the miserable man, was so doating on the beauties of that woman, and meerely enchanted by *Cleopatra*, as hee is brought to be iust nothing, by reason that he wold not beleeue me. I confesse (Great *Cæsar*) that I am also conquered with him, but yet my offence is not so great, for although *Cleopatra* quite quailed, and made a dishonourable prey of poore *Anthony*; yet she had not the like power ouer mee: And as hee would not abandon that barbarous wanton woman, euen so could not I forgoe my great friend in his aduersities. It was hee that did sette a Royall Crowne on my head, neuertheless, I would not bee so bold to appeare in your presence, with the ornaments I receyued from so loyall a friend, fearing to offend you by those fauours which he did to me: & yet, although I haue left off my knowne liueries of dignity, I haue not lost a iote of my greatnesse in courage. You may iudge therefore as it shall seeme best to your selfe; for whatsoeuer sentence you pronounce on me, yet I am sure to carry this reputation with me, and to my no meane contentment; that I was good and perfect in mine affections; that I left not my friend in life nor death, and neyther good or bad fortune had power to ouerthrow me,

Monstrous is the misery, when a man leaues a loyall friend, and leanes to the base allurements of a lasciuious woman.

If Princes would banish flatterers frō being about them, their Maiesty wold shine with the more glorious splendour.

CHAP. XI. *The magnanimous answer of* Augustus *to* Herod, *confirming him in his dignity. Whereby is demonstrated, that a Prince ought rather to affect truth spoken by his friend, then feigned flattery, comming from the mouth of a dissembling counterfeit. And therefore* Augustus *perceiuing how freely* Herod *had spoken to him, confessing himselfe rather his enemy, then ingratefull towards* Mark Anthony, *and taking delight in his libertie of speech, as proceeding from a generous and royall heart; returned him this answer following,*

HEauen protect thee *Herod*, and enioy at this instant (better then euer before) the honour of thy Kingdome. For we enuy not thy vertues, neither doth it dispelase vs, that thou shouldst be such a man as thou art: but rather it is to vs most high contentment. And truely, thou art well worthy to rule & command, seeing thou hast so loyally kept thy faith giuen to a man onely, and being put in distresse, and assayled with aduersities; yet thou art not ashamed to confesse thy selfe the friend to *Marke Anthony*, and such as thou wast to him in his prosperity, such diddest thou continue still to him when his fortune fell contrary. Now, albeit I haue conquered *Anthony*, yet I neuer thought to ouercome thee: for thy friendship remaining so entire, placeth thee in ranke with them that haue wonne the victory. Which is the reason, that I no lesse wish thee for my friend, then I praise and commend thy stedfast loyalty, because no changes of Fortune, haue power to alter thy minde and desires.

He is a true friend indeed that continueth alwayes one and the same in all conditions.

Thou neuer didst abandon *Anthony*, but it was he that estranged himselfe from thee: for he better affected to follow the councels of *Cleopatra*, then them of so deare and true a friend as *Herod*. The ignorance of *Anthony*, is the reason of my winning thee: for hee made choyse of a pernicious and foolish woman, and reiected a most worthy loyall friend. And yet it is no matter of meruaile, that *Anthony* should be vanquished by *Cleopatra*, and keepe himselfe wholly with her: seeing that being victorious, yet hee would needs become a voluntary slaue. Could you account it strange, that *Cleopatra* should turne *Anthony* from your councelles, seeing she could separate him from me, and of being my fellow-Companion in the Empire, cause him to become my mortall enemy? Seeing therefore, that with mee you haue lost *Marke Anthony*; with mee I purpose you shall liue and raigne.

When men become effeminately minded, all manly councell is hatefull to them.

And trust me, your commendable and insigne enterprize deserueth great recompence, and is worthy (by vs) to bee highly guerdonned: considering that while wee were busied in the late passed warres, you haue ouercome and subiected the *Barbarians*, although they seemed to be vnconquerable. For we reputed them to bee our enemies, and so we do make account of all those that are aduerse to the Iewish Nation, and such as molest them, must know that they make warre with vs. You haue therefore fought for vs, and for vs you haue wonne the victory; in which respect, we permit you to reigne, and grant you the kingdome which you possesse: Commanding, that by our donation it shall be confirmed to you, and established durable, your merite being not little, because you haue made no diminution thereof. Also in further recompence, I will deale in such sort with you, as you shall haue no cause to wish for the presence of *Marke Anthony*: esteeming it altogether vnbeseeming vs, if hauing (while hee liued) ouercome him in warre, being now dead, we should not go beyond him in acknowledgement and friendship.

A notable signe of a vertuous and wel vnderstanding Prince.

THE EFFECT.

Cæsar *and* Herod *hauing thus discoursed together*, Augustus, *to shew what account he made of this great Warriour* Herod: *did set a Royall Crowne vpon his head, and confirmed him in his authority, with hope to enlarge the limits of his kingdome. As likewise hee did afterward, hauing obserued, how* Herod *acknowledged the benefits of his Maiesty, when as he furnished and refreshed him with water and victualles, at such time as a great dearth and scarsity was in the Romane Army. From whence* Cæsar *being returned, hee gaue Townes and Castles on the Sea to* Herod, *and accepted him as one of his best friends, which he had in the East.*

CHAP. XII. The Oration of *Herod* to the Iewes, vpon the partage or diuiding of his Seigneuries, to be made to his children.

THE ARGVMENT.

Like as Herod *was happy in his warlike enterprizes, so did bad fortune follow him in the domesticke affaires of his house, for hauing children of diuers beds, the humors also of*

When Princes encline their eares to flat erers, their Courts shall neuer want quarrels and contentions.

of them being as diuers: caused the Palace Royall to bee dayly filled with quarrels and defiances, according as flatterers were heard, and fauoured by Herod. Now, the matters grew so farre, that the King and one of his sonnes, named Antipater (*who was his eldest*) *must go to* Rome *to declare their greeuances; where* Antipater *behaued himselfe so well, that he wonne the Emperor, and qualified the anger of his Father, who receiued him into grace againe. Neuertheless,* Cæsar *ordained, that children should be obedient to their fathers, & that it should be lawfull for Fathers, to declare him for King (after his decease) that stoode best in his liking; because* Antipater *had accused his yonger brethren, being issued of blood Royall on all sides, euen as well as he was borne:* Herod *not being as then in authority, but aspiring to the Crowne. So soone as the king was returned from* Rome, *he caused an assembly of the people of* Ierusalem, *to whom he declared what he had done in this voyage, vsing these very Words.*

Contention, quarrell, and disobedience in children, are no meane motiues of griefe to their parents.

NOT without great occasion, and that very beneficiall to my selfe (you Hebrew Cittizens) did I make my voyage vnto *Rome*, to the end that *Cæsar* might iudge, concerning the quarrell betweene me and my children. To him I went, because my selfe knew not how, neither would I take vpon me to censure a cause, wherein I might easily fayle, by being transported with choller: & therefore he that gaue me the Kingdome, I thought fittest to ordaine, concerning the succession, and to bestow it on such a one of my sonnes, whom he should conceiue to be the worthiest. Now, among so many benefites as I receiued from him, this he added to them, that in a great difficulty, he did so facilitate the matter, that he gaue me my sonne againe, whom I had well-nere lost, and accorded the brethren together, vpon the difference growing betweene them, touching succession in the kingdome. You see mee then returned, farre richer then before I went; for I haue learned to be a better Father, then formerly I haue beene; and my children also are tutor'd to beare themselues in better manner to me, and all this hath happened through the grace and mildnes of Great *Augustus*. For, he hath appointed, that the appenage of my sonnes, and their succession in the kingdome, shall depend vpon mine owne will; to the end, that the prerogatiue and aduancement of which of them soeuer it be, shal not breed any pride or presuming in anie one of them. Hee hath permitted me, to choose such a successor as I will haue, to wit, he that shall be the most obedient to me, and giueth the greatest honor to his Father.

Obedience is an excellent lesson, when it shall teach a man howe to haue a Kingdome.

Now, concerning my selfe (O you my louing Citizens of *Ierusalem*) I wil follow heerein the iudgment of *Cæsar*, who freeing my younger sonnes from the accusation laide vpon them; hath made them equall to the eldest in hope, that (one day) they may succeede after me. In which respect, this very day, I make and declare them Kings all three together, the eldest hauing the priuiledge, in regard of his age, and the other because of their Nobility in blood. I would not haue you moued at the number of Princes, considering that the greatnesse and magnificence of the kingdome, sufficeth to maintaine and furnish effectually a far greater number, although there were no more aduantages. First of all, I make God the Iudge of this my aduice and ordinance; & next, I would haue you to be witnesses and testifiers thereof; to the end, that you may honor them according to right, & equally them that *Cæsar* hath accorded, and whom my selfe (being their father) do establish and appoint vnto you as Princes. To whom also you may doe such honor, as shall not exceede the bounds of reason in ouer-much esteeming them; and yet in no lesse fashion then belongeth to them. For too much honour puffes vp the heart with presumption, and neglect or contempt causeth rage and choller. Wherefore, I would haue that dutie done vnto them, as appertaineth to the merits deliuered from them: for you cannot giue so much content to him, who is honoured aboue his deserts, as you doe harme to him, to whome dutie is denied vndeseruedly. Oftentimes, it commeth so to passe, that both the one and other are offended, in regard it is meer flattery, which occasioneth the indiscreete sentence of preference.

Too much honouring a man, maketh him insolent, and contempt is the meanes to make him mad.

Beside, let me further say freely to you, that

Honor done to children, is the greater glory to their Father.

that I am the common father to them all three, and you know well enough, that honor done to the Children, redoundeth the more to the Fathers glory. Notwithstanding, if there be any, that shall flatteringly honor my sonnes beyond reason, they make themselues guilty of treason to them: because they shal proue Authours of the recidiuation and rebellion, for the which we fell at first into difference. In making too much esteeme of our youth, is to giue it too free a heart and head, and boldnesse in attempting beyond capacity: yet let no man thinke, that I am enuious of the aduancement and glorie of mine owne Children. No, heauen is my witnesse, how I rather wish their power meane and stinted, whereby wee may the better liue in peace; then in growing ouer-great, to swell vp their hearts as high, and thereby spend the rest of our dayes in troubles and seditions. For, that which is established by pride and inuasion, hath but small and slender continuance, and slippeth away sodainly, but that which is possessed with loue and gracious liking, it hath as good and successefull enduring.

What Pride buildeth, Presumption ouer-throweth.

I will therefore bee carefull in taking order, that my Kindred and Friends may bee the pledges of peace and concord for euer heereafter, betweene mee and my Sonnes; by whose exhortations and admonitions, they will bee mooued to loue and cherrish one another. For, as an euill purpose makes a deep wound in the heart of him that heares it tolde him: euen so, much more are they corrupted, who are made drunke by them that dayly frequent it, and whose soules are continually infected by so foule a plague; so that the contagion spreades it selfe ouer all them, that then are about, or come into their company.

A wicked intention woundeth the heart deeply of him to whom it is reuealed.

Although a man be (by nature) very courteous and peaceable; yet, let a Lake or Poole be neuer so calme and stil, when impetuous windes throwe their churlish blastes vpon it, it will swell, and shewe a discontented countenance. In the very same manner, are the mildest Natures of men madded, and quite peruerted by the meanes of lewd and wicked Counsellers. In breefe, it is on mee that all my Subiects must fixe their expectation, and there assuredly settle their confidence; for whatsoeuer aduancement happeneth to my Sonnes; yet so it is, that I will not lose a iote of mine authority and power. And when all is saide, there is not a Captaine or soldier, but will expresse more reuerence to the father of Conductors and Generals, then to them that command ouer the whole Army.

It is my selfe alone, without any other, that will bee the discharge of al, and will onely recompence them, who hauing done their dutie vnto mee, shall acknowledge what seruices they haue done to my Sonnes. If I finde dutie performed without peruerting; no doubt but deserued recompence will follow thereon; but deceite and cogging shall finde such reward, and so surely paide him, that he will vtterly lose all the fruite of his labor, and that which he fawned for by knauish flattery.

Deceite doth most commonly deceiue his owne master, & Flatterers are the falsest knaues that can be.

Now, as concerning you (my good and deere Sonnes) fasten your first regard vppon the common bond of nature, which vniteth bruite beastes together, and causeth their alliance to keepe such a mutuall agreement: as there is not any beast so vntractable, but with the perill of his life, hee will striue and labour to defend his young ones from danger. Carry honour and reuerence to *Cæsar*, who hath reconciled you together; and next, haue regard of mee, and of the Honour which is due vnto mee; who had much rather pray yee to doe so, then to command it to be done, albeit you know that it still remaineth in my power to Command.

Continue in the bond which you haue knit together; you are brethren, I would not haue you breake that vnion, neyther to be the occasion of disioynting that for which ye were borne. I shall giue you Habites, Attendants, and Royal honors, but much more precious is that whereto I exhort ye, inuiolable amity, beeing vnited together in one and the same will, If you declare such mutual affection, your authoritie will bee the more acceptable vnto mee: but amity fayling, you dart your malice thorow my heart, and thorow the very soule of Kingly Gouernement.

Anthoritie without amity is vile & hurtfull.

Therefore, vntill I haue made proofe of this your Vertue, yee shall enioy no Kingdome, but the Royall Title onely: if

if you loue your father, the effect of name will follow, in the meane while approue among your selues, how and what affection I beare vnto you. You shall enioy al that is goodly and pleasing in the dignitie Royall, as Princes of the blood: but concerning the charges of the Empire, and troublesome burthen of State-affayres, they shall lye vppon me, though it were better to cumber many, then one onely. By this meanes, it shall bee very profitable for you, to accommodate your selues to that which I haue desired: because I loue the glorie which should still shine in you, and which I truly account to be mine owne.

THE EFFECT.

Herod *hauing deliuered all these speeches, and greatly comforted his sons, howsoeuer some reioyced thereat, as not discerning so far off, that which was hidden vnder these words: yet the better sort felt themselues offended. For they perceiued, that this equallity serued but for a sparke, to kindle the concealed fire in the brests of the brethren, who could not indure any aduantages, how litle soeuer, especially, hauing all but one and the same prerogatiue. So that this proued to be the cause of ruine to one another, as also of distrust and extreme cruelty in King* Herod.

CHAP. XIII.

The Battaile of Riotta *or* Nouara, *vvhich vvas fought in the Dukedome of* Millaine, *betweene* Iohn Trivulzi; *and the Lord of* Trimouille, *Generals for* Lewes *the xij. King of* France, *on the one side; and* Maximillian Sforza, *Duke of* Millaine, *accompanied vvith the* Switzers, *on the other, in the yeare* 1513.

The kings former losse of Millaine, was the occasion of this warre.

LEwes King of *Fraunce*, the twelth of that name ill digesting the losse of *Millaine*, and som other disgraces formerly receiued, made his election of two speciall Captaines, wel experienced in martiall affaires, and also of no meane authority; the Lords *Trivulzi* and *Trimouille*, to passe the Alps, and enter *Italy*. A further choise was likewise made, for the more happy successe in this attempt, of *Robert de la March*, whom hee sent for out of the Countrey of *Luca*, and his blacke Regiment of *Germans*, by some termed *Allemaignes*, as also the Lord *Lewes Beaumont*, who came from the Frontiers of *Nauarre*, and brought vvith him those seueral bands of *Gascoignes*, that had before serued *Seigneur de la Palice* at *Panipelona*, when they fought against the Spaniards. Some few Ensignes of foot (but of very choice men) were intermingled with them; for such Gentlemen as serued

Of what seuerall bands the French Army consisted.

not with horse, held it no disgrace, thus to be imployed on foote, and went vnto it with chearefull alacrity. Al which power beeing very aptly appointed, and furnished with great Ordenance vnto theyr owne good liking, they hasted away with speed for *Italy*.

On the contrary side, the Duke of *Millaine*, named *Maximillian Sforza*, vnderstanding this French preparation made for him; he was not negligent in his owne occasions: but mooued the *Switzers* to revisite *Lombardy*, as in some former expeditions they had done, and to Friend him with their manly assistance, in which motion he purchased no deniall. The *Ammans*, or they that beare the Office of Maiors, in the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, as lying nerest vnto *Italy*, with their warlike powers, were the first that passed ouer the Alpes: beeing seconded or followed by the like bands of *Glaris*, *Zug*, *Lucerna*, *Schaffouse*, *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and these made vp another martiall company. The third and last consort, consisted of fiue thousand foot, conducted by *Altosaxo*, a most expert and forward captaine. But *Maximillian* became somewhat discouraged, by an vnexpected reuolt of *Sacranora Visconti*, that did keepe a swarme of desperate fellowes about him in *Millaine*, all errant vnthrifres, though leaning to Nobility, and others beside; and therefore ioyned with the first company of Switzers, going to *Nouara*, expecting there (yet free from priuy awaits and

The Switzers are sollicited to succor duke Maximillian Sforza, and come to him with their valiant bands.

The French Army cometh before Nouara.

and treachery) when the reſt of the Switzers ſhould come.

Before the Towne of *Nouara*, came the French Forces, yet hearing that the ſecond ſupply of Switzers were ſomwhat neere, and that *Altoſaxo* was at *Galarita*; they retreated to *Riotta*, which was about ſome twenty Furlonges from *Nouara*, hard by the Riuer of *Mara*. No ſooner were the ſecond Conuoy of Switzers entred the Towne, and had theyr Mornings refection; but the Captaines called for a conſultation, for concluding vppon matters fitteſt to be done: whereuppon, *Caraffe*, *Amman* of *Zurich*, offering the firſt motion of ſpeech, began in this manner.

The Oration of Caraffe, *Amman of Zurich.*

This he ſpake in the hearing of the whole Company.

Valiant, and inuincible ſpirited Brethren, let not the attempt which you haue reſoluedly cõcluded on, coole through want of courage, or corruptly loſe it ſelfe, in needleſſe attending for Altoſaxo, *& ſuch as come with him. For it hath euer bene knowne, that the ſureſt and happieſt way to fortunate ſucceſſe, is to ſtifle delay with ſpeedy expedition; and ſo we ſhall finde it, if wee haue the prouidence to purſue it: Nor neede we, whoſe corage and conſtancy ſtand equally kiſſing each other, liſten to any other recreant word, but onely braue and ſpeedy expedition: leſt the day ſhining now fairely for vs, cloud it ſelfe in our lingering, and ſo we loſe our glorious expectation. Occaſion is yet offered vs, and we may take hold on his happy fore-locke; for, it is not number, but Nobleneſſe of minde that giues honor to the actions yſſue. A handfull is enow for a heaped multitude, and while hope holds them, that* Altoſaxo *is our Load-ſtarre, and we dare doe nothing till he ſhine out with vs, they may be deceiued in their idle ſuppoſition, & we more then maſters of ſo good aduantage. Let therfore their erroneous conceit, lead vs the way to true diſcipline, for a ſodaine and vnexpected onſet, ſtrikes terror in an enemies ſoule, and followes him bothwith flight and ſlaughter. Let their ouerweening pride vſher them, and take we hold on this happy and beneficial councel: which guides ye to vndoubted victory, if with dreadleſſe harts you ply & purſue it.*

By friuolous ſuppoſition in an enemy, he is ſoonest taken tardy.

No ſooner had *Caraffa* come vnto his ſpeeches period, but all the Captains and Enſignes conſented to him, and a graue conſultation grew immediately, for beſt proceeding in their purpoſe. Hereupon, refection and reſt was generally commãded; and after the ſecond watch, preſent repaire vnto their Colours; where before day-dawning they ſhould bee acquainted with other inſtructions. Imagine heere (as well you may) that euery minde fate muſing with ſerious conceite, what iſſue the intended fight would ſort vnto; & by this time the Sun was ſet. But now liſten to a wonder, and truly no leſſe in mine opinion. The Dogges which the French had brought to field with them, quite leauing their Campe, all in a troope together entred *Nouara*, and the Switzers Centinels, with ſuch as walked the round, or kept the *Corps du Guard*; the dogs fawning on thẽ one after another, euen as if they were already become their Maſters, or ſhortly ſhould; laide downe their eares, wagged their tailes in louing manner, and licked their hands.

Diligence is the conducter to happy ſucceſſe.

A very ſtrãge and admirable accident

But the Switzers, not intending to haue their priuate cogitations diſcouered, cunningly gaue order, that in euerie part of the City, now at one place, then at another, Drums ſhould ſtill be beaten; that if any ſcouts or ſpies tooke notice of them, they ſhould the eaſier bee perſwaded of their ſodaine comming foorth, as alſo to continue their enemies in Armour ſtill; they hauing all the day before bin ſo prepared, and on horſeback. Thus they ſhaped their outward deſſeignes, while theyr cloſer determinations aimd at other ends, as to ſtrengthen their bodies with food & reſt, and to win another daies reſpit more for their better conteſtation in trial of honor. And let me tell yee, that the Lawes are ſo ſtrict and ſeuere among the Switzers, that if any ſhal dare (in publike view of the Armie) to do any thing cowardly, or with feare, ſhamefull & vnfitting men of valour; he is immediately ſlaine by his following fellow, ſo that the greater feare confounds the leſſe, and begets an honorable death, in ſtead of that which is otherwiſe attended on; with nothing but infamy.

Men can neuer be too cunning for an inuading enemy.

The

The Switzers were carefull for losing the left opportunity.

The Army consisting of about 9000. foote, made choise of a thousand Horsse beside, men of well tryed and vndaunted valour, to take the charge of eight Faulcons, and to keepe with *Maximillian* and his Horsse (which indeede were but few, yet of the cheefe Nobility:) while the rest did throw themselues into two battailes, and silently, without beating any Drum, marched towards the enemy two seuerall wayes.

Now *Trivulzi*, being reputed for a wise and well experienced Captaine, suspected nothing lesse, then that a fewe tyred foote, and also before *Altosaxo* came; would venture out vpon a stronger power, or hazard any the least fortune of battaile. But vnderstanding that the Enemy was within sight, he cals vppe *Trimouille* and the other Captaines, giuing order for placing the Ordenance, the signals for fight to be giuen, and what hee knew by discipline or experience, to wait vpon the need of danger.

Opportunitie taken in war, is alwaies attended with fortunate succesſe.

Such was the shortnesse of time, and the courage of the foe so mounted for fight, that the French scarsely had leisure to bridle their horses, & arm their heads: for they had stood most part of the day & night in Armes, expecting stil what shold be commanded, and at last (though very late) newes comming, that all was whist and quiet at *Nouara*, had got into theyr Cabines to rest. But the Light-horsse being sooner ready then they looked for, yssueth forth in time conuenient, making a long Wing to the left handwarde, and met the thousand Switzers as they vvere marching on. And they, for more safely shunning the great Ordenance, which played vpon them tempestuously, fetcht a small compas about towards the Riuer of *Mora*, with intent to passe a Bridge, & so set on the enemies tents in the rere. So marching in a broad way towards the Riuer, they were hotly rent and torne with the Ordenance, and mightily pressed also with the light horsse.

A noble & valiant resolution in Duke Maximillian.

But then *Mottina*, whose corage could not be quailed, changed his former resolution, and entreated Duke *Maximillian*, (being then in great daunger, by reason that the *Epirotes* insulted round about him) to leaue the fight, and returne to the Citty instantly, that so the warres mayne head might be kept, which lay open vnto the tiranny of chances, and there to await the succesſe of expected victory. *Maximillian* made an honourable refusall; for such was the constancy of his courage, as he would endure all common accidents of Fortune, rather then be blurd with the least disgrace.

Heereupon, two vnder Captains, and two Ancients seized his horse by the bridle, and renting the Crest from off his Helmet, threw an olde cloake about him to hide his Armes, and forcing him (whether he would or no) led him out of the field with a troope of Horsse, and so conducted him to the Citty, to stand cleare from danger, while they endured the brunt of the day. Afterward *Mottina* rallied his swaying battell, which (by this time) hadde lost three of their Faulcons; then retiring the wounded into the midst of the battell, and beating back the ouerforward *Epirotes*, slew there *Alexio Bosigna*, a noble Grecian Captaine, and so defeated them vtterly.

Alexio Bosigna a Grecian Captain slain

Then rushing into the enemies camp, where the drudges and stragglers beeing slaine, and the soldiers of that station disordered; the carriage and baggage were surprized. But some little vvhile before *Mottina* had thus preuailed, another company, that tooke a longer iourny through the Corne-fieldes, then growne vp, and receyuing little harme by the Ordenance, had made a fresh charge on the Enemies side.

In what manner the French power were ordered for the fight.

The French forces were ordered into three battallions, *Trimouille* and *De la March* hauing the leading of the winges, and *Trivulzi* the middle Regiment, or maine battayle. As for the Launcequenets Battallion, they had got themselues within a ditch, and betweene the battailes of the Horsse, because their Trench, being a new and somewhat admirable kinde of Workemanship, deuised by *Robert de la March*, to hemme them in against the chances of warre: vpon so sodaine a comming of the enemy, coulde not by any meanes bee set vp and pitcht. The Switzers bringing their Battailes about towards the right hand, and vppon this squadron of the *Germaines* or *Allemaignes*, very couragiously turned to them; perceyuing that victory vvould soone bee wonne, hauing once defeated the cheefest force of the Enemies Armie.

Which

The Ammans of Zug and Berne slain, & yet the souldiers not a iotte discouraged.

Which the French Captains beholding, gaue present order to discharge theyr great Ordenance vppon them, breaking through the rankes, with mighty slaughter, the Horsse also comming hotely on them on the left side. The Ammans of *Berne* and *Zug* were slaine in this confusion, which nothing dismayed their souldiers courage, nor their owne vnauoydable perill, and wofull hauocke of theyr Fellowes about them; but chearfully animating themselues, and wheeling round into a ring, propelled the Horsse very valiantly, and (as before they had concluded) suddenly getting ouer the ditch, set vpon the *Allemaignes* couragiously. Now began a fierce and bloody fight, no noise or words spoken on either side; but onely a dismall clashing of Weapons and armor, and the soft sighes of such as fell downe dead, giuing their latest adiew vnto the world.

Where both sides contend for honour, great must the violence of the fight be.

The *Allemaignes*, that they might reuenge the slaughter of their country-men the yeare before at *Pauia*; and now (by new renowne) redeeme their glorie lost fourteene yeares past at *Bruderholtz*, on the confines of *Easile*, fought very fiercely. And the *Switzers* that they might yet (one day) destroy their olde and peculiar enemies, fellowes that had runne out of *Germany*, and (in reproach to the Emperour) serued the French King; were not a iot behinde them, either in strength, or feruency of courage.

Now, while the *Switzers* and *Allemaigns* fought thus at the push of pike, Newes came to *Trivulzi* and *Trimouille*, that the bagge and baggage were taken; those that were appointed for keeping the campe also slaine, beside tumult and slaughter in euery place. Which report so daunted the Frēch, that a great part of their horse (euery man being careful for his luggage) ran (without any command) to ouercom it againe.

A stratagem of the Switzers to beguil the French.

In another quarter also, & at the same instant almost) the third company or battallion of the Switzers, shewd themselues at the front of the French, which Battallion (while the French hadde (in vaine) discharged their Ordenance into a VVood standing before them, in regard that the Switzers (to deceiue the enemy) had politikely left a few of the drudges amongst the trees, as making a shew of ambushed armed men) had closely crept along by a side way, by little and little stoopings downe, and trayling their Pikes vpon the ground after them.

Lewes Lord Beamont slain

Now, so great was their contempt of the bullets flying about them, and the charge so dreadfull, that the French and *Nauarrine* foote (their Captaine *Beamont* being slaine) two bands also of *Geneuayes* and *Salucians* defeated, and theyr Ordenance taken, and turned vpon their backs that fled; the *Allemaignes* now beeing almost quite destroyed, their Tents taken, the enemy ouerthrowing all, and largely Lords of the field; betweene shame and feare turned their backes. VVhen all men were thus dismayed, the Captaines yet continued fearlesse (considering the fearfulnesse of their present estate) and went rallieing the disordered rankes, and turning themselues vnto the cryes of theyr Companions, made them to abide and fight.

Mottina Captaine of the Switzers slain

The vnder Officers and Ancients, entreated them for to exempt all feare, the Lancequenets bare the brunt of the battell, and the fight began to be repaired in all places. But the horsmen, nothing moued with their Captaines encouraging words, shamefully fled. For the Switzers although their Captaine *Mottina* was slaine by a piece of Ordenance; yet, hauing gotten the Campe, set fiercely and bloodily on the left side of the Horsse, & likewise on the right, and then on theyr backes came a greater power with terrible Pikes, to the no little terror of the disordered horse.

Montfalcon and Coriolano and Trivu'zi slaine.

In repairing the field, there perrished *Montfalcon*, Captaine to the Duke of *Albanies* company of horse, and *Coriolano Trivulzi*, a young Gentleman of singular hope. But, the *Allemaignes* losing halfe their men, two Ensignes, and their Generall *Floranges* very greeuously hurt, had fought most constantly a long while together: but perceiuing nowe the Horsse to forsake them, the foote in euery quarter to bee defeated, and the great Ordenance taken, accounting flight to be very shamefull, yet voide of securitie; set the points of their weapons vpright, according to their vsuall manner, and yeelded, seeking mercy of the victor enemy. In this tempest of affliction and confusion, *Robert de la Marche*, Lord of *Cadan*, shotte through

The Allemaignes yeilded to the enemies mercy

thorough with deadly ſorrow, beholding his two ſonnes, the Lords *Floranges* and *Gemeſe)* engirt by the enemy, and meerly in deſperate daunger of life: vvith a troope of Horſſe, boldly brake into the middeſt of the enemies battell, and they lying among the mangled bodyes halfe dead, pittifully embrued with their owne blood and woundes, laying them ouerthwart the neckes of two Horſſes; to his no little prayſe, both for manly proweſſe and fatherly pittie, woorthily brought them thence, preſeruing theyr liues for future renowne, and in a farre more fortunate field.

The louing care of a Father to his ſonnes.

Thus the Switzers, fighting in three ſeuerall Squadrons or Companies, within the compaſſe of an houre and a halfe, or thereabout. perfected a moſt memorable famous battayle, and vveightie warre.

Diſcipline obſerued among the Switzers.

And although their enemies lay ſlaine before theyr faces, ſtored with goodlie and rich Furniture, which was able to allure them: yet would they make no ſeyſure on the ſpoyle, but kept within care of their Countrey Diſcipline, which permits not to take any armed man priſoner in the battaile, neither to follow him that flyeth.

This made them to ſtand ſtill a great part of the day, as doubting leaſt the French, prouoked eyther by pollicie in their Captaines, or their owne ſhame; ſhould retreate backe againe, and take them at aduantage in deſpoyling the dead. But this feare was much more diſcreete then needefull, becauſe the Enemy kept on ſtill in flight, and *Trivulzi* gallopping too and fro, confounded with extremity of duſt and hoarſeneſſe in crying to them, was vtterly vnable, eyther by foule or faire perſwaſions, or the commanding Authoritie of a Generall, to ſtay the Enſignes or the Horſſe, that throwing away their Lances, ſtroue with greateſt eagerneſſe, who ſhould bee foremoſt.

When confuſion is in an army, perſwaſions prauaile little.

It is reported, that the whole troops of French Horſſe might haue beene vtterly ouerthrowne and ſpoyled in theyr flight, if Duke *Maximilian* had made an oppoſition but with two hundred light Horſſe: for there was not a French-man that carried a Lance beyonde *Seſithes*, ſuch was their heate and haſt to be gone.

And yet within a ſhort while after, *Siluia Sabello*, and *Corradino Cribelly*, with certaine light Horſſe, purſued them vnto the Towne of *Trecato*: but the Contadines and Peazants, flocking amaine out of the Fieldes and Hamlets to the ſpoile, made a moſt cruell ſlaughter where anie bootie was to be had, at hedges, ditches, and all other places, that hindered the tired French in their flight.

The ſame day the Switzers, gathering together the ſlaine bodyes of their countreymen, carryed them on their ſhoulders into the Cittie, to giue them the lateſt honour of buriall. Amongſt them, were ſlaine a thouſand and three hundered, ſeauen hundred beeing torne vvith the great pieces of Ordenance, and almoſt as many were wounded, but of the French were ſlaine eight thouſand of all degrees.

The loſſe ſuſtained on both ſides.

Duke *Maximillian*, not a little ioyfull of ſuch fortunate ſucceſſe, ſummoned the Souldiors together, and ioy ſo confounding ſpeech, as he was ſcarſe able to vtter a worde; which appeared by the teares trickling downe his cheekes, gaue them all moſt hearty thankes; and, as a gift of inſtant benefite and pleaſure, all the Victualles then taken, beſide the Ordenance and generall ſpoyle, hee frankely beſtowed vppon them. As for the admirable Trench, wherein conſiſted ſuch vndoubted hope of Victorie, inuented by a warlike witte, brought ouer the Alpes vvith much labour, and great charge: that being taken from the enemy, was ſet vp in a publique place, for a future Monument of that victorie: and this deceyued the *Allemaignes* moſt, that they holde it vtterly needleſſe to erect their Trenche that day, which lay ſtill in the Waggons, becauſe ſucceſſe ſeemed then to frowne on the enemy.

The gratitude of Duke Maximillian Sforza towards his ſoldiers.

Vppon Conference had afterwardes with *Trimouille* at *Bologna*, concerning all theſe matters; he did not friuolouſly impute the fault vnto *Trivulzi*, for not encamping on his owne grounndes (as *Trimouille* had perſwaded him) in regard of ſpoyling the Graſſe, which then at that time was ready to bee mowne. But *Trivulzi*, as a man neuer conquered before, yet diſputing on ſeuerall euents hapning in the battaile, threwe the maine errour on aduerſe fate, which too much enuyed

When a loſſe is ſuſtained, excuſes or complaints are alledged then, to no end.

his worth and renowne. And hee ſaide very truely, that men, made more then mad, by cowardly and degenerate feare, in the cheefeſt heate and fury of fight; are no way able to be reſtrained or ordered, by the beſt or moſt skilfull Captaine that euer liued.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the force of ſudden Chances and vnexpected Euents, for the diſſipation as well of mans power, as of his pollicy: And of the hazards and doubtfull euents of Battailes, and other enterprizes of Warre.

The euents of war moſt doubtfull.

ALthough the ſucceſſe of mens affayrs is moſt vncertaine, variable, & ſubiect to infinit chances and hazards; yet in nothing ſo much as in matters, wherein mans power is moſt ſeene, to wit, in matters of warre, whereof the euents are ſo doubtfull and dangerous, that (as *Iaſon* ſaide to *Epimanondas*) *He is not wiſe that doth not feare them.* And therefore it is reported of *Phocion*, a moſt excellent Captaine of the *Athenians*, that although hee was choſen fiue and forty times Generall of their armies; yet hee himſelfe did euer perſwade thē to peace, as fearing the ſucceſſe of warre. And *Hanniball* hauing bene for 16 yeares victorious in *Italy*, and forced at the length to defend his owne country, which was *Carthage* (where *Scipio* the Romane had already ouerthrowne two great armies of the *Carthagenians*, and was ready alſo to preſent him battaile) he doubted ſo much the euent thereof, that crauing conference with *Scipio*, he ſought to perſwade him to peace, repreſenting vnto him the hazard of warre, and aduiſing him to conſider in the proſperous courſe of his victories, not onely what had hapned to other men, but alſo what might enſue to himſelfe, & that to make peace was in his own hands, but if he came once to the battaile, the victory ſhould bee in the hands of God. And laſtly, that *Nuſquam minus quam in bello euentus reſpondent. The euents of things do no where leſſe anſwer the expectation of men, then in warre.*

Supplement of *Plutarch* in *Epaminondas.*

Plutarch. in Phocion.

Hannibal feared the euent of warre.

Tit. Liuius in Dec. 3. lib. 10.

Idem.

To make peace is in the hands of man, but victory is in the hands of God.

Ibid.

Idem.

Thus ſpake *Hannibal*, who may alſo well ſerue for an example of his owne admonitions. For though he had bin many yeares together, the ſcourge of the *Romanes*, and the moſt famous and renowned Captaine then liuing, yea, and was (as it were) growne old with victories in forreigne Countries, euen before the very gates of Rome; yet was hee at length vtterly ouerthrowne by a *Romane*, a young man, inferiour to him in reputation, experience, and forces, and in that battaile which moſt imported him, and wherein (by the iudgement of all men) he imployed all the endeuour, military arte and skil he had, or which could bee required in a moſt prudent and valiant Captaine.

The ouerthrow of Hāniball by a yong Romane

Ibid.

This change and decay of fortune in war, may be exemplified in many others, as famous Captaines as euer were; as in the worthy *Iudas Machabeus*; *Cyrus*, king of *Perſia*; *Pyrrhus*, king of *Epyrus*; *Marcellus*; *Pompeius Magnus*; *Marcus Antonius*, Competitor of *Auguſtus Cæſar*; the Emperour *Conſtantius*; and *Heraclius*; *Belizarius*; *Edward* the third, King of England; our famous Countriman, *Iohn Talbot*, the firſt Earle of *Shrewsbury*, whoſe name is yet terrible to the *French*; the great Earle of *Warwicke*, in the time of *Edward* the fourth; *Charles*, Duke of *Bourgongne*; *Nicholo Pricimico*; *Lewes* the 12. king of France; and now laſtly (in our memory) the Emperour *Charles* the fift. All which (with many other whom I omit for breuities ſake) hauing by many notable victories got the fame and renowne of moſt famous Captaines, were eyther at laſt diſgraciouſly killed, or elſe receyued ſome great ouerthrowes, or had (at leaſt) ſome notorious decay of their former and wonted proſperous ſucceſſe.

The chance & decay of fortune in warre exemplified in many famous Captaines.

Maccab. l. 1 c. 5. Iuſtin. in lib. 1. Plutarch. Polydor Virg. Phil. Comin. Guicciardin. Pedro Mexia. Surius.

The conſideration heereof, had mooued diuers moſt valiant Captaines, to auoide the aduenture of battaile as much as might be, and rather ſeek to ouercome their enemies by ſtratagems, practiſes, and delayes: as *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who (by ſuch meanes) diſtreſſed *Hanniball*, much more then others could do by main battailes. And therefore *Ennius* the Poet ſaide of him; *Cunctando reſtituit rem*; *He repaired the State of the Romanes by delayes.* And it is alſo written of the valiant

The doubtfull euent of a battaile is greatly to be feared.

Ennius apud Cicer. Offic. lib. 1

Selua di varia lection. Cap. 1. Pars 2.

valiant *Franciſcus Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*, that he would neuer ioyne battaile with an enemy, but when hee could not otherwiſe chooſe.

Philip Commin. cap. 17, 26, & 125.

And *Lewes* the eleuenth, K. of *France* (who was no leſſe valourous in war, then prudent in peace) feared nothing more, as *Philip de Commines* teſtifieth, then the hazard of warre; and eſpecially of a battaile, which by all meanes poſsible hee ſought to auoid. Inſomuch, that when any enemie entered *France*; hee procured to make peace or truce with him, whatſoeuer it coſt him. As appeared when *Edward* the fourth King of *England* was ther with a ſtrong Armie, to whom he gaue a great ſumme of ready money, and granted to pay him a tribute of fiftie thouſand Crownes a yeare, beſides diuers penſions to his Councellors, and other hard conditions; rather then hee would hazard a battell with him, knowing the caſualtie thereof, and that as *Commineus* ſaith, *Vne battaille perdu a mauuaiſe queúe*; A battaile loſt hath an ill taile or conſequence. For, it redoubleth the hope and courage of the Victors; it aſtoniſheth and diſcourageth the vanquiſhed; it ſhaketh the fidelity of ſubiects, it miniſtreth matter and opportunity of conſpiracie to malecontents, of reuolt to Townes, and of alienation to confederates; who commonly ſway with the good ſucceſſe. And for this cauſe, not onely King *Lewes* the eleuenth, but alſo other wiſe Princes haue vſed, when an enemy hath bin ready to enter their countries: to diſmantle all the Townes in his way that were not tenable, and to fortifie and make ſtrong the reſt, retyring thither all the Cattle and prouiſion of the countrey, and deſtroying all the Corne vppon the ground, thereby to conſume him with Famine, long ſiedges, and all kindes of delayes whatſoeuer, rather then ſeek to ouerthrow it by a maine battail. This was very prudently practiſed by *Frances* the firſt, King of *France*, at ſuch time as the Emperor *Charles* determined to enter into *Prouence*, with a great and puiſſant army: inſomuch, that when K. *Frances* vnderſtoode, that the people of the Countrey reſiſted the deſtruction of theyr Corne, and other commodities; he ſtraight way ſent his armie to deſtroy it. Whereby the Emperour finding all Townes fortified, and no prouiſion abroad was left them, were forced (after hee had beſiedged *Marſeilles* ſome certaine moneths) to retire himſelfe for lack of victuals.

Philip Commin. cap. 29. & 64.

A battell loſt hath an il tail, and why. Commin. Idem

Idem Cap. 64. The practiſe of Lewes the 6. K. of France to ouercome an enemie without battell.

Martin du Bellay. The preuentions which Frances the 1 K of France, vſed againſt the inuaſion of Charls the Emperor.

And this I haue thought good to ſignifie by the way, for that *Phillip de Commines*, and *Martin du Bellay* (both of them notable Hiſtoriographers, and Councellers, the firſt to *Lewes* 11. and the other to *Frances* the firſt) do greatly approue this manner of proceeding in theſe Princes, and propoſe it for a rule of ſtate to al ſuch Kings & Princes, as, beeing in poſſeſsion their Kingdomes and States, are inuaded by Forreiners; though for thoſe that inuade and ſeeke to conquer, *Phillip de Commines*, thinketh it meete and conuenient to ſeeke battaile, to make ſhort worke, by reaſon of the difficulty to bee ſuccoured, and of the infinite dangers & inconueniences, which happē by delayes to an armie of ſtrangers in forraine countreyes. Beſides, hee that inuadeth and ſeeketh to conquer, commonly aduentureth no more but his preſent armie, and that in hope to gaine a Crowne; whereas the Prince in poſſeſsion, aduentureth his whole ſtate againſt nothing, and a ſtate is loſt (many times) with the loſſe of a battaile at home, if the victory bee well followed.

Philip Commin cap. 29 The inuader ought to ſeek battel, & why.

But nowe let vs returne to ſpeake of ſodaine Chances, and to touch ſome particularities, thereby to ſhew very manifeſtly and euidently, the vveakeneſſe of mans wit and power, and the caſualty of warlike attempts.

The diuers caſualties of warlike attempts.

Let vs firſt and formoſt conſider, by howe many accidents the mightieſt armies are many times quite diſperſed and diſsipated, and the greateſt enterprizes ouerthrowne: as ſometimes it falleth out by the death of ſome one man, ſometimes by the diſſention of Leaders and Captaines amongſt themſelues, ſometimes by the mutiny of ſouldiers, ſometimes by meanes of a Tempeſt or vnſeaſonable weather; ſometimes agayne by plagues, or other diſeaſes in the Campe, and ſometimes againe (as *Guicchiardine* noteth in his ſecond Booke) by a commandement eyther not well vnderſtood, or ill executed; by a little temeritie or diſorder, which may chaunce to happen by ſome vaine worde or ſpeech, euen of the meaneſt Souldiour. And laſt of all

Guicin Lib. 2.

(saith hee) by infinite chances which happen at vnawares, vnpossible to bee foreseene and preuented, by the wit or counsell of any Captaine.

Heereto I also adde out of *Comminæus*, that be the counsell neuer so well taken, and the plot neuer so well layed: yet it is neuer or seldome executed in the fielde, as it is ordayned in the Chamber. And that sometimes, by the least motions or occasions that may bee, the victorie is wonne or lost: *Which* (saith hee) *is a great Mystery, whereby Kingdomes and States do rise or fall.* And heereuppon, the selfe-same Authour groundeth two Conclusions, no lesse piously then wisely. The one, that no humane wit is able (of it selfe) sufficiently to gouerne an Army of men: and the other, that God reserueth to himselfe the successe of battels and disposeth of his victory at his wil and pleasure.

Phil. Comin. c. 5 Plots are seldome or neuer executed in the field, as they are ordained in the chamber.

Idem Ibid.

This will be made cleare by examples; by the which, I will first of all shewe the force of sodaine chances in battaile, and other enterprizes of Warre. And after that all victorie proceedeth from the prouidence and hand of God, and not from the power and pollicie of mortall man. As concerning the first, we see many and sundry times, that great designements are broken, and potent armies dissolued by accidents, without any force or stroke of the Enemie. When *Lewes* the Emperour (called *Lewes* of *Bauaria*) was in *Italy*, with a great and puissant armie, and readie to besiege *Florence*, vpon the confidence he had in the valor and assistance of *Castruccio* of *Pisa*, whom the Florentines feared more then any man liuing; it chanced that the sayde *Castruccio* dyed: whereuppon, the Emperor broke his designement, and returned into Germanie with his army.

Pedro Mexia, in Lodouico Bauaro.

Also, in the time of the great Schisme which was holden betwixt *Vrbane*, the sixte Pope of that name, and *Clement* the false Pope, who was called *Clement* the seuenth, and liued in *Auignion*; *Lewes* Duke of *Aniou*, Vnckle vnto *Charles* the sixt, King of *France*, went into *Italy* with an huge armie, wherein hee hadde aboue thirtie thousand Horsse, partly to deliuer *Ioane*, Queene of *Naples*, (who was besiedged by *Charles Durazzo*, Nephew vnto *Lewes* King of *Hungaria*) and partly to depose Pope *Vrbane*, in fauour of *Clement*. When he had already entered into *Italy*, and began to make warre in the Territorie of *Bologna* (which belonged to the Church) and was likely in al mens opinion (by reason of his great forces) to obtaine his desire in all he pretended; he sodainly fell sicke and dyed; whereuppon, all that mightie and inuincible army, dispersed and dissolued it self; and euery man returned from whence he came.

Paul. Emil. in Carolo 6.

Lewes Duke of Anion, his death in Italy.

The like hath chanced diuers times, by some great plague and mortalitie in armes, as in that of the Christians, which beganne in *Thunis* in *Affrica*, vnder the conduct and commaund of *Lewes*, the ninth, King of France: which armie was so molested with pestilence, that it vvas forçed for to rise from the siedge at such time, euen when the Towne was brought to extremitie, and must needs haue rendred it selfe within few daies.

Paul. Emil. in Lodouico nono

Furthermore, such is the force of sodaine feares which fall vpon men, sometimes by meere chance, without anie iust cause, that the greatest armies are vtterly ouerthrowne thereby. And no maruel seeing no man is so valiant, but that hee may bee seized and transported with a sodaine feare. And therefore the Lacedemonians, before they went forth to fight, were woont to sacrifice to the Muses, to obtaine their assistance, against the fierce and furious assaults of sodaine passions. VVhich taking reason many times at vnawares, and (as it were) at an aduantage, doe so oppresse it, that they bereaue a man of all iudgement and discourse for a time, and no passion more then feare. VVhereof I my selfe saw a notable experience, in a most valiant Spanish Captaine in France, which happened in the time of a League, who going out of his Garrison, with certaine Troopes vppon an occasion, and meeting with the Enemy by chance, where hee least suspected, tooke such a fright thereat, that he ranne home with might and maine, and tolde vs (for I was ther at the same instãt time) that all the Souldiers were cut in peeces, and that hee himselfe escaped very hardly. Neuertheless, within fiue or sixe houres after, they all returned home safe, and not so much as any one man hurt, though they came scattering one after ano-

Of the force of sodain fear in battels.

Plut. in Trac. de Ira reprimenda.

No passion bereaueth a man of his senses, more then sodaine feare.

another, for they all fledde as well as he, and the rather by his example. Which would haue vtterly disgraced him, if in very many occasions (before) hee had not got the reputation of one of the most valiant men of his Nation, in which respect it was rather wondered at in him, then blamed.

Rome surprized by Arnulphus the Emperor throgh a sodain feare *Sigon.de Regno Italico. An.896*

But to shewe the like effect of sodaine feare in whole Armies, vpon diuers accidents. When *Arnulphus* the Emperor besiedged *Rome*, it chanced, that a Hare (being started by some of the Camp) ran towardes the Citie, and that a great number of the souldiers pursued her with very great rowt and cryes, which the Romains seeing from the Towne, and conceyuing that the enemy meant to giue some furious and violent assault thereto, were surprized with such a feare, that they abandoned the wals and Rampiers, and the enemie espying, and taking the opportunity thereof, scaled the walles, and tooke the Towne.

A battell lost by the Christians to the Turkes onely through a sodaine feare. *Naucler. Chron. An.1396.*

Also, when *Sigismond*, King of *Hungaria*, (who was afterward Emperour) gaue battell to an Army of the Turkes, neere to *Nicopolis*, and was assisted with exceeding great numbers of the French, and of diuers other Nations, the French Horsse being in the vantgard, and seeing themselues (after a while) hardly oppresst, alighted from their Horsses to fight on foote. But their Horsses beeing loose, ranne all backe toward the campe, which the Hungarians and others that were in the rere perceiuing, and imagining that the Horsse-men were slaine; tooke such a fright therewith, that they ranne away, whereby the Turkes got a notable Victorie, with great slaughter of the christians, especially of the French, who wer almost all slaine.

The Christiãs ouerthrowne by the Soldan through a sodaine feare. *Paul. Emil. in Philippo secundo. Naucl. in Chron.*

Also at *Ptolomais* in Ægypt, which the Christians besieged two yeares together, the Soldane, who came with an armie to succour it, gaue them an ouerthrowe by the like chance; of a Horse, which beeing let loose, ranne backe to the Campe. For whereas diuers souldiers called one vnto another to stay him, many ranne out of their rankes (to take him) with such disorder, that they seemed to those that vvere behinde, and some-what farre off, to run away; whereuppon, a great part of the Christian Army began to flye. And this happened at such a time, as the Soldane with his Soldiers (being put to the worse) were running out of the field: who seeing the Christians flye, called backe his men, charged them afresh, and got the Victorie.

Philip Commin. cap. 5. Charles Duke of Burgundie ouerthrowne by the Switzers at Grauson.

Charles Duke of *Bourgogne*, besiedging *Grauson*, & vnderstanding that the Switzers came to succour it, went to meete them, to giue them battaile. The Souldiers of the vantgard, as they wer marching, meaning for to take a better way, retired a little backe. The rereward seeing the same, imagined that they fled, and began themselues to flye, whereupon the rest also did the like; and (in conclusion) the Duke and all ran away, abandoning their artillery and Campe, to the spoile of the Switzers, who were exceedingly enriched thereby, and yet slew only but seuen men, for all the rest saued themselues by flight. Thus much concerning sodaine feares, whereto I will adde a few more examples of other accidents.

Examples of Battailes lost by diuers other accidents *Osorius. in lib 7 cap.* 36.

Gildo Gouernor of Affrica ouerthrowne by a strange accident.

Gildo, Gouernor of *Affricke*, vnder the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, rebelled against the Empire, and his own brother *Mascezill* was imployed against him for Generall, who had not (in a certaine occasion) aboue 5000. men to fight with 70000. And the armies being so nere together, that they were ready to Charge one another, *Mascezill* beganne to make motions of peace; & receiuing some hard and crosse language of one that bare an Ensigne, stroke him vppon the same arme that helde it, wherewith the Ensigne fell, and diuers others that followed, seeing it, and conceiuing that he which bare it had yeelded it, went in great hast, and yeelded themselues. VVhereuppon, *Gildo* fled away with a great part of the armie, and the rest surrendred themselues to *Mascezill*.

Guic. in lib. 5. The French ouerthrowue by the Spaniards, through a word mistaken.

Also in the battell of *Cirignola*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, betwixt the Spaniardes and the French, a worde spoken by the Count of *Nemount*, (who vvas then Generall of the French) beeing misconstrued by his Souldiers, was a very great cause of their ouerthrow. For, the battell being already begunne, and the Count finding withall, that he could not passe a certaine Ditch (ouer which he had thoght to haue ledde some part of his Armie, to charge the Spaniardes on the other side,

cryed vnto the Souldiers that followed him, *Backe, backe*; meaning to lead them another way. But they not knowing the cause, vnderstood that he bad them flye, which they all began to doe: and others (seeing the same) followd their example. It chanced also at the same time, that the Count was slaine; whereupon the whole Army of the French ranne away, and lefte the fielde and victorie to the Spaniards.

Againe, whosoeuer hath reade any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience in these our times; cannot be ignorant, what confusion may bee bred in a battaile, by a little disorder growing vppon some sodaine accident; whereby Armies (many times) are causes of theyr owne ouerthrow. As it chanced to *Hanniball* in his last battaile with *Scipio*, wherin his owne Elephants turning backe vppon his Horsse-men, so brake & disordered them, that the Romans taking aduantage thereof, did easily put them all vnto flight.

Battell lost by a little disorder.

The like to this, hath happened sometimes in this our age, and namely, a few yeares past in France, in the yeare of our Lord, 1590. in the battaile of *Yury*, betweene the King of France, *Henrie* the fourth, and the Duke *de Mayne*, then Generall for the League. In which Battaile, the Horssemen of the League, flying backe vpon their owne foote, brake them in such sort, that theyr Enemie entring withall easily defeated them.

The battell of Yury in Frãce in Anno 1590

Lastly, to shew euidently the force of chance in warre, is there any thing more vncertaine or vnconstant then winde and weather? And yet neuertheless, thereupon (many times) dependeth the succesSe of battailes, and other warlike attempts; especially by sea, where the winde & weather do predominate, and check al the power of men. For, who is ignorant, that be the Nauie neuer so potent, it can neyther goe out of the harbour, nor arriue where it should to encounter the enemie, if winde and weather be not fauourable? Which is also as necessary and importãt for obtaining victory in a conflict by sea, wherein, the first aduantage that an expert Sea-man seeketh to get of his Enemie, is to winne the winde of him: which winde also changing (sometimes) during the Conflict, doth giue both the aduantage and victory to the enemy. As it fell out in the Battaile of *Lepanto*, which happened betweene the Christians and the Turkes, wherein the Winde beeing first fauourable vnto the Turkes, sodainly changed, and draue all the smoake of the Artillerie and small shot vpon them, whereby they were so blinded, that they were very easily and speedily ouerthrowne.

The victory in battels dependeth somtime vpon winde & weather aswel by land as sea.

The battell of Lepanto, betweene the Christians & the Turkes. *Surius in Commentar.* 1571.

And thus it chanceth in like manner in battailes vppon Land; and therefore wise Captaines seeke not onely to haue the Sunne, but also the winde on theyr backes: for, it often falleth out, that a storme of Haile or Raine in the face of an enemy, or a violent winde, driuing either the dust, or the smoake of shot and Artillerie vpon it, giueth the victory to the enemie. As in the famous battaile at *Cannas*, when *Hanniball* ouerthrew the *Romaines*, and slew foure thousand foote, and seuen and twenty hundred horse, and tooke three thousand and three hundred prisoners. He had the winde in his fauor, which being in his backe, and withall so violent, that it draue the dust into the *Romaines* eyes, and did greatly facilitate his victory.

The great victory of Hanniball at Cannas. *Tit. Liuius in Dec. 3. lib. 2.*

The like, or rather a farre greater victory, got *Scipio Asiaticus* against *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, whom hee put vnto flight, and slew fiue thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, with the losse only of three hundred forty nine men, by the helpe of a foggy mist, and a showre of raine. For the mist was so thicke, that the huge Army of *Antiochus* could not one part of it see another: whereas it wrought no such effect in the small Army of the *Romaines*. And againe, the raine so weakned the Bowes and Slinges of *Antiochus* his Souldiers, that they serued to little or no purpose: whereas the *Romaines* vsing onely Swordes and Darts, receyued no damage thereby. And to come neerer to our time, wee reade that *Adolphus* the Emperour was slaine, and his vvhole armie cleane ouerthrowne and vanquished by *Albertus*, by reason that the Sun vvas in their faces.

The victory of Scipio Asiaticus, against Antiochus. *Titus Linius Dec. 4. lib. 7.*

Pedro Mexia in vit. Imp. Adolpho. Guic. in lib. 8.

Also, amongst some other causes of the losse of the great Battaile of *Ghiaradadda*, betweene the Venetians, and the French, *Guicchiardine* obserueth, that a certain showre of raine; which fel euen as

as they were fighting, made the ground so slippery vpon a sudden, that the foote of the *Venetians* could not hold their footing, to defend themselues against the French Horse. By which meanes they were easily broken, and the greater part of them slaine.

How little confidence is to be had in the pollicy or power of man for the good succesſe of a battaile.

Thus then we see, how great a sway chance beareth in battailes and enterprizes of warre, and consequently, how little confidence is to bee reposed in the witte, pollicy, power, and endeuour of men, for the good succesſe thereof. VVhich dependeth vpon infinit accidents, chancing so diuersly (according to the difference of persons, times, places, and circumstances) that neyther the wisedome of any Generall can foresee them, nor any diligence, dexterity, or industry of Souldiers preuent them, though al should concurre in the highest degree. For be the Soldiers neuer so obedient, dexterious, & diligent, and the Captaine neuer so wise and valiant; yet what assurance is there of good succesſe, when a sudden danger shall so dismay both Captaine and Soldiers, that neyther the one shall know what to command, nor the other how to obey; when an erronious conceite of some few, or bad example of some one, or a word mistaken, or a blast of winde, or a shewer of raine, and innumerable other accidents, not possible to be fore-seene or remedied, shall giue the victory to the weaker, yea, to those that are (in a manner) vanquished before? Therefore I will thus conclude this Chapter, that the succesſe of Battailes, and all warlike attempts, dependeth wholly on the will and secret iudgements of God.

CHAP. XV.

How our Ancients and reuerend Predeceſſors, punished such in former times, as durst do any dishonour to their Mistresses.

The Authors reason for this Chapter heere set dowe.

IVVas the more willing to insert this Chapter, to the ende that the youth of our times may know and vnderstand, in what veneration and regard, our Ancients held the honour of Ladyes, Gentlewomen, and Mistresses, and not without very great reason. For it is a notorious treason, & high point of dishonesty, that he who abideth as a seruant in a house, should entermeddle in seeking to purchase the loue of his Mistresse: nay, and that which is worse, to obtaine the cheefest point of al. In the compassing or contriuing whereof, he maketh the husband infamous, doth iniurie to the wife, scandalizeth neighbourhood, and ouerthroweth himselfe.

Plutarch, in his Booke of Mariage writeth, that the *Licaonians* had a law, that if any stranngers were found to conferre in secret with the Mistresse of their lodging, they had their tongues cut out of their mouthes; and if they presumed any further, then it was the losse of their liues. *Iulius Cæsar* caused one of his Captaines to be beheaded, because he had dishonored the Mistresse of the house where hee was lodged: without attending any excuse he could or should make, and without any complaint vrged by the husband.

Plut. in lib. Mair. cap. 9.

The seuerity of Iulius Cæsar to a Captaine.

The Emperour *Aurelius*, standing on a day at his window in his Pallace, & beholding a young man, who drew his Mistresse softly by the sleeue of her gowne; had them both brought before him immediately, and although the young man and his Mistresse both deposed, that it was onely done in iest: yet *Aurelius* commanded (neuertheleſſe) the same hand to be smitten off.

Marcus Aurelius, a iust and seuere Emperour.

Macrobius writeth in his *Saturnales*, that such persons were reputed infamous among the Romanes, as should giue any commendations of the Mistresse of a Family, eyther in regard of her beauty, modest behauiour, or any other seemely quality. For such praises they reputed, to giue euident notice of more priuate knowledge, and such knowledge vrged speech, and speech being the discloser of the hart, would afterward grow to the shamefull acte. In the like manner *Aulus Gellius* recordeth, that the same punishment was inflicted on him that dishonored his Mistresse, as to him that corrupted a vestall virgin: which penalty was, to haue his body cut in foure parts, or else to bee stoned to death aliue.

Macrobius in Saturn.

Aul. Gelin Noct. Attic.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning diuers kindes of Salutation, vsed among our Ancients, when they met together.

THE maner that our Elders obserued in their Salutations one to another, was very diuers, and each one according to their Countries vse.

The Idumæans. The *Idumæans* at their meetings, vsed to speake these words: *The Lord bee with you.*

The Hebrues. The true *Hebrues*, saluting each other, said; *God saue you my Brother.*

The Philosophers. The Philosophers were wont to say; *Goe in a good houre.*

The Thebanes. The *Thebanes* said; *God giue you health.*

The Romans. The *Romanes* salutations were as if they would say; *God send or giue you good fortune.*

The Sicillians. The *Sicillians* said; *God keepe you.*

The Carthagenians. The *Carthagenians* did not vse any salutations by speeches at their meetings, but as a signe of loue and friendlines, they would kisse their right hands each together, and then kisse one another.

The Moores. The *Moores* likewise at their meetings, would kisse the right shoulder of one another: and when they tooke leaue for their departing, then they would kis each others knee.

The Italians. In *Italy*, they haue three seuerall kindes of salutations for a whole day. In the morning they say, *Dio vi dia il buono giorno*; *God giue you a good morrow:* At midnoon, *Dio vi dia salute*; *God giue you health.* And at euening they say, *Buona sera, Good eeuen.* They say also many times, *Mi raccommando, I commend me to yee.* And after two or three houres of night is past, then they say, *Dio vi dia la buona notte*; *God giue you the goodnesse of the night.* Sometime also they are accustomed to say, *Iddio vi contenti, God content ye.*

The Valentians. In the kingdome of *Valentia* in *Spaine*, when men meete together, they salute each other in this manner; *Gentle Sir, you are well come.* And at the departing, the one saith, *God remaine with you*: and the other replyeth, *Goe in a good houre.*

The Cathalognians. In *Cathalognia*, such persons as chance to meete together, salute one another thus; *You are very well arriued heere Sir.*

The Castillians. In *Castile* some vse to say, *God keepe you*: others, *God be with you.* And when they leaue each other, the one saith, *God conduct you*: and the other answereth, *The blessed Angels beare you company.* Some also vse to say; *With your good grace and fauour.* And others, *Adieu Sir.* In the Court some vse to say, *I kisse the hands of your mercy.* And some other, *I kisse the feet of your Honour or Worship.* Which Courting salutations are altogether vaine, and (for the most part) deliuered with feigning and dissimulation. For many offer to kisse the hands and feete of one another, that would much rather cut them off, thē any way kisse them, desiring indeed to see each others vtter ruine. And certainly (me-thinks) that men of worth, authority, and respect, ought not to vse any such salutations; because to kisse the feet, hath bin accounted a matter of great dignity, and appertaining to the Pope onely. And to kisse the hand, is a gracious fauour afforded by Kings and Princes, to such Subiects as they thinke worthy of such grace.

Court Salutations.

The vanity of Court salutations.

But without gadding after so many kindes of vanities, and diuersity of idle words, it is a matter meete and reasonable, that wee who are Christians, should imitate Iesus Christ our Lord and Sauiour, saluting one another, with such words as he saluted his Disciples, saying; *Peace be with you.* Our Redeemer enstructed vs also, to salute houses at our entring into them, saying; *Peace be in this house.*

How Christians should salute one another.

An excellent obseruation of the famous Epaminondas

Epaminondas said, that vntill the age of thirty yeares, we should salute men thus: *You are very well come hither*, for all this while it appeareth, that they are but come into the world. From thirty vp to fifty, then to salute thus; *Well bee yee*; because that then they know what maner of thing the world is. And from fifty descending downe againe, to say, *Goe in a good and blessed houre.* For then it appeareth, that they are beginning to take leaue of the world, and that as they had an entring into it, so there must needs be a departing from it.

CHAP. XVII.

What a commendable thing it is to pardon iniuries, especially in Princes and great Lords.

IT hath euermore bene a praise-worthy thing, to pardon iniuries and offences: which Princes and great Lords should neuer be vnmindfull of, but continually to remember the words, which *Iulius Cæsar* spake to *Manilius*. Who (on a time) demanding of him, what that was which being performed by him, he therby thought to receiue the greatest glory, and in remembrance whereof hee ought most to reioyce? VVhereto he thus answered. *By the immortall Gods I sweare to thee* Manilius, *that I neuer thought my selfe to haue merited glory, for any other thing whatsoeuer in this life, nor any other else so much to reioyce me; then in pardoning such as had iniuried me, and rewarding them that did me seruice.* VVords vndoubtedly worthy of praise, pleasing to heare, notable to reade, and necessary to be followed. For althogh *Iulius Cæsar* beleeued as a Pagane, yet his works sauoured of a good Christian: and we miserable men, beleeuing all as Christians, yet our works come farre short of such beleefe, through the tentations of our corrupt flesh. Because humane wretchednesse is grown to such an encreasing in these cases, that many would pardon the iniuries of their enemies; and yet notwithstanding, dare not do it for feare of men: who vnderstanding, that such a man is willing to forgiue his enemy, presently vse to say; that hee rather doth it through weaknesse and cowardise, then in any respect of charity.

An excellent question mooued to Cæsar, and by him as worthily answered.

CHAP. XVIII.

From whence (at the first) came the title or name of King, and also of Emperour.

OVR reuerend Fore-fathers, according to the diuersity of Nations, called their Princes by diuers names. The *Egiptians* called their cheefest Lords and Rulers, *Pharaohs*: The *Bythians*, *Ptolomeis*: The *Parthians*, *Arsacides*: The *Albanes*, *Syluies*: The *Sicilians*, *Tyrants*: And the *Argiues*, *Kings*. Heere we are to vnderstand, that long since in former times, to be a King, was not any dignity, but an office onely: as euen now (among vs) is a Gouernour of the Common-wealth.

Diuersity of Nations caused diuersity of tytles giuē to their Princes.

Plutarch, in his Bookes of Common-wealth, saith, that at the beginning, al such as gouerned, were called *Tyrants*: but afterward, all those that gouerned badly, were tearmed *Tyrants*, and such as ruled well were styled Kings, as a different note from them. For as the King maintained common vtility, and preferred the safety of the Commonwealth, before his owne respects and commodities; so the Tyrant referred his dominion to his cupidity and profite, alledging his will onely, as the sole reason of all his vniust commands. The King fed the flock, and the Tyrant deuoured it: the one obeyed lawes, & the other commanded aboue them, and also would breake them when himselfe pleased: this man was equall, the other vniust; the one obtayned the kingdome by vertue, and therein conserued it; the other vsurped it by power, and so by power held it.

The diffrence of the words Tyrant and King, and the seuerall manner of their gouerning in the Common-wealth.

From the beginning of the foundation of *Rome*, the Romanes created Kings, to bee gouerned and defended by them: neuertheless, they afterward found such kinde of gouernment to be so bad, as they would endure no more but seuen Kings. And after they had banished perpetually the *Tarquins* for their tyranny, cleansed or purged the Citty, and slaine their offerings: they made a solemne oath, for them, their children, and successors, neuer more to create any Kings, eyther to gouerne Rome or them. But forasmuch as the Romane Common-wealth, had formerly receiued great benefits by their Kings, as by *Numa Pompillius*, and that their Kings only had the charge of sacred things: they resolued to keepe the name of King perpetually in their Citty, to the end, it should not appeare, that with the expulsion of the Kings, they derogated from diuine Religion and Seruice.

The first creation of Kings in Rome.

Dionisius Halycar. in Lib. 5.

And becaus the Auguries or Diuiners had saide, that that name was consecrated to the Gods: the Romanes ordayned, that one man among them should be

be choſen, who (for the times to come) ſhould beare the name of the Sacrificing King, to be cheefe Prieſt, and Superintendent in hallowed things, and exempted from going to warre. The firſt man that had this honour in Rome, was *Manius Papirius*, a *Patrician*, a louer of peace & quietneſſe: who was high Prieſt in the Temple of *Iupiter*, and called King.

The King or Maſter of the Sacrifices.

The firſt cheefe Prieſt in Rome.

Now, as concerning the name of Emperour, at the firſt it was not giuen by the Romanes, to ſuch as held any ſoueraigne power; but onely to their Captaines and Generals, who had effected ſome worthy acte or enterprize in warre. And no other man was called Emperour, but onely the Colonell of the army, becauſe hee gaue command there. *Nam Imperator dictus est ab imperando*; *For Imperator or Emperour is deriued of commanding*: which office was held but for a limited time, and that being paſt, it was deliuered ouer to another.

The originall of the name of Emperour, and whereof it was deriued.

But after the battaile of *Pharſalia* in *Theſſalie*, wherein *Cæſar* vanquiſhed *Pompey*: the entire gouernment of the Roman Common-wealth, beeing fallen into the hands of the Dictator *Cæſar*, he coueting to make the authority and ſoueraigne power, to be proper and hereditary, wold not take on him the title of King (albeit he was ſo in effect) becauſe that name was hatefull to the people. And they being deſirous to pleaſe him, granted that he ſhould be named Emperour, a name acceptable to all) eſpecially to Souldiers, and which was onely but the fift dignity of the Senate. For the firſt was the Sacrificing Prieſt, whom they called King: The ſecond, the Dictator: The third, the Conſull: The fourth, the Tribune of the people: and the fift, the Emperour.

The Romane Dictatour.

The name of Emperour giuen to Cæſar by the people.

The fiue dignities of the Senate.

There was alſo diuers other degrees of State, as the *Cenſor*, the *Prætor*, the *Proconſull*, the *Queſtor*, the *Edilis*, and other of order and ranke, whereof ſhall need no queſtion heere. By this meanes then, *Iulius Cæſar* hauing gotten to be perpetuall Dictator, all ſuch as ſucceeded him in the gouernment of the Romanes, were alſo called by the name of Emperours, and *Cæſars* likewiſe by his ſir-name, which was giuen him *Ab Elephante cæſo*. As afterwards of *Auguſtus*, the Emperours which came in ſucceſſion to him, vſed alſo to name them-ſelues euery man *Auguſtus*.

Many other Offices of State among the Romanes.

CHAP. XIX.

What was the reaſon, and vpon what occaſion, Kings in ancient times were created & eſtabliſhed: And of the Dignity Royall.

FOR two principall cauſes, Kings were at firſt anciently eſtabliſhed: One, to the end they ſhould preſerue common iuſtice and equity, by which bond humane ſociety is maintayned, and without which the leſſer would be oppreſſed by the greater, all things being done by power, and no right obſerued. The other, becauſe they ſhould defend the goods and ſafety of their Cittizens from enemies. The neceſſities of life aſſembled men among themſelues, and conioyned them by a naturall ſociety: which hath beene cauſed by mutuall ſuccours, ſupport, and offices fitting mankinde. The beginning of this ſociety, was reaſon and ſpeech, whereby wee are differing from all brutiſh creatures. Reaſon cauſed many and infinite artes to bee inuented, and ſpeech (which is the interpreter of the ſpirit) learned, enſtructed, & communicated them, not onely by this mutuall coniunction; but alſo hath ſtored the life of man with many commodities.

Two reaſons for the eſtabliſhing of Kings.

The begining of humane ſociety.

The firſt and cheefeſt, was the coniunction and coupling of man with woman, whereof was made one houſe, wherein all things were to thē in common, & thence enſued plurality of houſes. For Brothers, Siſters, and Coſins contracting mariage together at the beginning, and could not afterward (by multiplicity of their children) be contained all in one houſe, they went to dwell in other houſes. So of one houſe at the firſt, came Borroughs and Villages, euen as Colonies of kindred. Finally, from Borroughs & Villages were deriued Citties, and becomming to bee peopled, were encloſed with walles, confirmed with lawes, and enſtructed with ſciences: for without all theſe, they could not be preſerued from the conſpiracies of men, and therefore were to bee ruled by ſome one, and couetouſneſſe of reigning is ſo great, that all would command, and none obey, or yeeld reuerence.

The firſt coniunction of man and woman, & what enſued theron

Of one houſe at the firſt followed the peopling of Townes and Villages.

VVherefore, like as Saylers, when they are ſurprized with an impetuous tempeſt, run for refuge to the Patron of the Ship, yea,

An apt and worthy compariſon.

yea,& before they will set foorth to Sea, fore-seeing future perils, make their recourse to a good Pilot, in whom they repose their trust and safety: Euen so as requisite is it, to giue the gouernment of a Citty, to such a one as may well conduct the common-wealth, and render iustice and right to euery man. *For where there is no Gouernor* (saith *Ecclesiastes*) *the people are scattered*. All things which consist on a certaine order, should be referred to one head or cheefe. Which we may obserue in some brutish creatures; as in Bees, who obserue a forme or image of a common-wealth among them. This world it selfe (the parts whereof are conioyned among themselues, by admirable order and arteficial workmanship) would fayle and come to nothing, if it were not gouerned by the power of God. Therefore such as cannot endure the dominion of many, will submit themselues to the regiment of one; in whom, for opinion of wisedome and goodnesse, they may safely repose their trust. *Not onely then to the* Medes (saith *Herodotus*) *but also to all other people, Kings* (*vertuously enclined*) *were established for the administration of Iustice.*

Ecclef.7,9.

The world would perish if the power of God did not gouerne it

Herodot.in l. 4.

In elder times, kingdomes came not to the Sonnes of Kings, but was giuen to such a one, whom they thought would wisely and religiously maintaine the foundation of the Common-wealth, by concord and iustice. In those olde dayes, a King gouerned in euery Citty, and after other Townes became annexed to the principality and dominion of one: Kings had beginning to gouerne ouer diuers people, and thence ensued, that according to the names of Kings, the Regions were so called, which the Romanes tearmed Prouinces. Moreouer, euery King should excell one another in iustice and power; to the end, that he may the better vnite his people by equitye, and defend the Common-wealth from enemies. And by good right it may be sayd, that Royall Maiestie ought not only to be decorated with Armes: but ought also to be armed with lawes, that at all times, both of warre and peace, he may both manfully and vprightly gouerne.

The first beginning of Royall and Kingly Iurisdiction.

Royall Maiesty ought to be armed with good Lawes.

Now, speaking of this Royall dignitie, doubtlesse it is so great and holy, that Kings being protectors and defenders of societies among men, do therein imitate the prouidence of God: the office and action of whom, is to rule and gouerne all things, & therefore by good right, they may be tearmed Vicars and Ministers of the almighty and soueraign Rector of the whole world, and he himselfe hath called them Gods. *Plato* reputed a kindome among mortall men, to be a diuine and soueraigne goodnesse; because it came neere to the diuine nature, and power celestiall. How farre then some do surpasse each other in many things, so a King doth excell al other men in dignity and honor, not humane but diuine.

Kings imitate the prouidéce and goodnes of God.

Plato in lib.4. de Legib.

Porus, a King among the Indians, being taken prisoner in battaile, when *Alexander* demanded of him, after what manner he would be vsed; *Like a King*, quoth he. Againe he vrged the same demand, & still he returned the same answer. *For* (quoth hee) *all is comprized vnder the word King*. The name of King was of so great veneration among Nations, that the *Indians* and *Persians* adored their Kings as a diuine image, and helde it for their higheſt and cheefest happinesse, to haue at any time but a sight of them. Poets renowned *Iupiter* by the name of king, more then any other title. And in ancient times, Kings did not onely gouerne the common-wealth; but also had the charge and super-intendency of Ceremonies & Sacrifices. Kings then are sacred, considering that the *Hebrewes* with one and the same oyle, annointed both their Kings & high Priests.

An excellent example of Porus King of India.

The charge and office of Kings in ancient times.

Let vs see and obserue, how one kinde of reason, and the like of vnderstanding, do gouerne in man like a Queene. Let vs consider the other works of nature, which by a wonderfull kinde of concord, restrained and combined together, depend only vpon one. So that if things which imitate nature, are the most perfect and excellent, then questionlesse, Monarchy is most absolute and entire, farre aboue Aristocratie, Democratie, Oligarchy, or Laocratie, yea, all other kindes of gouernment, where eyther many persons, or few, or the people themselues do rule and command. And like as it is a very hard matter, to finde many men good and honest, rather then one onely: so is it more hard, that the manners of one man shold be so soone corrupted, as of many. So that

Things imitating nature, are the most perfect and excellent.

The world to be gouerned by one man onely.

that if the whole world were gouerned by one man, there would not bee so many differences, manners, customes, nor diuersities of religion, nor so many warres, offences, and slaughters. But when Cities are vnder the sway and power of many, they are then ouer-toyled with troubles, seditions, and dissentions, by reason of inordinate willes and affections in the greatest: who licence themselues to all euill, beeing partiall and discordant one towards another. Whereof God said by the mouth of his Prophet; *Many Pastours haue ruined my Vine.*

To serue and attend vpon the command of many, is no meane slauery

Let me demaund one question, is it not much more seruile and slauish, to attend on the willes of many, then of one onely. Nay, are not the couetous desires of one man sooner to be satisfied, then of many? you cannot chuse but grant it, and I craue no better iudgement. For as it is neyther good nor necessary, that in one house there should be many fathers of the Family: euen so is it neyther secure nor profitable, that the Common-wealth should bee gouerned by the authority of many. Whereof *Licurgus* gaue good assurance, when some one required, that Democratie should bee established in *Sparta*, hee returned this answer; *Begin it then in thine owne house first.*

The power & prerogatiue of a King by his Lieutenants.

Yet very true it is, that one man onely, how great or small soeuer in power & prerogatiue, cannot (of himselfe) prouide for all occasions, and in all places: but he may by his Lieutenants (as God by the ministery of his Angels) exercise his authority throughout all his Lands vnder his obedience, as hauing the eye of his minde euery where, for contayning his Subiects in quietnesse, and causing iustice to be administred vnto them. I say then, as a conclusion to this Chapter, that wee ought to liue, in and vnder the vnity of these foure things; *Of one God*; *Of one King*; *Of one faith*; *And of one Law.*

THE

The End of the Second Booke.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

The Originall of the Switzers, and their seuerall CANTONS.

Containing, the Gouernment of the Countrey; the publike estate of the thirteene Cantons, and of their Confederates, both in generall and particuler: Their Baylywickes, and Iurisdictions; The Originall and condition of all their Alliances; Their battels, victories, conquests, and other memorable actions; from the Emperor Raoul *of* Habspourg, *vntil the time of* Charles *the fift.*

CHAP. I.

The Preface or induction of the Author

BEcause amongest those Commonweales of Freedome, gouerned by a certain number of Lords, many haue held opinion, that (at this present time) the Commonwealth of the Switzers is the cheefest, next vnto that of *Venice*: I haue many times questioned with diuers people, that were no Switzers, how, and after what manner this Common-wealth was first established & gouerned. For they did highly maruaile. that so many people, hauing but little, should ally and encrease themselues in so short while, euen as enclosed within a defensiue wall or circuite, and continue firmely knit together in peace, for such a large and long expence of yeeres.

The common wealth of the Athenians.

The Common-wealth of the Athenians, excelling all the rest in Greece, was assembled and selected of many people, and from many places, not only into one countrey, but also within one & the same city. As for the Commonwealth of the Achaians, composed of twelue towns or cities, it did not last long, nor prosper: but after it continued in some dignitie, vnder *Aratus* and *Philopoemen*, soone afterward it was subdued by the Romaines, because she abused her owne liberty. After the death of *Ioshua*, the Common-wealth of *Israel*, exposed (thorow her owne fault) to pillage and violence of enemies, was many times protected and defended by Iudges and valiant persons, which God had raised vp for that purpose: but at the last, the twelue Tribes, as beeing glutted or surfetted with their own liberty, made choise of a King out of their own motion

The common wealth of Israel.

In the time of our Ancestors, by the intermedling and solicitation of the Emperour *Frederick*, the Townes of * *Suaba* vnited themselues together, and (by that meanes) were esteemed inuincible: but hauing rashly attempted (and by badde conduct) war against the Switzers, the former confederation lost much of the latter. Which afterward, it seemed she recouered againe, when the confederates expulsed the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ruinated all the Castles of *Suaba*, detained by diuers theeues and robbers. So that soon after the time of their league was expired they became so strange one to another, that they who before were their friendes and allies, were reputed by them as theyr greatest enemies, and ioyned themselues with those that had most molested them; by which meanes, in verie few yeares this league was vtterly lost and vanished.

*By some termed Pomerania.

All Switzerland is no other but one Commonwealth,& the reason therof.

Now albeit there are many people, & a great number of Townes and Cities in *Swetia*; yet is it neuertheleſſe, but euen as one City or Commonwealth. I know that learned men will hardly credite this, becauſe they ſuppoſe vs to haue no ſociety, nor any coniunction of gouernment, and ſo (by conſequent) it cannot be ſaid, that *Swetia* can yeild the body of a Commonwealth; conſidering alſo, that the Townes are not tyed to the ordinances of other Cities or Townes, except with their owne good will and liking, as in the Conuentions priuate of aſſociates. So it is, that in the ſame degree of Commonwealth, whatſoeuer hath paſſed by plurality of voyces, it bindeth all the Subiects of that Commonwealth. As for my ſelf, I am not willing to conteſt with the learned: for I freely confeſſe the trueth of their ſaying; if wee conſider matters exactly. But in regard that the whole Nation of the Switzers conſiſteth of common eſtates, gouerning many Prouinces in common, deliberating altogether on the affaires of peace and warre, hauing (almoſt) a like Lawes and Cuſtomes,and are ſo ſtrictly conioyned by perpetuall Conuentions: admit that this were not one onely Commonwealth, and in ſuch nature as hath beene formerly ſpoken of; yet notwithſtanding, wee that write and ſpeake of theſe matters ſome-what more popularly, do imagine, that we ſhall not much faile,in calling this aſſociation and league,the City and Commonwealth of the Switzers.

Passage by plurality of vowes,bindeth all ſubiects.

The nation of the Switzer conſiſteth of eſtates in cõmon.

Thus then this Commonwealth eſtabliſhed by perpetuall alliances,hath conſerued her liberty for the ſpace of more then two hundred yeares,with great concord, and incredible vnion of hearts of all the Switzers. For albeit that once or twice(according as it hapneth almoſt ordinarily in all great Commonweals)they haue beene prouoked and ſtirred to ciuill warres: yet notwithſtanding,thoſe troubles were immediately pacified, and al reunited together againe in ſincere & cordiall affection; embracing the laudable deſire of their predeceſſors, to ſtudy ſtill for the freedome of their Countreyes maintenance. Neuertheleſſe, there are ſome kind of men (enemies to the Switzers) ſo impudent, as to reproch vs, that in *Heluetia*,euery man is a maſter or commander, and that our Anceſtors, hauing put to death, or troden vnder foote the awe of our Noblemen, by theſe meanes entred into this liberty, contrary vnto all right and reaſon. Others do (more truly) confeſſe, that our Noble-men did offer ſuch outrage to our predeceſſors, both in words and deeds,that they had iuſt occaſion to vndertake Armes, which all that while they managed very ſharpely, as it happeneth among people much abuſed and prouoked.But to ſatisfie the irreſolution of ſome friends,who vnderſtand not the eſtate of our affaires, and to rembarre the calumnies of the enuious, I thought good to imploy my labour, in deſcribing the forme of the Switzers Commonwealth,by reprouing all vntruthes to the full,and aſcending to the heighth of their originall.

How Commonweals are maintained.

Troubles ſoon ended, & mutuall loue embraced.

The reaſon for the Authors writing of this diſcourſe.

All *Heluetia* or *Switzerland*, is at this day conſidered in three parts: for firſt of all, the thirteene Cantons haue alwayes allyed and combined themſelues, as into one body of a City. And theſe are they, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, *Schaffouſe*, and *Appenzel*. In the ſecond place are the aſſociates and confederates of the thirteene Cantons, to wit, firſt of all, the Abbot and Towne of S.*Gal*; next, the confedered *Griſons*, the Byſhop of *Sion*, and the whole countries of *Valais*, *Rotuille*, *Mulhouſe*,and *Bienne*. Conſequently, the territories or Bayliwickes, which are gouerned by the 13. Cantons in common, to witte; *Turgow*, *Bade*, the *Rheguſces*, now adayes called *Rhinthall*, *Sargans*, the free Prouinces, the inhabitants of *Lugano*, *Locarne*, *Mendriſe*, and the Vale *Madie*; whereto may well bee ioyned them of *Bellizone*, who are vnder the dominion of the three leſſer Cantons The cities and townes of the Cantons & confederates, are *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Zug*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg*, *Soleurre*, *Schaffouſe*, S.*Gal*, *Coire* of the *Griſons*, *Syon* in *Valais*, *Rotuille*, *Mulhouſe*,and *Bien ne* for all the reſt do dwell in villages.

The parts and portions of Heluetia.

The thirteene Cantons.

Moreouer,all of them abide not in Switzerland,neither within thoſe limites propoſed by *Cæſar* in his Commentaries:for of the thirteen *Cantons*, *Baſile* is as a quarter apart, which was anciently called the countrie of the *Rauraſians*. *Schaffouſe* is in *Allemaigne* or *Germany*, on the further ſide

Aſſociats and Confederates

Iuriſdictions or Bayliwicks

Cities and Towns of the Cantons and Confederates

Villages appertaining to him.

Iul. Cæſ. in comment. Lib. 4.

side of the *Rhine:* and one part of them of *Glaris* and of *Vri*, do touch (as some conceiue) with the *Grisons* and the *Alpes*. As for the associates, except the Abbot and Town of S. *Gal* and *Bienne*: al the rest are out of the limits of the ancient country of *Heluetia*. First we consider, that the *Grisons* retaine still their name and olde country of the* *Rhætians*. Next is the *Valasians*, who in elder times were called *Viberins*, *Seduſians*, and *Veragrians*. *Rotuulle* is in *Germany*, and *Mulhouſe* towardes the *Franche Comté*. Now as concerning the Iuriſdictions or Baylywickes, they of *Rhinthal* and of the *Sargans*, are *Grisons*. But they of *Lugano*, *Locarne*, *Mendriſe*, of the Vale *Medie*, and of *Bellizone*, are Italians by originall and Language: the other Iuriſdictions remaine in Switzerland.

The Abbot & the towne of Saint Gal.

*An ancient people of Germany.

The order of the Baylywickes.

And heere you are to vnderſtand, that theſe Cantons doe not hold equal authority ouer the diſtinct countries; but according as the aſſociations haue beene made in diuerſity of times, euenſo are the authority of the Cantons diuers. They of *Turgow*, hold as their Lords and heads the ſeauen moſt ancient *Cantons*, namely, *Zurich*, *Lucerne*, *vri*, *Suites*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug* & *Glaris*. *Berne*, *Fribourg*, & *Soleurre*, do vndergoe ſome right in criminall cauſes. For the Prouoſtſhip or Precendency of the Empire (as they vſed to tearme it) and iudgement of criminall proceſſes, was heeretofore referred to them of *Conſtance*, as their due: but among other conditions of peace, after the warre of *Suaba*, this authority was granted vnto the *Switzers*, which appertained equally to the fore-named *Cantons*, becauſe they all ioyned together in the ſelfe-ſame warre. Moreouer, thoſe ſeuen *Cantons* commanding at *Bada*, did the like to them of *Sargans*, *Rhinthal*, and ouer the Free Prouinces alſo. True it is, that in their gouernement of *Bada*, they aſſociated the men of *Berne* with them; and they of *Appenzel* in the gouernment of *Rhinthal*; and all the *Cantons* to the foure Baylywickes, which are on the confines of *Italy*. *Bellizone* is ſubiect to them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*: and ſuch (at this day) is the condition and eſtate of the *Switzers* Common-wealth. Now, I purpoſe to ſhew the times, the cauſe, and the principall Articles of the Switzers league. Alſo,

Diuerſity of authoritie in the iuriſdictions of the Cantons.

Anthority of cenſure in criminall occaſions.

Aſſociations in matter of gouernment and authority

what hath beene the eſtate of each *Canton*, before they became allyed together, and what their dues and rightes haue beene, and are. Laſtly, what warres they haue maintained ſince their League vvas made.

CHAP. II.

Of the three firſt Cantons of the Switzers.

IN the yeare after the natiuity of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, 1307. they of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, wer the very firſt that Cantonned themſelues. They were tearmed Swaines or Boores of the countrey, dwelling in vallies, and in their owne Language, ſtiled, **Die drey Lander**, alſo **Die drey Waldſtett:** And, in time, *Lucerne* came into the fourth place. They dwelt in the Valleyes of the Alpes, betweene the *Grisons* countrey, the Vale of *Liuiner*, and high *Valais*, and were ſeated betweene the *Canton* of *Zurich*; and the countrie of *Ergow*. Some doe affirme, that they of *Suits*, are deſcēded of the *Cimbrians*; they of *Vri*, of the *Tauriſci*; & they of *Vnderuald*, of certaine baniſhed Romanes; and indeed, their magnanimity in war, declares them to be iſſued of generous Anceſtors.



The three firſt Cantons, and how they Cantonned themſelues.

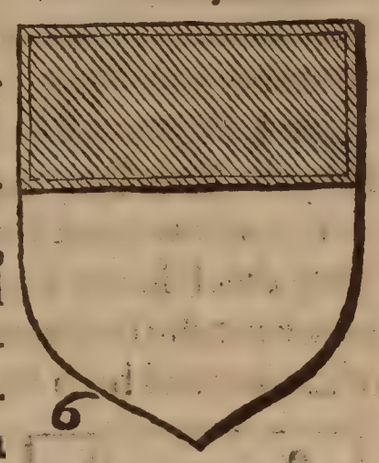
Of whom and whence theſe people are ſeuerally deſcended.

Their Annals do teſtifie, that the Emperor *Lewes*, ſonne to *Charlemaign*, at the requeſt of the Byſhop of *Rome*, graunted theſe people liberty, to bee gouerned by Lawes made among themſelues, & gaue them many other Priuiledges, for theyr faithfull ſeruice in warre againſt the Sazarins, in behalfe of the cittie of Rome. For the Sarrazins, who in thoſe times much troubled *Affrica*, hauing inuaded *Sicilie*, came likewiſe into *Italy*: where they tooke ſome places: and afterward marching vnto Rome, eaſily made themſelues Maſters of the Vatican, vvhich

The Empe-rors fauour to theſe people.

then stood voyd of any defence. There they robbed the Temple of Saint *Pecer*, breaking downe the gates thereof, that were of siluer and very great value, and afterward burnt and destroyed it. Hauing continued there diuers dayes in determination to surprize the whole Cittie; they heard tydings (as Historians say) that a great band of soldiers, belonging to [z] *Cisalpine Gaule*, came to the succor of Rome, which made them forthwith recoile, and to wast all the plaine Countrey about Rome. Among other badde seruices, they robbed the Temple of S. *Paul* vpon the way to [*] *Ostia*, and stuffed it with such fires, as the more part thereof was vtterly ruined. From thence continuing on theyr course in spoile and rauage, euen so far as mount *Cassinum*, they stole away all the Iewels and Ornaments of the Abbey, and defaced a great part thereof. Thence getting vnto the sea shore, and lading their Shippes with their stolne booties: finding them ready to set saile, they lanched forth into the maine.


5


6

[z] Called also Gallia Togata, and Citerior Gallia, betweene them and the Alpes

[*] A citty built by Ancus Martius in the months of Tybet.

Now, the Annales of *Switzerland* or *Heluetia*, do say; that these three first Cantons, and they of the Valley of *Hasell*, were present at this fore-mentioned succour and supply, and passed two seuerall times into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of a certaine Italian Marquesse, named *Guy*. They pursued the Sarazins, and cut their rere-gard in peeces, bringing back a great spoile from this ouerthrowe of theirs, which they altogether gaue to the Temple of S. *Peter*, euen all that they hadde gotten from the enemy. In regard whereof, the Pope (as a recompence for so great a benefite) obtained (on theyr behalfe) great priuiledges from the King of *France*; and moreouer, presented them with those Ensignes or Standards; which yet, in our daies, they vse to beare in war.

Collected out of the Heluetian Annales.

A great spoile made of the Sarazins by the three first Cantons.

Notwithstanding, the Emperor *Lewes* sonne to *Lewes* the *Debonnaire*, and youngest sonne to *Charlemaigne*, gaue them of *Vri*, to the Abbey which he had builte at *Turegum*, now called *Zurich*, where his daughter *Hildegarde* was Lady Abbesse: and the wordes of the Donation (truely translated out of the Latine Coppie) are these which follow.

The lands & people of Vri giuen to the Abbay of Turegum.

The Donation of the Emperour Lewes to the Abbay of Turegum.

WE giue to our Abbay, founded at Turegum, where Saint Felix and Saint Regula rest in the Lord with their bodyes; our Bourrough or Towne of Turegum, situated in the Dutchy of Suaba, in the Territory of Durgan, with all the appurtenances and dependances in diuers charges: to wit, the village of Vri, with the churches, houses, and other buildings aboue named: The slaues, male and female, young and old, lands eareable and desert, Woods, Meddowes, pasture grounds, Fishponds, Riuers, Ports, Passages, things found and yet to find, with all olde rents and reuennewes. Moreouer, our Forrest named Albis, and generally all those things fore-mentioned, that eyther now or heereafter do and may appertaine vnto vs, without reseruing or retaining any thing whatsoeuer.

According to the autentical latine Coppy

But it is not to bee thought, that this Donation did wholly abolish the ancient priuiledges and libertie of them of Vri: For, if we may credit them, the Emperor gaue not the Seigneury of all the country to this recited Abbay, but of one Village or two onely. Moreouer, if it were so that the whole valley of Vri had bin vnder subiection to this Abbay, yet notwithstanding, it coulde not much preiudice their freedome: because such as were any way subiect to Monasteries or Conuents, were obliged vnder certaine conditions, and enioyed their liberties in the meane while, onely their seruice to the Church excepted.

The ancient priuiledges & liberties of Vri, not frustrated by this gift.

Beside, they receiued their Gouernors or Prouosts of the empire, to take knowledge and censure in causes criminall, without any appeale. They of Vri also did formerly do the like; and as concerning other causes, their Iudge, whom they tearme *Amman* (as much to say, as Maior or Bourgomaster) with his Councellors or Assistants, was chosen from among

mong the people, by good knowledge had of him and them, & they are to prouide in common for the affayres of the Commonwealth. They of *Suits* & *Vnderuald* do gouerne themselues in the same manner: and among them, men belonging to the Church, haue some power and priuiledges. In these seuerall quarters wer good store of Noblemen. As among them of *Vri*, the Barons of *Attinghuse*, *Schwynsberg* and *Vtzinge*: The Lords of *Sillini*, *Winterberg*, *Mose*, *Sedorf*, *Spiring*, *Meier*, of *Bourgs* and of *Oeztfeld*. Among them of *Suits*, the Lords of *Stouffacker*, *Rogkenberg*, *Schuuanow*. In the quarters of *Vnderuald*, the Lords of *Wolffenschiess*, *Blumenec*, *Rudentz*, *Altnach*, *Walterspberg*, *Lembourg*, *Liebourg*, and *Huneville*. At the beginning, these Gentlemen carryed themselues very kindly with the other Inhabitants, and part of them serued as vassailes to some neighbouring Earles. But when they grew rich thorow succession of times, they began to misprize the people, and to subiect them to theyr vniust commands. The Gouernors, who ought to conserue the peoples libertie, making semblance of not seeing such harsh behauiours: fauoured the Gentlemen, as being next in condition to themselues, and by those meanes both augmented & supported their power.

Lords & Noblemen in these Cantons seuerally distinguished by their places.

The sourse or originall of confusion in any estate whatsoeuer.

In those times especially, not onelie the freedome of the Switzers Cantons, but likewise of many Townes in Germany, were in manifest danger. The Emperors were excommunicated, and in open warres assayled by the Popes, so that all Germany was diuided into two factions, one part wherof followed the Popes power, and the other the Emperors. The people of Switzerland, and some few of their Nobility, tooke part with *Frederick* the lawfull emperor, who (for that cause) renewed and reconfirmed the auncient priuiledges of their liberty. They of *Suits* can yet shew the Letters Patents of *Frederick* the second, written in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1240. wherby he receiued them of *Suites* into the safegard of the empire, as members thereof; and that they should not be any way alienated or estranged thence, hee confirmed their priuiledges, and called them people of free condition.

Partialities do euermore proue most dangerous.

Their liberties renewed andconfirmed by the Emperors Letters Patents.

On the contrary side, the most part of the Nobility, especially such as were as vassals to Conuents and Abbaies, which were then in very great credit, they followed the Popes faction. Hence sprung the hatreds, enmities, and first foundation of ciuill dissentions, all taking a wonderfull increasing in the *Interregnum* of manie yeares, after the death of *Fredericke*. Neuertheless, in those very times, the forenamed people did (euen then) enioy their intire liberty, although many ambuscadoes were prepared to depriue them of it: as appeareth sufficiently by a deed patent of confederacie for three yeares, by them of *Vri* and *Suits*, with them of the Towne of *Zurich*, the tenor of which confederacie followeth thus.

The vacancie of a Princes rule, make way to manie harmes.

Meanes to resist against tiranny.

A true Copy of the Patent of Confederacie, betweene Zurich, Vri, and Suits.

Tranflated truly out of the ancient record.

TO all them to whome these Letters shall come, to be either seen or heard: We Arnol Maieur de Sillini, Amman, and the people of Vri: and we Conrad de Iberg, Amman and the people of Suits, and of the Dioceſſe of Constance. We make it knowne, that we are obliged together by oath, mutually to ayd and counsell each other, from the Feast of the natiuity of Iesus Christ, vntill & for the space of three yeares insuing, on these conditions following. Whatsoeuer hath bin done or past before ỳ day, doth not any way ty vs togither. If a Lord, whatsoeuer he be, haue a seruant or vassall among vs: that vassall or seruãt shall be subiect vnto him, according to the custom which hath heretofore bin vsed in the kings time. But if the Lord shall constraine him beyond that limitation; then will we endeuor to succour the seruant. If any of the Allies or confederates shal possesse himselfe of any Castles or other places, without the counsell and liking of the other Allies, they shal not stand bound to furnish thẽ with the charge of Garrison or munition. If any one haue done endamagement by fire or spoile on any place, Wee wil ioyn all our meanes together, to make war on them that shal haue committed such an offence. If any shal attempt to inuade or set vpon the lands of Vri and Suits: they of Zurich shal impeach them to their vttermost power. If they cannot attaine thereunto: they shall then endamage them by burniug, sacking, and all other helpes of hostility. If any shall besiedge the Towne of Zurich, and shall

The couenant of conditions agreed vpon between them

For vassals and seruants.

For allies and confederates.

Against fire or other spoile.

Against inuasion to be offered on eyther side.

For the Vines and trees about Zurich.

spoyle the Vines and trees about it: they of Vri *and* Suites *shall oppose all their forces against them, and shall rob and burne the enemies Country. If any one of these inter-obliged parties, doe make confederation with any other, the other Allies shall not stand bounde thereto.*

Against nouelty in alliance.

Moreouer, we of Vri *and of* Suits, *haue made choise of sixe persons among the Cittizens of* Zurich; *namely*, Raoul Muller, Roger Mannes, Raoul Beggenh, *Knightes*, Gaultier de Saint Pierre, Garnier Biberlin, *and* Conrad Krieg. *And We of* Zurich *haue chosen three among them of* Vri; *namely*, Garnier de Attinghuse, Burckhard, *the old* Amman, Conrad Maieur of *Ortschueld*. *And as many of* Suits, *namely*; Conrad, Amman *of* Iberg, Raoul Stuffacher, *and* Conrad Hun. *These twelue men, according to their discretion, shall giue command to all the Allies, for mutuall ayding & succouring one another, both how and whensoeuer neede shall require, in those affayres whereof the conditions haue formerly bin expressed. If any one of these twelue men shall chaunce to die within compasse of the three yeares alliance; the other shall stand bound by Oath, to substitute another in his place, within fourteene dayes after following. And to the end that all before declared, may continue firme for the time prefixed: Wee the Senate and Citizens of Zurich, and we the people of* Vri *and* Suits, *haue put our Seales to three instruments of the same tenure, concerning this our faithfull alliance. Giuen at Zurich the day of* Saint Gal, *in the year of our Lord God*, M. CC. LI.

Six men chosen for Vri & Suits out of Zurich, and as many out of Vri and Suits, to command all the rest.

Prouision for death of any of the twelue in the time of confederation

These Letters of alliance, made an 100. yeares before that they of Zurich hadde contracted perpetuall alliance with the three first Cantons, do euidently declare how those people were euermore iealous of their liberty, without offering wrong neuertheless vnto any person in conseruing it. Now, about ten yeares after this alliance made, the Empire being trobled with factions, in regard it was destitute of an Emperor, and *Heluetia* much molested by the ouermuch license, which the Nobility tooke to themselues day by day: the three Cantons hauing heard *Raoul* of *Habspourg* (who was afterward Emperor) to be highly commended for many Vertues clearely shining in him, gaue him yearly pledges, and electing him for their head, made alliance with him, that theyr liberty might be maintained at the swords point, if neede required. They of *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Strasbourg* did as much at the very same time. The like did manie free Townes of Germany, being called vnto their succour, and gaue mony euery yeare to the neighbouring Princes, to the end, they might be secured by their meanes.

The Switzers continually ielous of their liberty.

Alliance made with the Emp. Raoul to preserue their liberty.

The Nobilitie insulted too much ouer the people.

The authority of *Raoul*, beeing busied in other warres about *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Strasbourg*, comming short of abilitie to represse the insolence of the Nobilitie: at length the people (being too much trod downe by great mens outrages) vndertooke Armes, and expelled them forth of the Countrey that had raised this disorder. This warre continued twelue yeares, about the yeare of our Lord, 1260. and some few yeares following. And in this warre, all the Cantons beganne to fortify the passages of their Countreyes. They of *Suits* builded a Tower at Mount *Sattell*, fortifying and cutting off the great highway. They of *Vnderuald*, did dam vp the Lake with a strong prouision of stakes & shrubs, toward the village of *Stantz*, and fortified the Port, by meanes of a Tower which they builded there. The year 1273. it came to passe, that *Raoul* of *Habspourg* was elected King of the Romaines. Then the Gentlemen of *Switzerland* went vnto him, and gaue him to vnderstand, that the people had rebelled: on the contrary, the people maintained, how much the Nobility had outraged them. The King hauing heard both parties, and seene the priuiledges of the people, gaue sentence to their benefit, and made peace between them and the Noblemen expulsed out of *Heluetia*, whither they returned again for the more part. As for the rest of the country, the king did generally confirme Gouernors in the name of the Empire, & not of the house of *Austria*: which Gouernors (from their beginning) did not dwell in towns or villages, but kept themselues in their Castles, whence they came, twice or thrice yearely, to iudge in cases of processe, but more especially in criminal causes.

The first war of the Nobility against the Cantons.

Erection of Towers and Castles of defence.

The truest remedy to impeach confusions of estats

Gouernors placed in the Emperors name, & not in the house of Austria.

In our dayes, there are Towns in Germanie, that receiued such Gouernours of the Empire, who managed no other matter, but onely causes criminall, & had no other occasions in Townes to attend vpon, but only thē. And so far off was king

Raoul

King Raoul abridged none of the Switzers liberties.

Raoul, from diminiſhing the liberties of the *Switzers*: as rather many of the Cantons ſtood beholding to him, for not only the confirmation, but likewiſe the amplification of their priuiledges. For, without depending on them of *Zurich*; he confirmed and augmented the priuiledges of the Canton of *Suits*, in the 18. yeare of his Empire, as appeareth by his Letters giuen at *Bada*, in the yeare 1291. where, in expreſſe termes, they of *Suits* are called people of free condition.

They of Suits were termed free people.

The Switzers liberties lefr entirely to thē

True it is, that the King himſelfe tooke very great paines, to make the houſe of *Habſpourg* great: but he left to the *Switzers* their liberties entire. Either becauſe he would not be accounted vnthankfull, in ruinating thē that had ſuccoured him, and ſhewne themſelues faithfull in his right, before he was Emperour, perſwading himſelfe alſo, that his affaires would proſper the better, by hauing the *Switzers* his loyall friends and aſſociates, then to make rebels of ſubiects, who would carry but bad affection to the oppreſſors of their liberty: Or elſe in regard, that hauing (but a very little before) ioyned the Dukedome of *Auſtria*, as alſo of *Allemaigne* or *Suaba*, to his other poſſeſſions, he might thereby imagine, that it would beget him a generall hatred, to faſten on things of ſuch ſlender conſequence, and that all the profite hee could procure, by vſurping ouer the *Switzers*, could not value the ill-will he ſhould gaine thereby.

Auſtria and Suaba ioyned to the Emperors other rights.

Adolph de Naſſau, who was ſucceſſour to *Raoul* in the Empire, confirmed to the *Switzers* their priuiledges. By meanes whereof, the *Switzers* were highly hated of *Albert*, Sonne to *Raoul*, and enemy to *Adolph*. This *Albert* was the very greateſt aduerſary and perſecutor of the liberties of the *Switzers*. Hee had a great number of children, and to aduance and enrich them, hee began to ſtretch foorth his wings ſo farre as poſsibly he could, & eſpecially he reſolued, to prouide a new kinde of principality in *Switzerland*. Hee being become Emperour, attributed many things to the houſe of *Auſtria*, that appertained to the Empire: which made him offenſiue and inſupportable to his neighbours, in being ſhameleſſe, to get to himſelfe whatſoeuer he deſired, eyther by vniuſt demands, or elſe by manifeſt violence. And becauſe Eccleſiaſticall perſons were very powerfull; he practiſed by all meanes, eyther to make ſale to them of their iuriſdictions, or elſe to make them acknowledge him and his childrē, as their hereditary and perpetuall Tutors & Protectors, In this manner he dealt with the Colledges and Conuents of *Strasbourg*, *Baſile*, *Conſtance*, *Coire*, *S. Gal*, the Hermitage, *S. Blaſe*, *Diſentz*, *Pfauertz*, *Rinow*, *Wettinghen*, *Muren*, *Interlach*, *Trubic*, *Certia*, *Scconn*, *Schenniſis*, *Zurich*, and many other places beſide. By the ſelfe-ſame cunning, he ſollicited & oppreſſed the Earles and Barons of *Switzerland* or *Heluetia*, to put themſelues into the ſafegard, and become vaſſals to the houſe of *Auſtria*. Among others were the Lords of *Vilſow*, *Rotenburg*, *Reynſpourg*, *Eſchenbach*, *Albourg*, *Wolhuſe* and *Grencinge*.

Church priuiledges inſulted vpon by the Emperor Albert.

Lords made vaſſals to the houſe of Auſtria, by the Emperours cunning.

The Emperor Albert a great enemy to the Switzers liberty.

In former times, the Colledges and Conuents depended vpon the Empire, & Lords & Gentlemen did neuer acknowledge any other Soueraigne vpon earth, but the Emperor onely: but this *Albert* laboured to faſten all to the houſe of *Auſtria*. Wee may eaſily iudge of his violence towards ſtrangers, by his bad carriage to his owne proper Nephew, to whō he would neuer (although hee was very many times thereto required) render the Hermitage paternall, which he gouerned in quality of a Tutor. But the Abbot of Saint *Gal*, two Colledges of the Towne of *Zurich*, and the Count of Hombourg, could neuer be brought to that point, to acknowledge them of *Auſtria* for their Protectors, neyther to ſell them any portion of their iuriſdictions. They continually alledged their ancient priuiledges, and would not permit, that they ſhoulde be diſmembred from the Empire: which much incenſed and offended the Emperour, who had practiſed vpon the rights of many other, eſpecially the Conuents *Secoun*, *Murbach*, the Hermitage, *Interlach*, *Diſentz*, and *Lucerne*, who had giuen him all that appertained to them, at *Glaris*, *Lucerne*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. Howbeit, they had formerly promiſed (by verie authenticall letters) to the inhabitants of thoſe places, neuer to alienate them to any other. But all this while, *Albert* cunningly wonne the harts of ſimple people, and by goodly promiſes, made them to ratifie theſe alienations.

The Emperors cruelty to his owne Nephew.

Tyrants doe alwaies meete with ſome people that will reſiſt againſt their deſignes.

An euil example is no rule of imitation in others.

Tyranny is cautelous in his proceedings, to compaſſe his intentions.

Hauing (by theſe meanes) gotten footing

The practises of the Emperor Albert, to subiect them of Suits and Vnderuald.

ting in the round neighbouring Countries,& bought some Castles of the Conuents, in the Territories of the forenamed Cantons: hee began to looke into some meanes,whereby he might become Master of *Suits* and *Vnderuald*, which being enclosed by thē of *Austria* (that domineerd ouer the Hermitage,*Glaris*,*Zug*, *Lucerne*,& other places thereabout) caused many to imagine, that except hee could preuaile against thē too, they wold quit their liberty as the other did. Neuertheles, *Albert* being desirous to reach the height of his desire, by such meanes as he had propounded to himselfe: sent in Embassie to them of *Suits* and *Vnderuald*,the Baron of *Liechtenberg*, Gouernor of *Alsatia*, and the Baron of *Ochsenstin*, two of his intimate Councellers. They addressed themselues first to thē of *Suits*, and perswaded them to yeeld themselues into the protection of the house of *Austria*,who were very beningne Princes,& vnder whose dominion they might liue much more peaceably,thē formerly they had done vnder the Empire,dismembred and rent in peeces (as it were) while the Princes were in debate about the election of Emperors.They further added,that they of *Austria* had the reuenues of many Conuents in those very quarters, and that if they refused; by displeasing *Albert*, they might well conceiue, that their affaires would but badly carry themselues; but in doing the contrary, his highnesse made them promise,of all honest and amiable entertainmēt, that a Prince could affoord them.

Faire words are of no cost to the enemies of free peoples liberty.

Threatnings of a Princes disfauour ominous.

The men of *Suits*,hauing bene aduertised before,concerning the intention & demaund of *Albert*,by *Garnier*,Count of *Hombourg*,Lord of a neere neighbouring Country, called *La Marche*: a man not well affected by *Albert*,because he had refused to yeeld himselfe vassale to ŷ house of *Austria*: And hauing conferred with them of *Vri* and *Vnderuald*, returned thus their answer to the Ambassadours. That the Kings and Romane Emperours had giuen them faire and ample priuiledges, carrying expresse charge, that they should neuer bee dismembred from the Empire: wherefore they were fully resolued,in imitation of their Ancestours example, to continue firmely ioyned to the Romane Empire. As for the Monasteries of *Murbach* and *Beron*, whose rights and reuenues (especially about *Suitz*) were then in the hands of the *Austrian* Princes, hauing formerly promised by authentical instruments,neuer to alienate themselues to any other authority whatsoeuer: If they had kept their promise, they would haue done the like in duty to them. But seeing that they had broken their faith; and all former contracts were vnnaturally cancelled: their example was no warrant to them for the like. Moreouer,they would render to *Albert* and his children, Princes of *Austria*,such fidelity and obedience as they ought to do: entreating *Albert*,seeing he was Emperor; that he would not permit them to be diuided from the Empire. Beside,in regard his Predecessours had confirmed their priuiledges to them of *Suits* (which himselfe as yet had not done) they therefore againe did humbly entreate him, that he would vouchsafe to confirm them. They also desired the Ambassadors, to returne this their answer to his Imperiall Maiesty, and to entreate on their behalfe,that he would benignly receiue them.

Bad presidents do not merit to be followed when their extendure is to generall preiudice.

Wisedome & good councell is neuer wanting in them that maintain their liberty by lawfull meanes.

The Ambassadors hauing this answer, went to deale with them of *Vri* & *Vnderuald*: who (according to that which had beene accorded on among them before) made the selfe-same answere as they of *Suits* had done. In all the forenamed Villages, they did nothing else but shew to the Ambassadors,the Letters Patents and priuiledges, granted them by *Fredericke*, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, and other Emperors, together with the letters and consents of the Monasteries:all of them making humble entreaty,that they might not be compelled to see al those things frustrated.But the Emperor hauing heard the Ambassadors, was highly offended at the answer, because the *Switzers* not only refused to acknowledge them of *Austria* for their Lords, & would not willingly be separated from the Empires body: but also declared, that they would yeelde to no disiunction from the Monasteries, by which meanes,all the precedent attempts of *Albert*, built vppon great cost and trauaile, were vtterly disappointed.

Vnity is requisite among such people as desire to preserue their liberties.

The Emperor greatly offended that his expectation was disapointed.

In some short while after,they of *Suits*, *Vri* and *Vnderuald*, hauing againe sent their Ambassadours vnto the Emperour, to obtaine confirmation of their priui-

priuiledges: hee answered them in choller, that hee would satisfie their requests, according as they had done his demands. And that hee had deputed certaine Gouernors, which he purposed to send vnto them, and by whom they should more amply vnderstand his minde.

Ambassadors sent to the Emperor by the Switzers.

Following this intention, hee sent as Gouernors, the Knight *Grisler*, and *Peregrin Landberg*. *Grisler* was appointed for *Suits* and *Vri*, and made his abiding in an olde Castell aboue *Suits*, called *Cusnach*, and beside, hee builded another Fortresse on the Land of *Vri*. *Landberg*, the Gouernour of *Vnderuald*, had two Castles, to wit, *Sarne* aboue the Forrest, and *Rotzberg* beneath, which Forrest diuided the country of *Vnderuald* iust in the midst. These two Castles did formerly belong to the Conuent or Colledge of *Lucerne*, & the Maiors or Bourgomaisters made their dwellings there: but the Emperor *Albert* had solde them to the house of *Austria*, and there he appointed Garrisons. These deportments were something nouell and strange to them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*: for till that time, these three seuerall places together had but one Gouernour, who (ouer and beside) was many times Gouernor of *Zurich* and other Townes. Hee remained in his Seigneuries out of the Cantons, and euery yeare once or twice (being called) hee came thither to iudge in law-cases. The rest of the time, he had a Lieutenant chosen among the Country people, that executed his charge But now there was appointed two perpetuall Gouernors, keeping Garrison in the very strongest parts of the Country: which the people were constrained to endure, onely in feare of the Emperour, and in regard beside, that those places were in the power of the *Austrian* Princes.

Extraordinary Gouernors Castels erected, and Garrisons placed in the Country, are the beginning of manifest tyranny.

Multitude of Gouernors are very dangerous in any Commonwealth.

At the beginning, these Gouernours shewed themselues very courteous and affable to all men: labouring by blandishments and faire lookes, to winne the peoples harts, & to subiect them to the house of *Austria*. But perceiuing that these carriages did little auaile them, they began to checke and oppresse the people, by the command of *Albert*; who was a[illegible]ine greeuously enraged, by reason of [illegible]new league or alliance (made for the [illegible]e of ten yeares) betweene them of [illegible], and the Count of *Hombourg*. Tyranny thus encreasing day by day, Ambassadors (in name of the three Villages) were sent to the Emperour, who would neyther see nor heare them: so that they were constrained to declare their Commission to his Councellers. The summe whereof was, that being people of the Roman Empire, they had obtained very ample franchizes and priuiledges of the Emperors: whereof they were now in danger to bee despoiled, and oppressed by an irkesome and insupportable tyranny. For the inhabitants of the recited places, were without cause, or vpon very slender occasion, immediately imprisoned, & pressed with nouell exactions. Beside all this, euery man in particuler, was compelled at a certaine time, especially the first day of the year, to bring presents to the Gouernors, which neuer had beene put in practise before. In which respect, they most humbly desired the Councellers, to intercede on their behalfe to the Emperour: that such charges might bee taken from them, and that their auncient priuiledges might bee confirmed and put in full force againe. But the Emperours Councellers hauing conferred and agreed together, made answer; that the Villages themselues were the cause of this oppression, and that the Emperour was thus seuere to them, because they would not follow the example of *Luceane*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, in yeelding thēselues to the house of *Austria*. Which doing, and making more account (then formerly they had done) of *Albert* and his children; they shold find him a Prince that would vse them very kindly.

A cunning tricke in the Emperour, whereby to frustrate and auoid the peoples complaints.

New exactions & gifts to the Gouernors enforced on the people

Such as the Master is, such commonly are his Seruants.

The Deputies hauing receiued this answer, returned without doing any thing else: in the meane while, the tyranny of the Gouernors (being fauoured & winked at by the Emperour) grew more and more to greater strength. In a certaine Valley of *Vnderuald*, called *Melchtall*, ther dwelled an aged rich man, iealous of his Countries liberty, and one that had bene the cheefest in councelling his compatriots, neuer to subiect themselues vnto the house of *Austria*, but carefully to preserue their ancient liberty, which mā was named *Henry* of *Melchtall*. *Landberg* sent a Seruant vnto him, with charge to bring away with him a couple of Oxen. Wherto *Henry* answered, that he knew not himselfe

Landberg was a most tyrannicall Gouernour.

The extortions of Landberg, witnessed in the History of Henry de Melchtall.

selfe to be culpable of any crime, whereby the Gouernour should exact such amends of him: and albeit hee had committed some offence, yet hee ought not thus to extend his authority vppon his goods, before he had beene heard & condemned. The seruant being of humour answerable to his Master, arrogantly replyed, that instantly he wold driue thence the Oxen: and if he stood in need of them to plough his Land, his Country lubbers should serue to draw in the yoake. Thus speaking, hee tooke the Oxen out of their yoakes, and made himselfe ready to driue them away.

Oppression is an easie matter to procure impatience in a Sonne, seeing his Father iniuried.

Arnoul, a lusty young man, and Son to *Henry*, mooued at this outrage offered to his father; gaue the seruant a sound blow with a cudgell, as hee was driuing on the Oxen, and chanced to breake one of his fingers: but fearing the tyranny of his Master, he got immediately to the top of the Mountaines, and withdrew himselfe among them of Vri, where hee kept close with one of his kindred. *Landberg* vnderstanding al that had past, sent out for *Henry Melchtall*, demanding of him what was become of his Son. *Henry* made answer, that he knew not where he was, as indeed hee was meerely ignorant of his flight: whereat the Gouernour was so furiously enraged, that he caused the old mans eies to be pluckt foorth, droue away his Oxen, & despoyled him beside, of the most part of his goods. This cruelty brought him into the hatred of all the people: but in regard of *Alberts* power and oppressions, commanding ouer them very stearnely, there was no man (as then) that durst stir against him. And because wicked courses grow to a great head, when ouermuch licence is permitted to them: euen so insolent iniquity in the Gouernors, did driue them out of one mischiefe into another.

Tyranny may iustly be tearmed the Mother of wrong and iniustice.

Tyranny blindfolded by his villanous companion concupiscence, and chastised by the iust iudgement of God.

Neere to the Abbey of *Engelberg*, and to the Village of *Wolffenschiez*, in a place named *Alzelen*, there dwelt a country mā called *Conrad de Bomgarten*, maried to a very faire and beautifull woman. It chanced that a Gentleman, named *Wolffenschiesz*, being Lieutenant to the Gouernor, returning from *Engelberg*, & passing by *Alzelen*, to goe home to his house at *Rotzberg*, found this womā in a meadow, busied about some commendable exercise. He vnderstanding that her husband was absent, commanded the woman to make him ready a Bath, wherein he might wash himselfe, because he was ouer-trauelled with heate and labour. The woman not daring to make refusall, did as the tyrant had commanded her. Proceeding on further in his intended villany, he pressed the woman to put off her garments, and come into the Bath to him; wherein shee promised to obey, prouided, that two varlets, which attended on him, might withdraw themselues, as accordingly they presently did vppon their masters command.

One lewd intention euermore draweth on another.

The woman vsing some delay, yet feigning preparation of her selfe to come into the Bath; got recouery of a doore behinde in the chamber, and fled away in great feare and anguish. Her husband returning from the Forrest, chanced to meete her, and vnderstanding what had happened; entred his house, and with an Axe or Hatchet, which he then had in his hand, slew the Lieutenant sitting in the Bath, and so he receiued the chastisement due to his wicked attempt, vpon the honour of a vertuous modest woman. The Gouernour sought all means to reuenge his death: but he was so hated of all men, as he could not execute any thing. Beside, the villany and indignity of his Lieutenant, with-held him from daring to require any helpe of the Country: in regard also, that he who had done the deed, was fled into the Lands of *Vnderuald*, & kept himselfe hid among them of *Vri*. Some say, and among others, *Eternilerus*, and *Stumpfius* in his Annales of *Heluetia*, that this man was the Gouernour himselfe; who seeking thus to violence an honest woman, became so slaine. But they of *vnderuald* maintaine, that hee who was kild in the Bath, was called *Wolffenschiesz* a seruant to the house of *Austria*, and dwelling at *Rotzberg*.

Modesty seeketh means to preserue her chaste reputation, and alwaies findeth helpe when she least looketh for it.

Eternilerus & Stumfius in the Annales of Switzerland.

While these Tragedies were thus acting at Vnderuald, *Grisler*, the Gouernour of Vri and Suits also, to keepe the people in the more awe and subiection; began to builde (by command from his Master) a Fort or Cittadell neere to *Altorff*, vpon a small Hill called *Solturne*. This *Grisler* beeing a verye vaine-glorious man, made vaunt of abasing the people in such sort, that hee would bow & bend them at his

The tyranny of the Gouernour Grisler.

A Cittadell called the yoake of extreme slauery to the people.

his pleasure; whereupon he called his Fort, *A yoake of extreme slauery to the Vrians*. He perceiuing, that all men were enraged & badly bent toward him, and doubting, leste some matter might secretly be contriued against him; to compasse discouery thereof, he vndertooke this course ensuing. He caused a Hat or Bonnet to be fixed vpon a long Pole, erected in the market place of *Altorff*, where the greater part of the Country people vsed to meete, and gaue command, that all men (taking off their owne Bonnets) should bow their knees, and yeelde as much honour to that Hat, as they vsed to doe to him the Gouernor, or when they came into his presence. His purpose and opinion was heereby, that such as were maliciously addicted towards him, would neuer humble themselues, in doing so many reuerences to the Hat, especially if they had any consorts, vpon whose help they made any dependance: and that this occasion would serue him as an honest pretence for their discouery to his spies, and so tortures might be inflicted on them, to gain knowledge of the whole enterprize. In the meane while, he departed thence, to visite the Country of *Suits*, where he was likewise Commander and Gouernor.

A Bonnet or Hat to be reuerenced by the people.

Note the subtilty of a Tyrant.

Garnier Stouffacher Sonne to Raoul Stouffacher first Magistrate of Suits.

In *Suits* there was a Gentleman of marke, named *Garnier Stouffacher*, whose Father was called *Raoul*, and had bene the first Magistrate of *Suits*, about thirty years before. This *Garnier* had built a house in more ample and magnificent manner, then was the vsual custome of the Country. It fortuned, that the Gouernor *Grisler* passed on horsebacke by this house, and demanded to whom it appertained. *Stouffacher* knowing himselfe to bee in the ill opinion of the Gouernor, because he had alwayes before councelled the people, not to subiect themselues to them of *Austria*: This house (quoth he) is for the King and you, by whose liberality, I am possessour of it. Then the Gouernor answered; I am Lord of this Country, and henceforward I will not suffer any more, that yee shall sway your selues after your owne appetites, in building houses, as if you were Masters, and that you shall well feele before it be long.

Tyrants are enemies to them that maintaine the peoples liberty.

This answer deliuered with outragious menaces, greatly displeased *Stouffacher*, who (from that time forward) could not dissemble his greefe. Which was the cause that his wife, being a wise, modest, and discreete Lady, perceiuing her husband sad and pensiue, and vnderstanding the reason thereof: exhorted him to hope well, in regard that God, to whom all violence and tyranny was displeasing, would neuer forsake such as inuoked his help & furtherance. Moreouer, it would well become him to make search after men of courage, such as were oppressed with the same tyranny: to conferre with them, and ioyne their meanes together, to recouer the liberty of their Country; for shee durst assure him, that God would blesse so holy an enterprize. *Stouffacher*, hauing a long time consulted with himselfe, at length went from *Suits*, to *Vri*, where he easily knew and perceiued, that *Grisler* was hated of all men in those quarters, by reason of his insupportable pride, euen as much as he was in *Suits*: especially by the Baron of *Attinghuse*, then cheefest in iustice at *Vri*, & a familiar friend to *Stouffacher*. This Baron first began to complaine, as extremely wearied with the insolencies of *Grisler*, in erecting his Hat, as to ranke it with Princes; protesting openly, that he could not permit his Country, any longer to endure so great a tyranny.

Councels of small & slender appearance, grow to great effects: especially against Tyrants and tyranny.

Afflicted mindes doe comfort one another by conference.

But *Stouffacher* fearing (perhaps) that the Baron vsed this kinde of language, only but to sound him, and (as we vse to say) to vndermine his secretst cogitations: kept his owne intention couert, contenting himselfe, to breake his minde vnto an ancient faithfull friend of his, called *Gautier Furst*, that is to say, the Prince. These two hauing many and sundry times considered on all matters, and taken into their councell (as a third party) *Arnould Melchtall* of *vnderuald*; bound themselues together by mutuall oath, to ioyne all their meanes, and imploy their paines by a cõmon consent, for the extirpation of tyranny, and reducing their country to her ancient liberty. Moreouer they concluded, that each of them in his owne quarter, should procure so many men as possibly he could, prouided, that they were people of good and discreet carriage: who shold all sweare, to imploy both their goods & bodies, and to maintaine one another in his right, for recouery of the Countries former freedome; and that in the meane while, each man should acquit himselfe of

The three first men that wer the first foundation & beginners of the league of Switzers, and their manner of proceeding

of his duty towards the Empire, the Monasteries, as also to al Gentlemen & Yeomen. Promising likewise, to keepe this league & combination secret, vntill such time as (by common aduice) all the confederates should bee resolued to publish it. They made choise also of a priuate place, neere to the Lake of *Vri*, called *Grutly*, where these three chiefe heads of the League vsed to meete, accompanied each one with three or foure, to aduise together what was to be done.

Promise and place of primacy appointed for meeting, to conferre on these serious affairs.

Thus you may perceiue, how the ground-worke of the League of *Switzers* was then begunne, by *Stouffacher*, *Furst*, and *Melchtall*: and being so agreed vppon, each man returned by himselfe home, to make coniunction with his cõpanions. Soone after this, not onely the vulgar people, but likewise the most part of the Nobility in the Villages, ranked themselues with the confederates: For the Gouernours did molest the Noblemen, no lesse then they did the common sort, not making any difference betweene the one and other, but called the Gentlemen, peazants, and companions of rascality. In like manner, they of *Austria* had appropriated (by little & little) to themselues, the rights belonging to Noblemen: whereat many being offended, had forsaken (as it were) the part of *Austria*, as we haue formerly obserued by the Baron of *Attinghuse*.

Stouffacher, Furst, and Melchtall, the three men of the league.

Oppression is a key to open the vnderstanding of most and least.

The number of the confederates beeing encreased, it seemed good to many, that it was time to set hand to the worke, namely, to chase thence the Gouernors, & replant the ancient liberty of the country: for feare (leste by ouer-long delay, their enterprize would be discouered (by some meanes) to the Gouernors. And therefore, in the yeare 1207. the 17. day of October, twelue of the principall men among all the confederates, assembled themselues at a certaine place appointed. All insisted to lay hand to the businesse so soone as possible might be; against which, they of *Vnderuald* onely opposed themselues: because that the Castles or Fortresses, which the Gouernor held in their territory, to wit, *Sarne* and *Rotzberg*, were places well munited, and almost impregnable, and if siedge should bee planted before them, the King of the Romaines would come forthwith, bringing an Army sufficient to succour them. The other confederates yeelded to this motion, and agreed together, that the first day of Ianuary then next following, through al the Cantons, seizure should be made, on all the strongest Castles belonging vnto the Gouernor. To whom notwithstanding, not any outrage should be offered, neyther to any of their family or Garrisons: except only to such as would make head, and withstand them in Armies; but to send the Gouernors safely and well away, with their goods. Moreouer, that the Castles and strongest holds or Cittadels, should be rased from the top to the bottome: to declare by manifest effect, that they had not vndertaken Armes for blowes or pillage, but onely to conserue their Countries liberty. This resolution agreed on, each man retired home to his house, awaiting for the day appointed: in the meane space, according to faithfull promise, they kept their determination very secret.

Aduice taken for beginning the businesse publikely.

In serious conferences, each side ought to be iudicially heard.

A resolution to expell the Gouernors from the nest of their tyranny.

While these affaires were thus in forwarding, there happened a notable accident at *Vri*. One *Guillaume Tell*, a man in the confederacy, diuers times passed by before the Hat exalted on the Pole, as formerly hath beene related, without performing any reuerence thereto. And being therefore accused to the Gouernor *Grisler*: he entreated, that his inciuility might bee excused, because hee reputed such reuerence to bee a matter of no importance. But the Gouernor, who held him a man much to be suspected, among *Guillaumes* children, made choise of a young little boy, whom the Father loued very dearly. And hee commanded *Guillaume* (being known an excellent archer) to set his sonne some good distance off, & with an Arrowe, to cleaue an Apple vpon his head, which if he did not, his owne head should be smitten off. *Guillaume Tel* answered, that his commaund was too strange and seuere, and he had rather die, then thorough default of shooting right, to kill his deerest sonne. If thou doest not performe it, saide the Gouernour, it shall cost both thy life, and thy sonnes.

A notable history of Guillaum Tell, too much inuried by the tyrant Gouernor.

An hard iniunction to a Father by the Tyrant, and not easily to be aduentured.

Prayers and entreaties not preuailing, *Tell* tooke his Bowe; and, by the prouidence of God (who questionlesse guided and directed the Arrow) cleft the Apple in twaine vpon his sonnes head. Euerie

one

SWITZ. VNDERVALD. ZVG. GLARIS. BASEL.

5 6 7 8 9

VRI. FRIBVRG.

4 10

LVCERNE. SOLLEVRE.

3 11

BERNE. SCAFFOVSE.

2 12

ZVRICH. APPENZELL.

1 13

ABBEY OF S GAL. S.GAL. GRISONS. VALAIS. ROTVILL. MVLHOVSE. BIENNE.



one of the beholders did not a little reioyce, at such a faire and admirable shoot: but the Gouernor, not contented with so perillous a satisfaction, perceiuing another Arrow remaining vnder *Guillaumes* girdle, demanded of him, what vse hee meant to make of that other Arrow? *Guillaume* replied, that it was a custom among Archers, to draw more arrowes then one out of their Quiuers, for any occasiõ that might happen. But the Gouernor suspecting something else, pressed him more & more; & finally, promised him to saue his life, if he would confesse the truth; which accordingly *Tell* did, and that he had that other Arrow ready, therewith to kill the Gouernor, if his first shaft had slaine his Son. Then the Gouernor declared, that he wold not take away his life, because he had promised the contrary: but he should be kept in perpetuall prison, and liue miserably in darknesse, without conuersing with any man liuing. Thus speaking, he caused him to be fast bound with cordes, & led into a Barque, that hauing past the Lake of *Vri*, he might be conuaied to the Castle of *Cusnach*. The Gouernor, with his people & prisoner, being in the midst of the Lake; a greeuous tempest suddenly exalted it selfe, which did put the Barque in euident perill. They perceiuing themselues in extreame danger of their liues: one of *Grisslers* seruants said to his master, that there was but one only means wherby to saue them, and that was, to vnbinde *Guillaume Tel*, and refer the Barques conduct to him, because he was a most expert Marriner, strong and able to direct them in such a necessity. So extreme vrgent was the case, that euery man allowed the councell, & vnbound *Tell*; who fastening hold on the Rudder, and guiding it manfully, preserued the Barque among the roughest billowes, turning her prow towards the country of *Suits*.

Tyrants are neuer in safetie of themselues, but alwaies suspitious.

The admirable prouidẽce of God, to bring such a wicked wretch to his end.

Hauing attained neere enough vnto the shore, there appeared a mighty stone (like vnto a Rock) aboue the water, which to this day is called *Telles* Stone. Being hard by it, *Tell* caught hold thereon with his Bow, which lay at his feete in the Poupe, and leaping foorth quickly vpon that stone, he gaue so strong a thrust with his foote against the Barques side, that it returned back among the stearn billows. This done, he tooke his flight thence, and hid himselfe among the neighbouring Mountaines. The Barque hauing long floated in this manner, was guided at length by the Gouernours seruants, to a Port named *Brune des Fontaines*. From thence the Gouernour set on his way towards *Cusnach*, and must needs passe thorough a hollow craggy straite, where *Tell* (well acquainted with all those parts) by great good hap had ambushed himselfe among thick bushes: there he discharged an Arrow at the Gouernor, which passed quite through his body, & slew him. Ther remaineth yet (to our time) a Chappell, built on the place where the Gouernour was slaine: and another vpon the Stone or Rocke, where *Tell* threw himselfe out of the Barque. After this successefull shoote, *Tell* went to *Suits*, where he made all these matters knowne to *Stouffacher*. From thence hee tooke his way ouer the highest Mountains, and turning by *Morsach*, came back to *Vri*, wher hauing foũd *Gautier Furst*, he acquainted him with all that had hapned. By this time, they had gotten hearts and hands enow, to expell all the Gouernors family and followers: but hauing respect to them of *Vnderuald*, and remembring their former resolution for the first day of Ianuary following, they kept thẽselues quiet, & *Tell* (in the meane time) liued closely among his friends.

Guillaume Telles Stone or rock, which was (next to God) the meanes of his deliuerance.

The correspondency of Gods iudgement with the iniquity of the Tyrant.

Two chappels erected in especiall places as liuing memorials of the tyrants ouerthrow, & the good fortune of Tell.

The first day of Ianuary being come, they of *Vnderuald* made themselues Masters of two Fortresses, according to a compromise passed betweene them. In the Fort of *Rotzberg* there dwelt a chambermaid, who was in loue with a goodly young man of *Vnderuald*, and committed folly with him. An especiall night of meeting being appointed by them both, the young man brought twenty other armed Souldiers with him, and caused them to lye closely hidden neere the Castle. He hauing giuen the signall to his wench, who knew nothing at all of the intended deceit, was mounted vp aloft to her by the helpe of a corde. Hauing staide sometime of dalliance with her, making her to beleeue one thing for another; he left the chamber a while, going to the window whereat he had bin drawne vp, & letting downe the cord, drew vp one of his companions, and then returned to his lasse againe. He that had thus gotten vp, neuer left till he had drawne vp all his other fellowes,

The retraite of the tyrants is attempted and wonne by them of Vnderuald.

lowes, (who were vnmatchable for ſtrength and courage) and ſo got poſſeſſion of the place: where they kept all the gates ſtrongly defended, and cloſe ſhut vp, in expectation of good newes from their other conſorts, who were to ſeize the other Fortreſſe, called *Sarne*.

By baſe and contemptible meanes, the power of the oppreſſors was vtterly brought to nothing.

That other company conſiſted of fifty valiant men, thirty of them hauing ambuſhed themſelues in a neere neighboring wood: the reſt went directly towards the Caſtle, leaning vpon ſtaues and croutches, and carrying preſents to the Gouernor, (according to cuſtome of the day) as Lambs, Pigs, Calues, Cheeſes, and ſuch like things. The Gouernor was going to church, anſwerable to his ordinary wont at ſuch a time, and met them on the way, where perceiuing them to haue no other Armes then ſtaues and croutches, which ſerued (as it ſeemed) to ſupport their feeble bodies: hee made no doubt of any thing, but paſſed on, not a little pleaſed with thoſe preſents, and brought him in more liberall and plentifull manner, then they were formerly wont to do. Their ſtaues and croutches were made round, and pierced ſo hollow within: that they could eaſily ſcrew in long ſharpe pikes of iron, which each of them carried cloſe hid in his boſome. They came to the Caſtle, where beeing permitted entrance with their New-yeares gifts: they poſſeſſed thēſelues of the Gates, giuing an appointed ſignall to their fellow-ſouldiers lying in the wood, who came immediately to ſuccour them, and tooke them all priſoners that were in the Caſtle. Afterward, hearing that *Rotzberg* was ſurprized by their other aſſociates, they releaſed all their priſoners, and the Gouernor alſo, whom they had laid ſure hold on, as hee was about to eſcape. When the Gouernor and his followers had ſolemnly promiſed vpon oath, neuer more to returne againe into thoſe quarters; they gaue thē leaue to depart, & ſent them by ſafe conduct out of the Country, and then ruined thoſe two ſtrong Forts or Caſtles flat to the ground. The very ſame day alſo, they of *Vri* demoliſhed the new Cittadell, which *Griſler* had named, *The yoake of the Vrians*, being not as yet fully finiſhed: and in *Suits*, *Stouffacher* (with his followers) won and ruined the Cittadell of *Louerts*, builded nere vnto the Lake. On the morrow, the three villages (by their Deputies) made a publike league of amity and alliance, to continue for ten years, vpon the conditions before mentioned, cōfirming them al by ſolemne oath. Behold the end of their tyrannicall gouernment, whom *Albert* had eſtabliſhed ouer the Cantons

When the iudgement of heauen intendeth to ſtrike, the beſt wiſedome in men cannot preuent it.

Succeſſe proued alike in both the places by honeſt endeuour.

The neſt and yoake of Tyranny vtterly defaced and ruined.

The onely means to fortifie themſelues againſt tyranny.

When *Albert* had receiued tydings of this ſudden change: he was wonderfully enraged, and reſolued to make war vpon the cantons, as thinking by ſtrong hand to bring them in ſubiection. He ſent firſt of all to his ſubiects of *Zug*, *Lucerne*, & other neighbours of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*, to ſuffer no victuals to be conuayed to them. But in a ſhort while after, he was ſlaine by his owne Nephew, the Son of his Brother, and by his complices, in paſſing ouer the Riuer of *Ruſſ*: ſo that this war by him intended, remained now to be freſhly attempted. His ſonnes, being ſufficiently hindred from reuenging his deth, left the *Switzers* in peace: fearing leſte they ſhould ioyne with the Gentlemen, who had ſlaine their Father. About this time, they of *Auſtria* ruined many ſtrong places in *Heluetia*, as in the Territory of *Zurich*, *Warte*, *Multperg*, *Schnabelberg*, *Maſchuande* the Towne and Caſtle, and *Farwange* in the neighbouring quarter. Some moſt noble families alſo were by them ſubuerted and extermined, to wit, that of *Eſchinbach*, *Wartz*, *Palme*, & many other. For at the taking of the Caſtle of *Forwange*, in one day, 63. Gentlemen, with their ſeruants, had their heads ſmitten off: And in other parts of *Switzerland*, they of *Auſtria* cauſed to be ſlaine, or baniſhed out of the country, about a 1000. perſons, the moſt part wherof were Noble. There are ſome ill-wilers, that do falſely accuſe the *Switzers*, to haue deſolated many places, & expelled many Noble families: when al this while, thoſe horrid actions (for the moſt part) were committed by them of the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Albert a fatall enemy to the Switzers, ſlaine by his own nephew.

Spoile and waſte made by the Auſtrians in Switzerland, on Noble & Gētlemen.

Falſe imputations laid on the Switzers.

Henry of *Luzelbourg*, 7. Emperor of that name, ſucceeded after *Albert*. He confirmed the priuiledges & ancient liberty of the 3. cantons, & eſtabliſhed a Prouoſt or Aduocate of the Empire, to be Iudge in law caſes in the Towne of *Zurich*, the round neighbouring places, and in the three Cantons, in name of the Emperor. This Prouoſt was named *Raoul* of *Habſpourg*, Lord of *Lauffenberg*, Sonne to

Henry the 7. confirmed the priuiledges of the 3. cantons wherin may may be ſeene the goodneſſe of god to ſhine clearely, by ſending milde comfort after ſo long oppreſsion.

Godfrey, who was Nephew to *Raoul*, vnkle to the Emperor *Raoul* of *Habſpourg*. But the Emperor *Henry* being gon into *Italy*, (in which iourney an hundred Souldiers of *Zurich*, and as many of the other Cantons, were at his pay) the Prouoſt was falſely accuſed (as ſome ſay) before the Emperor, by the means of Duke *Leopold*, who hated him, and ſaid that he had abuſed his authority. So that he was depoſed, and *Edward de Burgle*, dwelling at *Turge*, ſubſtituted in his place. Afterward, *Raoul* being brought to anſwer his cauſe at the Court of France, dyed at *Montpellier*. His ſeruants brought backe his body, and cauſed it to bee buried in the Abbey of *Wettinghen*.

The reuenge of the Emperour Alberts Sonnes on the murderers of their Father.

The Sonnes of *Albert*, hauing ſlaine all them that were preſent at the murder of their Father, and expelled all their other complices; became rich and powerfull, for they had ſeized on the goods of al thē that had hand in the death of *Albert*. The three cantons were highly in their malice and diſgrace, yet they durſt not begin warre vpon them, fearing (perhaps) the Emperor, who had taken the *Switzers* into his protection: but neuertheleſſe, they moleſted the Cantons by diuers in-roades, for they could eaſily offend them of *Vnderuald*, by Boates deſcending on the lake of *Lucerne*; yet the Cantons kept themſelues carefully within compaſſe of their guards, & mutually aſſiſted one another.

A difference betweene them of Lucerne & the men of Vnderuald.

In the yeare one thouſand three hundred and ten, a Ship well munited & furniſhed with men, ſet foorth from *Lucern*, to make aſſault on thē of *Vnderuald*, who in the defence of them of *Vri*, that were come (by great chance) with a Shippe of warre to aſsiſt them; did both bondge & ſinke the Veſſell of *Lucerne*, very neere to the Port, killing a great number of the Soldiers, and taking the reſt priſoners. This loſſe thus receiued, they of *Lucerne* (and their neighbours) tooke truce with the Cantons. In the ſame yeare, they of *Suits*, being deſirous to pacifie all matters among them: bought of *Ewrard*, Count of *Habſpourg*, *Arte* and *Cuſnach*, Villages of their Cantons, and ſubiects to the houſe of *Habſpourg*, encreaſing & enlarging the limitation of their bounds very much that way. But on the other ſide they had warre againſt the Monkes of the Hermitage, & for the ſpace of about four hundred years; each being at puſh of the Pike againſt the other, and for thoſe reaſons which I will breefely relate.

Lucerne glad to take truce with the Cantons.

War by them of Suits againſt the Monkes of the Hermitage.

The Emperor *Otho*, ſurnamed the great, about the yeare 950. hadde eſtabliſhed certaine bounds to them of *Suits*, and to the Monkes of the Hermitage. In theſe limitations, ſome Mountaines (fertile for paſturage) were left to the Monks, which till that time had bene poſſeſſed by them of *Suits*. It came to paſſe, that they wold not keepe themſelues to the Emperours appointment; but held their ancient limits. The Abbots of the Hermitage, who were not able enough to debout thē out of their poſſeſſion; gaue not ouer to obtaine of the Emperors ſucceſſors, confirmation of the ordinance ſet downe by *Otho*. About the yeare one thouſand, forty foure, the Abbot *Geron* accuſed them of *Suits* to *Henry* the third, Emperor. *Raoul* and *Arnoul*, Earles of *Lentzbourg*, & Gouernors of *Zug*, being ioyned with them of *Suits*, made their complaint likewiſe, that their limits were much abridged. But the Emperour *Henry* re-confirmed the grant of *Otho*, & condemned the Counts of *Lentzbourg* to a certaine fine of mony; all which notwithſtanding, they of *Suits* kept themſelues in their ancient poſſeſſiō ſtill, in deſpight of all ỳ the Abbot could do. Once more then, about the yeare of our Lord, 1144. the Abbot *Raoul* accuſed them before *Conrad* the ſecond, Emperor, who confirmed alſo the ſentence of *Otho*. Neuertheleſſe, they of *Suits* maintained themſelues (perforce) in poſſeſſion ſtill, and the Abbot (on the contrary ſide) defending the limits giuen him by the Emperor, and making vſe of them accordingly; raiſed warre vpon them, inuading continually one another, and taking priſoners on eyther ſide. Theſe enmities endured a long time, and at laſt, *Raoul*, Count of *Raſperwill*, brought them to an agreement, in the yeare 1217. This accord was imbraced & kept for about the ſpace of fifty yeares, at the end of which time, there came an Abbot, named *Anſelme*, vnder whom noueil differences began: becauſe that both ſides expounded the tract of pacification, in a contrary ſence and meaning.

The ground and originall of ſo many yeares warre betweene the men of Suits & the Monks of the Hermitage.

The grant of Otho the Great, reconfirmed by the Emperor Henry, the third of that name.

The Count of Raſperwil became a good peace-maker betweene long diſcontented enemies.

The warre being againe renewed, continued foure and forty yeares: but ſoone after, they of *Zurich* laboured to ratifie

a firme peace, in the time of *Henry* the seaueneth. While they were treating on this peace, some men of *Suits*, being gon in pilgrimage to this Abbey of the Hermitage: were villianously and publikely outraged by certaine Monks, which wholy brake off the negotiation. Moreouer, the Princes of *Austria*, who had appropriated to themselues the protection of the Abbey: incensed the Abbot and Monks against them of *Suits*, promising them continuall succour. The warre hauing lasted long, wherein they of *Suits* were greatly endamaged: at length, in the yeare, 1313. the 23. day of February, they went foorth secretly into the fields in the night time, & hauing deceiued the guardes; entred by strong hand into the Abbey, taking and leading thence the Monkes that had done the outrage, together with the Curate of the place, named *Iohn*, and the Master of the Schoole, named *Raoul*. There were then Monkes of noble birth in the Abbey, namely, *Raoul*, and *Henry of Wnenberg*, *Iohn Regensperg*, and *Burckhard Fleminger*. This was the cause, that the Counts of *Habspourg* and of *Togge*, and the Baron of *Kegensperg*, who were their neere allies and kinsmen, as also *Iohn* of *Schwanden*, Abbot of the Hermitage, greatly imployed their pains with them of *Suits*, for these Monkes. When the Monks had sollemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to deale with them of *Suits* in any such enterprize, nor to attempt any matter of reuenge vppon them: they were released, hauing first payed nine hundred pounds *Tournois*. But this enlargement came so farre short of appeasing them: that it wrought a quite contrary effect in them, continually fixing their thraldome before their eyes; so that thence forward, they sought all meanes whereby to iniure them of *Suits*.

Heereupon happened a new occasion of troubles. After the death of the Emperor *Henry*, in the yeare 1314. the States of the Empire beeing assembled to create a new Emperor; the Electors found themselues to be diuided in opinion. Foure of them elected *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, fourth of that name: but the other three gaue their voices to *Frederick* of *Austria*, the Sonne to *Albert*. He to make his part equall in voices to *Lewes* his number, named *Henry*, Duke of *Carinthia*, as King of *Bohemia*, maintaining that this kingdome belonged to him, by right of the Country, *Frederick* counted this Duke among them that should giue their voyces: albeit that *Iohn*, sonne to *Henry* the 7. was king of *Bohemia*, hauing married the daughter to the late deceased king. This dismembring of the Empire, caused those greeuous troubles in *Germany* and *Heluetia*. The three Cantons, enemies to the house of *Austria*, ioyning themselues with *Lewes* of *Bauaria*: all their neighbors being before in their protection of *Austria*, or else at the time of these elections, approoued that of *Frederick*. Now in regard that the three Cantons onely, made head against *Frederick*; he preuailed so far, that (by his accusation) the Bishoppe of *Constance* excommunicated them, & they wer banished by the Court Imperiall, which was at *Rotuile*. They were charged, that they had violenced the abbey of the Hermitage, & (in that tumult) had cast downe and spoiled the holy sacrifice: which they of *Suits* firmely and stoutly denied, promising contrariwise, seuerely to punish the offenders in such a delict, prouided, ỳ they might be discouered to them. And althogh they could not produce any one; yet notwithstanding, they remained banished & excommunicated. In regard whereof, they humbly entreated the Emperor *Lewes* to vndertake the knowledge of this cause: which he did, and procured afterward, that they were reintegrated into the communion of the Church.

In this time, the Gentlemen that were forth of the lands of the 3. Cantons, with the Gouernors; solicited *Leopold* of *Austria*, Son to *Albert*, to make war vpon the Cantons. The Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Monfort* rouled on this wheele with their best helpe. The occasion was very honest, as it seemed, to wit; that the Prince purposed to reuenge the outrage done to the Chappell of the *Virgin Mary*. The yong Prince, being young, powerfull, and a true heire to his Fathers hatreds: suffered himself to be thus counselled, and intended prosecution of this wat. His forces were about him, by whose meanes he had spoiled the places and castles of his fathers murderers: ẅ Soldiers were people aptly disposed for war; and made rich by the booties they had taken in those castles. Moreouer, he leuied a

Peace broken off againe by villanous behauiour in the Monks of the Hermitage to holy Pilgrims

The Abby entred in the night time by them of Suits, to reuenge their wrong vpon the Monkes.

A reconciled enemy is very hardly to be credited.

Election of *Lewes* of Bauaria fourth of that name, Emperor, and a difference falling among the Princes Electors.

The cause of the dismall troubles in Germany and Switzerland.

The three Cantons excommunicated and banished, because they would not yeeld themselues to seruitude.

Warre prepared by Prince Leopold of Austria against the 3. Canton, and the cause thereof.

The diuision of the Forces belonging to Prince Leopold, and who conducted them.

Army, collected from *Suisse*, *Suaba*, and *Alsatia*, diuiding all these powers into two parts. One of them, which (as is credibly affirmed) consisted of about twenty thousand men; was conducted by himselfe against them of *Suits*. He gaue the rest to the Count of *Strasberg*, Gouernor of the vale of *Hasell*, that they might ascend the Mountaine of *Brunig*, and assaile that side belonging to them of *Vnderuald*.

The voluntary offer of the Cantons to the Prince, requiring peace and no way desirous of warre.

The Cantons hearing newes of this preparation, mustered vp their forces, & because nothing might remaine as forgotten: they sent to craue peace of the Prince, by the Count of *Togge*, promising to accept the Prince as their Iudge, & to make answer in his presence, to the Abbot of the Hermitage, and to the expelled Nobility. But the Prince would allow no audience to the Count, and refused all negotiation of peace. The whole hope and expectation of quietnes being thus cut off; a Fast was published & cõmanded throughout the Cantons, and prayers deuoutly made to God. All such as could carry Armes, were sent to the Garrisons in all those parts, where any entrance might be made into ꝑ countries.

The assembly of the forces of the three Cantons, and their number.

But because the Prince was at *Zug*, with the greater part of his power: the allies assembled thẽselues at *Suits*, which is the very neerest Canton to *Zug*, and there were mustred foure hundred Souldiers of *Vri*, three hundred of *Vnderuald*, and sixe hundred of *Suits*. These made vp 1300. men in all, and thus they resolued to attend the enemy, valiantly exposing their liues, for conseruation of their countries, liberties, wiues, and children: declaring themselues (in this case) no lesse worthy of commendation, then the Lacedemonians, who fighting for the freedome of *Greece*, dyed all with their weapons in their hands, at the passage of the *Thermopylæ*. It is said, that the Lord of *Huneberg*, a worthy Gentleman, dwelling in the territory of *Zug*, and being then in the Army of Prince *Leopold*, taking compassion on the death of so many innocents, at whose throtes flying kniues lay ouerready (for it was concluded by the Nobility, to put the three Cantons to fire & sword) did secretly aduertise the confederates, by a Letter which he shot vnto thẽ fastened at an Arrow, that the day of S. *Omer* (which was the 16. of Nouember) they should be assayled at a place called *Morgarten*, and therfore it stood them on to looke to their businesse. The allies hearing this, fortified strongly that place; appointing men to all the wayes whereby the enemy should passe, and encamped themselues aloft on the Mountaine.

The great mercy and prouidence of God, preparing safety for oppressed people.

Fifty men had then ranked themselues together, which had bene banished from *Suits*, and they humbly desired, that their banishment might be reuoked, offering to imploy their paines couragiously, for the safety of their Country. But a sad answer was returned them, to wit, that many among them were guilty of very greeuous crimes: therefore they would not accept such people for companions, as fearing leste those faulty persons, might be the occasion of harme to the whole Army. These poore banished men (for al this) would not giue ouer their good affection, which they had intirely addicted to their Countries succour: but got possession of a little high Hill on the Frontiers, which hung ouer the way, whereby (of necessity) the enemy must passe.

War ought not to bar or abridge iustice, in cases of important necessity.

The sixteenth day of Nouember being come, in the yeare, 1315. *Leopold* caused his troopes to issue foorth of Zug, about the breake of day; the infantery marching formost, with all the Nobility and horsemen: for the Gentlemen had resolued to chastise the poore Country people with their owne hands, whom they tearmed the Seditious. As they were entred on the confines of *zuits*, hauing the Lake of *Egeria* on the one side, the high Mountaines on the other, and their Army betweene both. The banished men began to roule downe from the Mountaines top, great huge stones, and mighty Logs of Timber, vpon the Princes Army. Afterward, without the least intermission, hauing laid together great heaps of incredible big sharpe-pointed Flints: then showred them downe (as it were) vpon the horsemen, euen like to a violent tempest of haile.

The battell of Morgarten, where a thousand, three hundred and fifty men ouerthrew twenty thousand.

Despised and refused assistance makes the best way to an honorable successe.

This accident neuer expected, did put the Army into very great trouble; for men were not able to gouerne their horses, frighted with the continuall falling of sharpe stones from aloft, and very greeuous wounds they receiued by thẽ. This being noted by them of *Suits*, who were ranged

ranged vpon a very high place: they marched on to meete the enemy in the face; and (from a farre off) threw huge ſtones, and ſhot ſharpe pointed arrows at them. Afterward, they came to handy grapling, and charges with Halberds ſo furiouſlie, that both horſe and foote were put to flight; among whom, the Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Mountfort* were the formoſt, as is credibly reported. Ouer and beſide the footmen, 1500. horſmen were ſlaine in this battell, beſide many drowned in the Lake, & a great number (by reaſon of the narrowe paſſage, which hindred the ſauing of themſelues) were murdred by their own fellowes, and trodden to death with horſes. Two and fifty Citizens of *Zurich*, being all habited alike in garments of one colour, and well knowne by the Cantons, to be the moſt valiant men in all the enemies army, being ſent by the Senate to ſuccour the Duke of *Auſtria*, were ſlaine in the field.

The ouerthrow of the Count of Strasberg at Vnderuald, & in what maner it was performed.

The ſelfeſame day as the battaile vvas fought at *Morgarten*, the Count of *Straſberg* (hauing chaſed the Garriſon of *Brunig* from the Mountain;) entred into the Country with three thouſand men, and began to forrage euery where. He incamped at *Alpenach*, which is a Village in the Canton of *Vnderuald*, threatning the next morning to inuade the other part of the country beyond the Forreſt, if they on the hither ſide did not willingly yeeld themſelues. But in the meane while, they of *Vnderuald* beyond the Forreſt, aſſembled them of the Mountaines round about, & called to their aſsiſtance them on the hither ſide the Forreſt, whom the enemie had not found as yet, and by the ſame meanes gaue knowledge to theyr partakers which were at *Suits*. The Meſſenger arriued at *Brunen* the morrow after the battaile, but others ſay, that it was the very ſame day. Theſe newes beeing thus come, they of *Vnderuald* put themſelues vpon the Lake, and made ſuch diligence in getting to their houſes, as in two hours ſpace (by painfull labour and ſpeed of the Ferry men) they croſſed ouer the Lake, which indeede was very broad. An hundred men of *Suits* did accompanie them, with whome they arriued at the Port of *Buchs*, which is a village appertaining to them; then going on from thence to *Burgenſtad*, ioyned their people with the others troops.

Diligence and haſt is moſt expedient & auaileable when vrgent neceſsitie is a ſpur thereto.

Soone after, they came to aſſaile the enemy, who was come thither by the Lake of *Lucerne*, and ranged on through the country: but they compelled them to flight, and made them glad ſpeedily to recouer their Boats. Hauing thus chaſed them thence, they went towardes *Alpenach*, to ſeeke the Count of *Straſberg*: & although it was late, they concluded (neuertheleſſe) to aſſault the enemy, becauſe his powers were diſperſed amongſt the Villages, where they pilled and rauaged. Moreouer, night could be no hinderance to them, that were well acquainted with all the ſtraites and paſſages of the Countrey: which was an excellent reſolution, and wonderfull contrary to the enemie. For very hardly could the Count of *Straſberg* endure their firſt ſhocke or encounter, becauſe the diſperſion of his ſoldiers amazed him: and when hee ſaw two Enſignes belonging to them of *Vnderuald*, like a good and diſcreet warrior, hee perſwaded himſelf, that they of *Auſtria* were ouerthrowne at *Morgarten*.

Their marching towardes Alpenach to deale with the Count of Strasberg and his forces.

Heereupon, he ſpeedily retired (thorow the Mountaines) home to his owne houſe, and the reſt fled amaine and confuſedly: but yet not all, for three hundred of them were left ſlaine in the fielde, and the whole booty taken from the enemies hand. They of *Suits* and *Vri*, hauing prouided for their affaires, came to ſuccour their confederates of *Vnderuald*, and in the night arriued at *Buchs*, where they did heare tidings of the victory. Wherefore hauing firſt giuen thankes to God, & gratified their friends with ſo fortunate a ſucceſſe, they returned home vnto theyr owne houſes.

The foile and flight of the Count of Strasberg, and all his followers.

This victorie, ſetled and aſſured the foundation of the Switzers confederacie or alliance, and from thence forward, they of *Suits*, *vri*, and *Vnderuald*, changed their league of ten yeares, into a perpetuall alliance, and ſo paſſed it by authenticall Letters. The Switzers tooke theyr name of **Eydgnoſſen** (which ſignifieth partakers in ſwearing, or conioyned together by one and the ſame oath) by this aliance. At this time, among ſtrangers, they are called Lords of Leagues, and Switzers, by reaſon of the Village or Canton of Suits. It may be, becauſe they fought in that quarter, for the maintenance of their libertie: or in regard of their long warre

A League of perpetuall Aliance betweene the 3. Cantons.

Eydgnoſſen.

warre with the Monks of the Hermitage, and they were the first (among the three Cantons) assailed by them of *Austria*, and being the most potent of the three, the other Cantons were comprized vnder their name, which (consequently) extendeth it selfe to the other Cantons and confederates. I haue hereto annexed the tenure of the alliance, to the end, that euerie one may see, therein is nothing, either insolent or vniust, as some (to their great shame, haue falsely accused vs.

The Tenure of League and Alliance, confirmed betweene the three Cantons.

Taken foorth of the true Original coppy.

IN the Name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as humane sense is infirme and fraile, which is the cause that things intended to be durable and perpetuall (as they ought to be) are too soone and very easily lost or forgotten: It is therefore profitable and necessary, that such things as are established for peace, tranquility, profite, and honour of men, shold be couched and published by writings, and authenticall instruments. So then We of Vri, Suites, *&* Vnderuald, *giue all men to knowe, who shall either see or heare these present Letters, that foreseeing & prouiding for difficult and queazie times, and for our more commodious enioying peace and rest, which are the best meanes, whereby to conserue our bodies and goodes: Wee haue promised and sworne each to other, in good Faith, and by Christian Oath, that Wee will mutually consult, councell, and ayd one another, to warrant our liues, and defend our goods at our owne expences, at all times, against all and euerie one, that would or shall offer outrage either to our bodies or goods, to Vs or Ours, in any manner whatsoeuer.*

A careful and Christian confideration in any Common wealth.

Notwithstanding, if wrong be done to any one of vs, either in his body or goodes, We are all bound to succour him to our power: to the end, that (by friendshippe or iustice) the wrong may be amended or repaired. Moreouer, We binde our selues by the same Oath, that none of the three Cantons, shall receyue any man as Lord and Commander, without the aduice and liking of the other. Each one of vs, as well males as females, shall stand bound to obey their naturall Lords and Maisters, and liue vnder their lawfull power, in all seruices iust and legitimate: except the said Lords offer violence (in any manner whatsoeuer) to any of the Cantons, for vnto such Masters they shall do no seruice, vntill such time as they be concorded with the Cantons. We haue couenanted also, that not any of the Cantons or Confederates, shal minister an Oath, or binde himselfe to any stranger, without the aduice of the other Cantons and Confederates. Not any person of the Confederates, shall communicate with a straunger (without aduice and permission of other Confederates) so long as the Cantons shalbe without a Lord. And if any one of our Cantons, violate and infrindge any thing, or point of that which is contained in these Presents: he shall be esteemed as a disloyall and periured person, and his body and goodes confiscate to the Cantons.

A louing League, wher a particular iniury extendeth it selfe in generall.

Concerning an Oath or bond to any stranger, or communication with him.

MOREOVER, WE *haue agreed and condiscended, not to accept or entertaine any Iudge or Magistrate, that shall buy his office with money, or any bribe else, although he be of our owne Countrey. If difference or warre happen to be moued among the Confederates: then such as are knowne to bee of most honesty and wisedome, shall meet together, to pacifie & confound the war or difference, either by louing composition, or censure of right. If the one side do reiect this proposition, the Confederates shall assist the other side, to the end, That the debate may bee ended, either by amity or iudiciall sentence, and at the charges of them that would not stand to the award.*

A worthy example for all Commonweales to imitate.

If any suite or warre shall arise betweene two of the Cantons, and any one of them will not yeeld to a friendly composition, or according to right: the third Canton shall maintaine the cause of that side, that submitted most to reason, and powerfully assist it, either to end the contention by a louing composition or by iudiciall sentence. If any one of the Confederates shall kill one of his owne fellowes, he must dye also: except hee can make it appeare, and the Iudges likewise auouch it by their sentence, that he did it vpon vrgent necessity, and in defence of his owne bodie. If he flye for the fact, whosoeuer of our Countries shall receiue him into his house, there to lodge or maintaine him: he is to be banished perpetually, except by common consent of the Confederates

Of strife betweene two Cantons, what the third is to do to appease the contention: And also if one man kill another.

federates he can win grace.

For such as shall fire eyther houses or goods in the Cantons.

If any of the Confederates, either priuily, manifestly or impudently, shall fire any house or goods of some other of the Confederates: he shall bee expulsed (for euer) out of our Countries; and whosoeuer lodgeth or maintaineth him, shall stand bound to satisfie the others losses. No person shall exact a pawne or gage, except it be of his debter, or one vnable to answer him otherwise: and it is not to be done neither, without consent of the Iudge. That euery man shall be obedient vnto his Iudge, and make publike declaration, which Iudge (of our Countries) hee will accept, to vndergoe iudgement before him. Whosoeuer refuseth to obey the sentence giuen, shall pay the interests to him of the Confederates, for whose profit & benefit the sentence was deliuered.

For such as refuse the sentence giuen by the Iudge.

And to the end, that these conditions aboue written, may remaine firme, inuiolable and perpetuall: WE subnamed Citizens & Allies of Vri, Suites, *and* Vnderuald, *haue put our Seales to these presents, at* Brunen, *in the yeare of our Sauiour Iesus Christ,* 1315. *being the morrow after the day of S. Nicholas.*

The liberties and alliances of the Switzers, confirmed by the Emp. Lewes.

These Cantons hauing conquered their enemies, and confirmed their Alliance, sent men to the Emperor *Lewes*, to aduertise him of all. He at the beginning of the yeare, held a day imperiall at *Nurenberg*, where the Princes of *Austria* were condemned of high treason, the goods which they had in *Suisse*, confiscated to the Emperor and Empire, and the liberty of the Cantons fully confirmed. The Letters containing this ordination, were giuen in the campe at *Merride*, the 23. day of March, in the yeare 1316. & the second yeere of the Emperor *Lewes*. The same Emperor, about the yeare 1323. estabilished as Gouernour in these three Cantons, *Iohn*, Count of *Arberg*, vnto whom (as Lieutenant of the Emperour *Lewes*) the Cantons gaue their Oath.

The power & authoritie of the Gouernor limited, at his entrance into his rule ouer the Cantons.

The Gouernor promised them also by Letters Patents, that hee would not diminish or preiudice (in any maner whatsoeuer) their liberties and alliances, nor suffer them to be alienated from the Empire, neither to be reduced vnder the power of them of *Austria*, or of the Noblemen excluded from the Countries of the Cantons. Beside, that no man amongst them should be drawne in iustice out of these countries, and that their Iudges should not be taken from any place else, but meerly from among themselues. And because the Gouernours should not infringe the liberties of the Cantons, their power was limited by the Emperor, and prohibited (vnder greeuous penalties) from diminishing in any manner whatsoeuer, the liberties graunted to the Cantons. The Letters Patents which contained these articles, were giuen at *Pauia*, in the yeare 1329. and on the day of S. *Iohn Baptist*. The Emperors that succeeded *Lewes*, confirmed these things, and permitted (moreouer) to the Cantons, to elect Gouernours (for their countries) among themselues: but in the Emperors name, and to haue highest iustice in causes both ciuill and criminall.

Gouernours chosen among themselues.

They of *Austria* hauing bin so shrewdly gauld, as hitherto hath beene declared, grew to truce, not because theyr forces were wholly weakned: but in regard that they were impeached in war against the Emperor *Lewes*, so that they coulde not deale with so many matters all at a time. In the meane while (neuertheless) some incursions and losses were made in *Suisse* on either side. It came to passe, that they of *Wesen* and their neighbours, which liued below the gouernment of *Glaris*, and in diuers kinds mollested them of *Suites*: who came and met them with a main army, and compelled them to craue peace. On the other side, the Abbot of the Hermitage, had caused the three Cantons to be excommunicated, especially them of Suits: first by the bishop of *Constance*, & afterward by the Pope. *Fredericke* of *Austria*, who termed himselfe to bee Emperor, likewise banished them: but the Emperor *Lewes* tooke away the curse, and by his commandement, *Peter*, Archbyshop of *Mayence*, remitted them into the communion of Christians. Also, the Abbot of the Hermitage, wrote to them of *Suits* that hee had renounced the Popes Bull, and would not suffer it to bee serued against them.

It is the Nature of tyrants themselues being disquieted, to permit the people not to liue in peace.

The Emperor contradicteth the curse of the Bishop & Pope.

During this time, that the truce continued on either part, they of *Austria* drew into league with them, *Hermin* & *Ewrad*, Counts of *Kybourg*, and Lordes of *Dun*: this happened in the yeare, 1317. By the meanes

The cunning proceeding of them of Auſtria againſt the Cantons.

meanes of theſe Earles, they procured ſuch an hindrance, that the men of *Interlach* could ſend no victuals to *Vnderuald*. In the yeere one thouſand three hundred twenty three, they drew to them *Iohn* of *Habſpourg*, Lord of *Raſperwill*, and heyre to the Count of *Hombourg*. Afterward, they combined themſelues with him, againſt the Cantons, becauſe his Landes neighboured to the *Canton* of *Suites*, and lay aptly to cut off all releefe, and rayſe warre. The yeare following, *Raoul* and *Herman*, Counts of *Werdenberg*, and Lords of *Sargans*, made alliance alſo with *Leopold* of *Auſtria*: but their brother *Henry* tooke part with the Emperour *Lewes*, who (at that time) was excommunicated and depriued of the Empire by the Pope. By theſe meanes, great diuiſions fell in the empire, ſome depending on the Popes decree; others mocking it, and cleauing to *Lewes*, as their lawfull Emperor.

The Emperor excommunicated and depriued by the Pope.

In theſe troubles, the Cantons maintained themſelues carefully, and in amitie with the partakers of *Lewes*; whereto alſo, many Townes of *Suiſſe* conformed themſelues. For, although (at the beginning) they of *Zurich*, and ſome others followed the part of *Frederick* of *Auſtria*: yet notwithſtanding, he being priſoner, and hauing renounced the empire, albeit his brethren continued warre agaynſt *Lewes*, they of *Zurich* ioyned with *Lewes*: as with him that then was their onely true Emperor. In the yeare 1327. the *Cantons* made alliance with the Imperiall cities and townes, that ſtood faſt for *Lewes*, to wit, *Mayence*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Straſbourg*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg*, *Conſtance*, *Lindaw* and *Vberlungen*: with this League they of *Zurich* and *Berne* combined themſelues. But fiue hundred yeares after, *Lucerna* made perpetuall alliance with the three *Cantons*. In few words, I will tell you the occaſion, after I haue firſt declared ſomwhat, concerning the beginning and eſtate of the ſaid City, before it becam allied with the *Cantons*.

The Cantons ioyn with the Citties that held for Lewes the true Emperor.

Lucerne ioyned to the 3. Cantons.

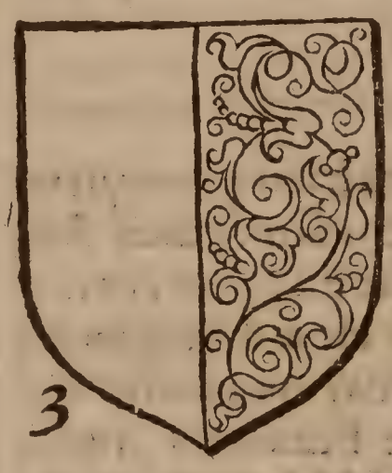
CHAP. III.

Of the Originall eſtate of Lucerna, before it leagued it ſelfe with the Cantons.

A deſcription concerning the ſituation of the City of Lucerna.

THe city of *Lucerna* is ſeated on the riuer *Ruſſe*, which iſſueth forth of a great Lake, whereby wee may paſſe to the three *Cantons*. Alſo, at the foote of an high Mountaine, commonly called *Pilates Mount*. The ſcituation is commodious, becauſe this is the way, to trauell by the mountain of Saint *Godard* in *Italy*. From *Fribourg*, the Merchants are tranſported ouer the Mountaines, and from thence into *Italy*, with beaſts of carriage: and (reciprocally) the Merchants of Italy deſcend by the Lake and Riuer of *Ruſſe*, to the *Rhein*, & thence into the Ocean ſea.

The time whē and by whom Lucerna was built, is vncertaine.



It is not certainly knowne, neyther at what time, nor by whom the Citie was builded: but one ſaith well, that on each ſide of the Riuer there is a caſtle (which are houſes nowe inhabited by Citizens) and builded by the *Allemains* or *Germaines*. Concerning the opinion of *Etterlinus*, who wrote ſome ſmall hiſtory of *Suiſſe* or *Swetia*, referring theſe matters to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and thinketh that thoſe caſtles ſerued as a retreate for robbers and theeues: he abuſeth his own iudgement greatly therein. For, in the time of *Raoul* of *Habſpourg* (and no ſooner) they of *Auſtria* began to commaund in theſe quarters here, when the Dutchie of *Auſtria* fell to the houſe of *Habſpourg*. And it is no way credible, that a Prince would euer endure; that theeues ſhould make vſe of a paſſage ſo commodious, for trauelling from *Suiſſe* into Italy.

At what time they of Auſtria beganne their rule nere the Cantons.

It ſeemeth, that *Lucerna* was ſo named, in regard of a Lanterne, which duly euery night is there aduanced, and bright lights clearly ſhining therein, for benefite

How Lucerna becam at firſt to be ſo named.

of

of passengers vpon the Lake. And it is very likely, that the high ancient Tower, which (at this day) standeth alofte on the bridge (as in like maner there is another at *Zurich*, called *Wellemberg*) serued for that purpose. Our graue ancients & forefathers, termed euery such kind of Tower *Pharos*. A Charter granted to *Guichard* the Priest, auoucheth; that *Lucerna* deriued her name from Antiquity. For, the Annales of *Lucerna* do declare, that the Lucernians (hauing serued *Charlemaigne* in a warre against the Sarazins) obtained of him diuers priuiledges, and especially, the vse of Cornets, wherewith they did both summon the battailes and retreats, euen as they doe nowe at this present time.

The Charter of Guichard the priest, out of the Annals of Lucerna.

The colledge of Lucerna, founded by Guichard the Priest, & what Donations were thereto annexed.

Be it howsoeuer, anciently, the Cannons of the colledge of *Lucerna*, helde great authoritie, as also in many Townes of Germany. This colledge was founded by *Guichard* the Priest, brother vnto *Ruperte*, Leader of the horsemen to king *Lewes*, who was sonne to King *Theodorick*, who died in the yeare seuen hundered, & founded also the colledge of Cannons at *Zurich*. The colledge of *Lucerna* fell to the Abbot of *Murbach*, by the donation of King *Pepin*. The same Abbot was Lord of *Lucerna*, vntill the time of the Emperor *Albert* of *Austria:* who hauing resolued to establish a new kinde of principality in *Swetia*, as already wee haue told you; bought *Lucern* of the Abbot of *Murbach*, by giuing him foure villages in *Alsatia*, and a certaine summe of money, amounting to the valew of two thousand Markes of money, as it is affirmed.

The priuiledges of Lucerna while Abbots ruled.

This City enioyed (formerly) the enfranchisement of many things, & sundry goodly priuiledges beside, so long as the Abbots were Lords thereof; and yet they held no soueraigne iurisdiction: for, the cittizens were the greatnes of the citty, builded the wals and rampiers, and fortified it (by their owne discretion) in those times. The Prince of *Austria* also promised for his part, to conserue their priuiledges inuiolably, and made shew of being a verie gentle Lord, as he was neuer sparing of goodly promises. But soon after, the dominion of the *Austrians* proued to gripe and oppresse the Lucernians, who were constrained (to their great

Faire promises cost nothing to oppressors of the people.

disaduantage) to make warre vpon their neighbours. For they were the first that exposed themselues to make incursions on the Cantons, and maintained a garrison in their citties at their great charge. The Tower of *Sbourg*, which standeth yet to this day cõfirmeth what hath bin said: for there it was, where the Lucernians planted a *Corps de guard*, against the incursions which their enemies made vpon the Lake. When they had no open war, nor any assurance of peace, the *Austrians* did not much care to maintain them. In the meane while, Trafficke ceased, the fields were forraged, and many times the Lucernians fell into the hands of their enemies. Moreouer, being gone to warre with them of *Glaris*, vnder the conduct of *Otho*, Captaine of *Colmar*, to encounter with the Emperor *Lewes*, the wages promised them, was made void and frustrate. They themselues had paid many in other warres, and lent good summes of money on scedules, to Captaines of the *Austrian* Princes; but now, in place of payment, they were handled in such sort, as they thought both their good seruice and mony vtterly lost.

The Tower of Sbourg.

Otho, captain of Colmar, leader to thẽ of Lucerna.

Being thus tyred and harried so many seuerall waies, they supplicated and desired (oftentimes) them of *Austria*, to be at peace with the Cantons. But perceiuing they trauailed all this while in vaine, themselues (in the end) accorded vvith the Cantons, leauing (neuertheless) the rights of the house of *Austria* to them intirely. This peace exasperated not onely them of *Austria*, but also many cittizens, seruants, and pentioners to Gentlemen, by whom they benefited & inriched thẽselues. Both the one & other feared, that the City would ally it selfe with the three Cantons, and that in so doing, they wold estrange themselues from the Austrians. And therefore they conspired together, to oppresse them that had counceld the people to make this peace, and that they should exhort them to be allied with som other. For this effect, in secret they contracted a league; the substance whereof was this, That at a certaine houre of the night, they of the citty should open the gates, and at the same instant, they of *Austria*, (with so many horsemen well appointed) should make seazure of the Cittie. Afterwardes, hauing ioyned

The men of Lucerna, at the refusall of their Lord, made peace with their enemies.

The first coniuration against the mẽ of Lucerna.

their

The proiect and intention of the Conspiracie.

their forces together, and reduced the City into their owne power: they would punish the friends of the Cantons, break the peace, and plant a Garrison in the city, to the end, that afterward no such matter might be againe attempted.

But the Cittizens being aduertised, of the traines and ambushes prepared for them, vpon the appointed night did put themselues into armes, placed good guards at the gates, & prouided so surely for their safety, that such as tooke part with the house of *Austria*, durst not bee seene any way to stirre. Then the Gouernour of *Rotembourg* (with many Gentlemen) beeing come to the gates, they of the Citty (to whom he termed himselfe a friend) gaue him entrance, and some small number with him, suffered the rest to stand without. Perceiuing that this cunning tricke tooke no such succesſe as he expected, and not daring to doe any thing by open force; because he was the weaker; he returned the next morning to *Rotembourg* with his traine, and some Citizens of *Lucerna*, partakers with the *Austrians*, fearing to be punished by the City, went away with him.

The care and prouidence of the Cittizens in a time of vrgent necessity.

The league & Alliance made betweene them of Lucerna, & the 3. Cantons

This combination was the cause of hastening the league between the *Lucernans* and the three Cantons; for, perceyuing the iniuries and ambushes of the Nobility, and the dangers where-with they threatned them: they thought it fit not to reiect the succour of their neighbours, which they accepted, as sent from heauen. So they became vnited together, on the Saturday before Saint *Martins* day, in the year one thousand, three hundred, thirty two.

Eetremity vrged against the Lucernians by them of Austria.

When the *Austrians* had intelligence hereof, they appointed Garrisons in diuers places about *Lucerna*, as namely, at *Sempach*, *Rotenbourg*, and *Meyenberg*: by meanes whereof, they did cut off all victuals from the *Lucernians:* and if any aduentured farre from the City, they were either slaine, or taken prisoners, so that they were constrained to goe seeke for food with a maine army. The yeare ensuing, and the seuenteenth day of March, the Lucernians going with their troopes towards *Buchnass* (which is a Castle, now called *Hertenstein*, vpon the Lake of *Zug*) the Lord of *Ramswag*, Gouernour of *Rotenbourg*, for the house of *Austria*; layde an ambuscado for them on the way, and slew about some fourescore of them. The rest that were scattered in the fieldes, and looking after pillage, assembled themselues together, neere to *Buchnass*, and charged the enemy so couragiously, that they enforced them to flight, hauing first lost an hundred foote, and eighteene horse.

The battel giuen at Buchnass, and what succesſe ensued thereon.

The Gouernor of *Austria* well perceiuing, that ouuert power stood not for his aduantage, neither did any way benefite him in his businesse: vndertooke the first traine of ambuscadoes, and priuate practises. There were then at *Lucerna*, many persons that had beene pensioners to the house of *Austria*. This war was verie troublesome to them, for they had lost their pensions, and besides, enioyed not the reuennewes of their owne inheritances; which (for the most part) lay on the lands of the *Austrians*. The Gouernour conferred with them, and because they were of the very worthiest houses in the Citty, and the cheefest of them: he aduised them to perswade the Citizens to renounce their alliance with the three Cãtons, and render themselues again to the house of *Austria*. He shewed them, that they might bee much more endamaged by one Prince, being a potent enemy, & so neere a neighbour, then by the three Cantons, who (in the passed Warres) could doe them little, or no harme at all.

The second coniuration against the men of Lucerna.

And forasmuch as it had happened at this very time, that the lower Towne, and the fields about it, were greatly iniuried by impetuous and extraordinarie raines: the Gouernor made vse of this accident, to his own aduantage; telling them that God punished them by such a means, because they rebelled against their lawfull Prince. But because these coniurations could not preuaile, nor hee mooue the people with all his goodly perswasions; he would compasse his intention by another stratageme, and complotted with close confederates, to massacre the Authors and conseruators of this Alliance with the Cantons, taking their faith vnder oath, and Letters signed and sealed. And, because they might be known one to another, each of the Conspirators did weare red sleeues, which onely was their noted marke. Whereupon grew the Proverb

When the fox is preaching, let the Geese beware.

A massacre plotted against the Lucernians.

uerbe (afterward) among them of *Lucerna*; *Beware the band of Red sleeues*, and it was held for a matter extremely ignominious, to tell any man, that he was one of the red sleeues band.

The feast day of S. Peter & S. Paule, appointed to be the massacre day, and in what manner it was to bee done.

The number of the conspirators encreased, and then they assigned the day for the massacre, which was the last day of Iune, being the Feast day of S. *Peter* & S. *Paul*, Apostles. They were to meete vnder the great Arch or Gate, neere to the publike house of the Taylors fraternity: for then the watch for night should cease to walke the round in that quarter; Also, the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, must haue an army ready to bee let into the City by the conspiratours, who (purposely) should open the gates. But God (by his gracious prouidence) discouered these bloody consultations, the very same night as the massacre was to bee executed. For, as the conspirers met in Armes at the place appointed, a yong man, passing accidentally by, vvithout dreaming or thinking on any such matter, discouered the businesse, and vnderstood their deliberation. The night was very darke, by meanes whereof, he softly slipt away, hying speedily to the butchery or Shambles, where perceiuing by the lighted candles and noise he heard, that diuers were there vp out of bedde, drinking and playing: hee went in amongest them, and tolde them the things hee had heard.

The bloodie intention happily discouered, euen whē it was to bee performed.

Forthwith they ran to the Gouernor, and acquainted him with the compact, & the Citizens quickly had warning to arm themselues, and good Guards also sent to the gates: moreouer, they rushed in sodainly vpon the conspirators, and tooke them prisoners, before they could giue entrance to such supply as they expected from without. And to impeach the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, from attempting any thing by manifest force, or violence against the City, it being in this dangerous agitation: the same night they sent (in poste) for succour vnto the three Cantons, who also sent him three hundred men early in the morning. After this happy supply was thus come to thē, they consulted then togither, concerning punishment to bee inflicted on the conspirators. Their Letters were laid before them, and such other guilty persons, who had escaped out of the tumult, by fauour of the nights extreame darkenesse, vvere likewise apprehended and imprisoned, as was most conuenient.

The conspirators taken and imprisoned sodainly.

Punishment to be inflicted on the offenders.

Now, in regard that the number of the conspirators was great; and, many among thē of the principall houses, vvho had store of kindred and friends in the city. At request of the three Cantons, their liues were saued, and they punished by the purse, after they had solemnly sworne neuer to attempt any thing more against the state of the city, nor contrary to their alliance with the three Cantons. Heereupon, they of *Lucerna* made a law, wherby it was prohibited to the Citizens, not to make any assemblies or clandestine meetings in any place, nor to bind themselues one to another by Oath: except vpon any bargain they made for monies, they should leaue twice as much in the hands of the Seigneury.

Grace and fauour done vndeseruedly to the offenders

A law against conuenticles and close meetings.

At this time, they of *Austria* were reconciled to the Emperor *Lewes*, to whom also, a great accusation was made of the three Cantons & the Lucernians. Who (contrarywise) well excused themselues, and shewed, that they were allied vppon plenty of good reasons, and without doing wrong vnto any man. Whereupon, the Emperour gaue charge to them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, and *Basile*, who were then allyed to the house of *Austria*, and friends also to the Cantons (for three yeares before, the men of *Zurich* had assisted them in a Warre against the *Grisons*) to pacifie the difference, and make an agreement of the Cantons with the *Austrians*.

Complaint made to the Emp. against the three Cātons and Lucernians.

Wherefore, in the yeare, one thousand three hundred thirty foure, by entermise of their Ambassadors, truce vvas taken for two yeares and an half, on these conditions following. That during this time, they of *Lucerna* should not be constrained to pay the moneyes borrowed of them, nor the wages due to the Lucernians by the Captaines. That they might make vse and seruice of the Money of the Dukes of *Zosinge*, forged in their Cittie: rendering obedience and honor done to the Dukes.

Conditions of truce betweene the Austrians and the Cantons agreed vpon.

The alliance with the three Cantons, to remaine in absolute integrity, and the *Cantons* not to hinder the D. of *Austria* from inioying the goods and reuennews which they helde in the countries of the

Cantons. The Emperour was to depute the Commissaries, for hearing the differences of the Dukes with the Cantons, at any time whatsoeuer.

The truce further prolonged betweene them.

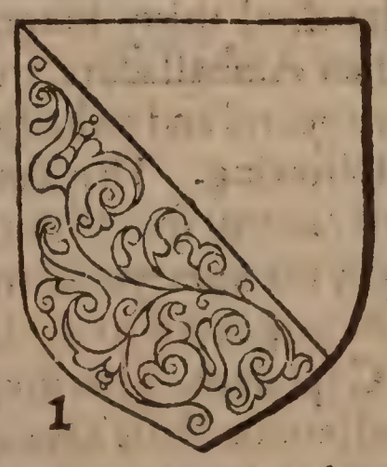
Afterward, the truce was further prolonged, and although the peace was scarsely well assured, but was sometimes broken: yet they of *Austria* made no more open warre vpon the confederates. Vntill after such time as they of Zurich wrung themselues into the alliance, in the yeare, 1351. Then *Glaris* and *Zug* came in the yeare following, and *Berne* the yeare after that: Concerning the estate and alliance of these Cantons, we come to discourse more at large.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Originall, condition, and estate of Zurich, *before it leagued in with the amity of the Cantons.*

Concerning the antiquitie of Zurich, and when it was builded.

IT is not to bee doubted, but that Zurich is one of the most ancient Cities of *Swetia*. The Annals of the country doe declare, that it was builded sixteene yeares after the cittie of *Treues* or *Treuiris*. *Marianus Scotus* saieth in his Chronicles, that *Trebetus*, son to *Ninus*, builded the city of *Treues*, in the time of the Patriarch *Abraham*. The Romane histories make honourable mention of the



The Tigurins are the people of Zurich, and were conquered by Iulius Cæsar.

Tigurines, who are they of Zurich, beecause they were present in the war of the *Cimbrians* against the Romans, and ouerthrew the Consull *Cassius*. Afterwards, when *Iulius Cæsar* came to the conquest of the Gaules, they were vanquished and ruined by him. After that time, to the inuasion which the *Allemaines* or *Germaines* made: *Zurich* was subiect to the Romane Empire, then fell into the handes of the Kings of *France*; and lastly, came to the Germane Empire, which beareth y name and shadow of the Romane empire.

Two Collegiall Churches in Zurich, and a castle on the riuer of Limagus.

There are in Zurich two Colledgiall churches; one of men, the other of Women founded by the Kings of *France*. In ancient times, these colledges were (welneere) Lords & commanders of the citie. There was also (heretofore) a castle, builded vpon a little hill, nere to the Riuer of *Limagus*, where the Gouernours (established by the Kings of *France*) kepte theyr abiding, who were Prouosts of the city, & of those colledges. Afterward, vnder the Germane Emperors, those Prouostes still continued, but they dwelt not in the castle: becausе the gouernment was willingly giuen to the Princes. Neuertheles, since those times, there grew in the city a councell of sixe and thirty men, twelue whereof gouerned for the space of foure moneths. The commonwealth was so ordered in the yeare, 1100. and continued in that estate till the yeare, 1336. and then it fell to changing, in manner as heereafter we shall declare.

A Councel of 36. men, to gouern by seuerall turnes.

The beginning of the city of Zurich, and in what manner it proceeded.

From such time as the city beganne to throwe off the yoake of the Colledgiall churches, it began also to consider on hir owne freedome, and how it might best receiue increasing. For, amongst the dissentions of the Emperors and Popes, the men of Zurich adhered to the Emperors, and followed *Fredericke Barbarossa*, *Fredericke* the second, and *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, who augmented theyr liberties and franchises, especially *Fredericke* the second. For, after the death of *Berthoull*, the last Duke of *Zerungen*, Prouost of the Colledges, and also of the Citie of Zurich: he receiued the cittizens into protection of the Empire, about the yeare, 1218. Then afterward, he tooke many priuiledges from the Colledgiall churches. Amongst other, the right of electing the councell, and graunted it to the citizens, ordaining, that it should neuer bee lawfull to alienate *zurich* from the Empyre. Also, in the time of *Fredericke*, the Cittizens made the ditches and walles about the City.

Zurich neuer to be alienated from the Empire.

It came to passe, that they requested the Priests & were citizens of the Cittie, to furnish their part of charge towardes these

theſe fortifications, and commãded them moreouer, to rid their houſes of ſome women ill reported of: which offended them in ſuch ſort, as they with-drewe themſelues from the Citizens. But this difference was appeaſed by the byſhop of *Conſtance*. Some few yeares after, the Pope excommunicated them of Zurich, becauſe they tooke part with the Emperor *Frederick*. At the ſame time, they ruinated (by permiſſion of the Emperor) the old Caſtle, fearing leaſt ſome (enemies to their liberties) ſhould get poſſeſſion ther-of. At this day it is a very pleaſant place, beautified with Linden and other fayre trees planted there. And becauſe the City ſtood excommunicated, and (by conſequence) expoſed to the violence of any man: many Gentlemen round about, much molleſted the Citizens, ſo that the trafficke of ſilkes, being very great before in that place, was from thence tranſported to *Come*.

The Pope excommunicated them of Zurich.

In the yeare, 1351. they of Zurich did take their firſt alliance with the Cantons of *Vri* and *Suits*, the tenour whereof you haue already ſeene. Some few yeares after the death of *Frederick*, his Nephew *Conradine* laboured to ſubiect them of Zurich, to the Dukes of *Suaba*: vnder the pretence and colour, that they had long time bin Prouoſtes and Gouernors thereof. The Cittizens maintained theyr liberty very firme and ſtrongly, which cauſed *Conradine* to worke ſo with the Emperor *Conrad*, that Zurich ſtood proſcribed from the Empire. But *Richard* of England, king of the Romanes, tooke away the proſcription, and by Imperiall Letters, confirmed the priuiledges of the Cittizens. In thoſe Letters, amongſt other matters, theſe words following are contained.

The firſt alliance of Zurich with the Cantons of Vri and Suits.

A true Coppy of the fauor done by Richard of England, K. of the Romanes, to them of Zurich.

BY faithfull report, which is come to our ſerenity, we haue vnderſtood, that Conradine, Sonne to the late King Conrad, *who named himſelfe D. of* Suaba; *not contented with this fault, in vainely vſurping the honor appertaining to another, without hauing any right or power ſo to do: hath publiſhed a ſentence of baniſhment, againſt our Citizens of Zurich (as if they were ſubiects to that Dutchy) planted in the eſpeciall boſome of Vs and our Empire, & not appertaining any way to that Dutchy, but immediately to the Empire, according as frõ antiquitie hath beene eſtabliſhed, and is now approued in our time, &c. Giuen at Haguenaw, the xx. day of Nouember, in the yeare one thouſand two hundred ſixty two. And of our reigne the ſixt.*

Theſe Letters do render an ample teſtimony, of the liberty belonging vnto them of Zurich: notwithſtanding, they tooke no great effect then, becauſe ſuch as ſucceeded in the Empire after *Fredericke* the ſecond, to *Raoul* of *Habſpourg*, held no great credit, ſo that (by manie) they are not numbred among the Emperors, but all this interuall or reſpite of time, is referred vnto an *Inter-regnum*, wherein the moſt part of al the variances were decided by the ſword, rather then by iuſtice and law, and the ſtronger tram pled the weaker vnder their feet. Aboue all, the Gentlemen that had anie means, did nothing elſe but machinate againſt the liberties of thoſe Cities that vvere their neighbors. All the wayes were couered with theeues, & (in briefe) this Licenſe wrought a meereconfuſion among the moſt wicked and deſperate, mouing them to attempt and execute euen whatſoeuer themſelues pleaſed.

How and at what time the people of Zurich loſt theyr liberty.

Heereuppon, they of Zurich, deſiring to conſerue their liberty, and maintaine themſelues in peace: ſent an honorable Ambaſſage to the Lord of *Regenſpourg*, entreating him to be their Gouernour and Captaine, vntill the election of a newe Emperor, and (for that effect) offered him honeſt and ſufficient gages. The Gentleman was a neighbour to Zurich, a rich and powerfull Lorde in thoſe times. Hee proudly reiected the honour which the men of Zurich did him, and made them anſwere in this manner. If the Citizens would obey al his commandements, and ſubiect the Cittie to him: hee was readie to take them into his protection, and would be their benign Lord. But if they refuſed his offer, they ſhould

shortly bee compelled to accept it, euen in meere despight of them: because their Citty was ingirt and inuelloped with his castles, as Fish within a Weele, or water Leape.

The strong places of the Lord of Regenspourg, neere to Zurich, and his potent Confederates.

This vauntery of the Lord of *Regenspourg* was not wholly vain, for he had many strong places neere vnto the cittie: as *Wrtpia* on the Lake of *Zurich*, a mile and a halfe from the cittie; *Glanzembourg*, a Towne and castle of like distance, and on the riuer of *Limagus*. He had (moreouer) much neerer to the cittie, vpon a high Mountaine towards the Sunne-setting, two castles, to wit, *Vltiberg* and *Balderie*, impregnable (as was imagined) by reason of their scituation. Beside, the Towne and castle of *Regenspourg*, not aboue fiue miles at the most from *Zurich*. And, beyond all these, manie Countes or Earles were Leagued vvith him; among other, the Count of *Kybourg*, dwelling at *Burgdorff*, the Count of *Rasperwill*, of *Togge*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, and the Barons of *Eschenbach*, of *Riggenberg*, of *Kilchberg*, of *Balme*, of *Hombourg*, of *Warts*, and many other. They of *Zurich*, hauing beene so ignominiously refused: addressed themselues to *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, mortall enemy to this *Regenspourg*; made alliance with him, & within two yeares following, tooke the castles of *Vtznaberg*, *Wrtpia*, *Vtliberg*, *Balderie*, and the Towne of *Glanzembourg*, mollesting *Regenspourg* in such sort, as at length hee desired peace, and came to make his abiding at *Zurich*. These things hapned in the yeare, one thousand, two hundred, sixtie sixe, and the yeares following.

Pride & scorn full contempt very iustly scourged and rewarded.

Raoul of Habspourg King of the Romanes, and a friend to them of Zurich.

In the yeare one thousand, two hundred, seuenty three, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, was created king of the Romans, by common consent of the seauen Electours of the Empire. Afterward, being chosen Emperour, the Citizens of *Zurich*, serued him in many Warres, hee finding them still faithfull, and valiant souldiers. In the warre of *Bohemia*, he had two hundred, which he placed betweene the Ensignes in the first ranke: exhorting the others souldiours to imitate the magnanimity of them of *Zurich*, whom (he said) he had well knowne and made proofe of before. Also, the most part of them dyed in the field, of battaile then giuen, and the Ensignes of the other were borne (for their honour) into the Temple of the Cordeliers or gray Friars. *Raoul* hauing receyued so many seruices by the men of Zurich, gaue them diuers priuiledges: and to honour them the more, beautified their Ensignes of Armes, with a Diadem and Bend of Purple.

The standard of Zurich carried away by the enemy, at the battaile of Winterberg.

Many haue imagined among the vulgar sort, because in the battaile at *Winterberg*, that the Bend was afterward annexed therto, as a note or mark of theyr ignominy. But there are many thinges yeelding contrary reasons to this opinion. For, in the first place, the notes of ignominy are not red, but meerly black. And afterward, when *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, tooke away all the marks of the ensignes belonging to the Switzers, in the warre against the Duke of *Bourgongne*; they of Zurich would neuer permit, that the Bend should bee taken out of theyr Standard. And in the yeare, one thousand, fiue hundred and twelue, when Pope *Iulius* gaue new Standards vnto the Switzers, the Councell of Zurich would not alter any thing whatsoeuer in theyr Ensigne, no, not so much as the bend or Diadem, which they neuer would haue done, if they had beene any notes of infamy.

The constancy of the Switzers, for their enfignes of Armes.

Moreouer, *Iohn* of *Winterduer*, who liued at that time when they of Zurich wer conquered by ambuscadoes at *Winterduer*, spake to King *Raoul* these Words: *He crowned the Standard of Zurich vvith great action of graces.* The same Authour also declareth, that in the warre at *Reigenspourg*, *Iaques Mulner*, a cittizen of Zurich, couered (with his owne body) *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, who was cast from his horse: and hauing remounted him vpon his own, brought him forth of the preasse safe and sound. For which great fauour, *Raoul* did much honour to the man, and loued him singularly; yea, hee was also a deare friend to them of Zurich. This they auouch, because *Carion*, and such as were of his minde, did highly wrong the cittie of Zurich, accusing it of sedition & rebellion against King *Raoul*, who therefore foiled them, and brought them vnder his obedience by armes.

Iaques Mulner, a worthie Citizen of Zurich, and his honorable acte.

After the death of *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, they of Zurich maintayned the part of *Adolph*, and so did the Abbot of S. *Gall*, and

The estate of Zurich, after the death of Raoul of Habspourg.

and the byshop of *Constance*. Now to the end that they of Zurich might ioyn themselues with the other: they assayled the Towne of *Winterduer*, and tooke it in the assault, vnder conduct of the Count of *Togge*, and there (in Garrison) was the Lord of *Werdenberg*, with great troopes, in name of *Albert* of *Austria*. The first day they were Victors, but on the morrow, by treachery in the Lorde of *Werdenberg*, who caused the Ensigne belonging to the Byshop of *Constance*, to be carried before him: by this cunning stratageme, the men of Zurich were ouerthrowne and cut in peeces. They attempted againe another warre in the name of *Adolph*, against them of *Groningen*, the which is in the territory of Zurich. But *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, sonne to *Raoul*, was offended at their enterprize, beeing informed by his people, that the greater part of them of Zurich; were slaine at *Winterduer*; which caused him to come and besiedge Zurich, which hee imagined to bee quite emptie of any defensiue men.

The Lorde of Werdenberg, his cunning stratagem, against them of Zurich.

A politike stratagem performed by them of Zurich, against Albert D. of Austria.

The Citizens made a muster of theyr men (apt for armes) in the Citty, and on a place very high, where sometimes the Castle stood; and that the Duke of *Austriaes* Army might easily discerne them. And, because their number might appeare to bee much more greater then it was, they caused all their strongest and stoutest women to be armed, and theyr children of biggest stature: which made the enemy to imagine, that there vvere great store of warlike people within the Citty. Afterward, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Albert*, to remember him, that his Father alwayes loued and maintained that cittie; that the cittizens had serued him in all his warres, and wherein they (euermore) carried themselues faithfully and valiantly. Wherefore, they intreated him to follow his Fathers steps, and to accept them of *Zurich* rather as loyall and seruiceable friendes, then to beleeue false rumors spred abroad by their il-willers, considering withall, that they vvere ready to giue him satisfaction.

Peace concluded betweene Du. Albert, & the men of Zutich.

Albert answered the Ambassadors very kindly, & willed them to come to him at *Winterduer*; where the peace was confirmed betweene him and them of Zurich: vppon condition, that they should acknowledge and honour *Albert* as lawfull Emperor. This peace was continued after the death of *Albert*, and in the warre which his sons made against them that had slaine him: the cittizens of Zurich kept themselues stil faithfully on the behalfe of *Austria*, and fought for them against the three Cantons. After that, in the battell of *Morgarten*, fiftie men of Zurich were slaine in the field, as hath alreadie beene declared. Moreouer, when the Emperour was in some troubles, because some had elected *Lewes*, Prince of *Bauaria*; and others *Fredericke*, the Sonne to *Albert*, the men of Zurich helde a long time for the part of *Fredericke*.

Worthy seruices done by thē of Zurich.

In the yeare, 1330. peace was made betweene *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, whereat, *Fredericke* renounced his Imperiall Election, and *Lewes* (to recompence him) promised to pay him a great summe of money. And because hee could not presently furnish him therewith, in regard of the Warres hee lately had, to his mightie expences; gaue vnto him foure Townes as a pawn, and security of payment, Namely, *Zurith*, *Schaffouse*, *Rhinfeld*, and *Neubourg* on the *Rheine*. But they of Zurich, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Emperour, to shew him, that they vvere so incorporated with the Empire, as they could (by no meanes) be separated from it. Their Letters were shewn to the same effect, read and perused by the Emperor; and then, although he loued them but a little, because they had taken part with *Fredericke*: yet notwithstanding hee lefte them to their owne liberties; and in sted of *Zurich*, *Brissacke* was giuen in gage to them of *Austria*.

The men of Zurich would not be separated from the Empire, making it known by their Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors had also brought with them, the Deputies of the three Cantons, whom *Lewes* greatly affected, because they had alwayes beene faithfull vnto him. These Deputies declared, that the City of Zurich was a louing & frendly neighbor to the Cantons, & had highly serued them many times. Beside, they of Zurich promised, that (hereafter) they would be no lesse faithfull & obedient to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, who was then their only lawfull Emperour, then they had formerly beene to *Fredericke* of *Austria*. This did much offend the *Austrians*; for,

Zurich, a louing friend & neighbour to the Cantons.

albeit *Fredericke* had renounced the empire: yet notwithstanding, *Leopold*, *Albert*, and *Otho* his brethren, would not ratifie the agreement, but continued warre against *Lewes* of *Bauaria*. By which means *Zurich* fell off againe from friendshippe with them of *Austria*, and was excommunicated by the Pope, in such manner, as for the space of eighteene yeares, there was no exercise of ceremonies (according to the Romane Church) vsed in *Zurich*. The Priests departed from the citizens, some by their owne meere motion; others were expelled by the Bourgesses, because they refused to administer the Sacraments. There were none but the Cordeliers or gray Friars, who went forth at one gate, and entered immediately at another.

The Citie of Zurich excõmunicated by the Pope, for the space of 18. yeares.

The Citie standing thus excommunicated, and hated by the house of *Austria*: many Gentlemen, seruants vnto that house, much molested the Cittizens. Wherefore, in the yeare 1333. they of *Zurich*, with the men of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, and *Berne*, besiedged and took a castle on the *Rheine*, named *Schunaw*, belonging to the Lords of *Geroltzegh*, and ruinated it, because it was one of the retreats for theeues. The yeare following, the men of *Zurich* ruined many castles, to wit, *Fryenstein*, on the riuer of *Tose*, and another nere vnto it, called *Touff the high*. Also *Schenenvert*, on the *Limagus*, about three miles from *Zurich* and *Schlatte*, neere to *Esgow*, because the Gentlemen to whom these castles appertained, did greatly trouble the city of *Zurich*.

A Castle taken and spoiled on the Rheine, by them of Zurich, &c.

The next yeare insuing, the Gouernement of the Common-wealth of *Zurich* was changed; which prooued to bee the cause of great garboiles, and the principall occasion, of allying the citizens with the Cantons of *Swetia*. We haue already told you, that the commonwelth was gouerned by 36. men, and in such sort, as twelue commaunded during the space of foure months. Some difference hapned between them and the people, in regard whereof, the people began to demaund an account of their administration, especially, of the twelue that were in the second order. Some were accused among them, of robbing and dissipating (in a small time) the publike treasure, and besides, that they had bound the Cittie in in no meane store of great debtes. Eight of those men, finding themselues to bee hardly clear in this case, retired from the city: the other foure, voluntarily resigned vp their charge. Thus the authoritie of twelue ceasing, they grew to a forme of electing Magistrates, being chosen out of euery band of the tradesmen, and by seuerall nomination.

The Gouernment of the Common-wealth of Zurich altered, procuring much trouble and molestation.

Accusations against the second order of 12. men.

The Emperour *Lewes* confirmed this kinde of Commonwealth by his Letters Patents, and the succeeding Emperours also approued the same. They that had withdrawne themselues from the Citie, yeelding after to the peoples iudgement, were condemned in seuerall fines: and they that sped the best were banished for three yeares, hauing first faithfully promised neuer to make any conspiracie against the citizens. Heereto also was annexed a note of infamy, to wit, that neyther they, nor any of their children, shold euer be admitted into Councell. The ancient men and councellors, beeing affraide of a iudgement so seuere, beganne to distrust their owne causes; so that nine among them forsooke the Cittie. This departure of theyrs was conuerted vnto banishment, and their goodes confiscated. As for the rest, nine of them vvere condemned in great fines, and then banished for two yeares: with this brand also set vpon them, that they nor their children should euer be admitted vnto councell. Others, that stood to their tryall, iustified themselues before the people, and were elected to be of the new councell.

Election of Magistrates among the people confirmed by the Emperor Lewes, &c.

Old Counsellors doubtfull of their owne honestues.

The banished men made their retreat to a Towne, scituated on the Lake, two miles (or thereabout) from *Zurich*, named *Rasperwill*, which at that time belonged to Count *Iohn*, of the House of *Habspourg*. Three years before, he had made request to them of *Zurich*, to accept him as a Citizen: willingly they would, and did (at last) receiue him, although he was Leagued with them of *Austria*, and diuers of them also were of his parentage. Heereupon, hee listened the sooner vnto the banished men, and made a confederacie with them, vnder certaine conditions; for securitie vvhereof, hee gaue them the Castle of the Towne in keeping. These banished men being thus commodiously lodged & fortified, began to ac-

How, and in what place the banished men bestowed themselues

The banished men conspire against them of Zurich, & are banished for euer.

accuse them of *Zurich*, pretending to haue suffered great outrages by them; they defamed the Consull and new councell, and to make attempts against the Citie, vsing (to this effect) the helpe of some of their friends, that remained still in *Zurich*. Some of them being discouered by the councell, were punished: others fled away secretly, and ioyned with the banished men. And because these banished men had falsified their solemne promises: they were banished perpetually by the Senate, especially they that stood relegated but for a certaine time enioyned them.

Warre raised by them of Zurich against the banished men.

Now, because the citizens of *Zurich* stood in slender security, either for themselues or their goods, since those banished men were excluded the city: diuers times they admonished the Count of his duty, that he being a Bourges, ought not to continue his fauour to the banished men, but rather to withdraw al helpe and comfort from them. Perceiuing the Count made no reckning of their complaints, they leuied another Army, and went and besiedged *Rasperwill*, the retire and refuge of the banished men. In vaine was this attempt of theirs, because the banished men had great plenty of victuals, and defended themselues valiantly, which made the other to raise their siedg. Glady therefore they quitted the place, & so much the rather, because the Count of *Habspourg*, protector of the banished, and whom most especially they sought for; was not at *Rasperwill*, but in a Castle called *Grinow*, which is at the head of *Zurich* Lake. They discamped thence, & marched with their Army vnto that very place, beeing conducted by *Diethelme*, Count of *Togge*, who was at controuersie with the other, concerning the castle of *Grinow*.

The banished proued too strong for them of Zurich, in warre raised against them.

The succesſe of the men of Zurich, gainſt the Count of Habſpourg at Buchberg.

The Count of *Habspourg* (with his Army well appointed) was encamped at *Buchberg*, whence he came mainly running vpon them of *zurich*, who landed suddenly from their Boates; and they granting them no leysure to bee raunged in order of battaile, put all in rout and disorder that were on Land, compelling them to enter their Boates againe, in which confusion they lost not many mē, except the Count of *Togge*, who was taken prisoner. But after that al their troops were ioyned together againe in the middle of the Lake, being moued with anger, and desirous to wipe off the shame formerly receiued: by aduice of their Leaders, they went on shore againe, brauely bidding them the battaile, which they wonne. And such was their succesſe, that the Count of *Habspourg*, and many Gentlemen with him, were slaine in the field: moreouer, they carried away in their Boates a mighty booty, & sixe Ensignes of the enemies. The citizens of *Rasperwill*, hearing of this ouerthrow, to reuenge the death of their Lord, they cut in peeces the Count of *Togge*, who was conuaied on Land, so soone as he had beene taken prisoner in the first encounter.

The Count of Togge hewed in peeces.

This things hapned in the yeare 1337. And the same yeare, the Emperor *Lewes*, and *Albert* of *Austria*, second of that name, surnamed the Cripple, made peace betweene *Iohn* of *Habspourg*, Sonne to the deceased Count; the banished men of *Zurich*, and the Consull and Citizens of the City, vpon these conditions following. That the banished men should pay to the citizens (as a fine or amercement) the summe of sixe hundred markes of money: remaining still out of *Zurich* fiue years, during which time, they shold not come neare the citty, by the space of two miles; which beeing expired, they should againe be receiued, & their goods remaine entirely to them. The Emperor conceiued, that this new gouernment in the state, would highly strengthen it in these fiue years: for there was appearance of great danger, that if the ancient Councellors were re-established, alterations would ensue in many matters, & nothing else please them, but the old form of rule; as many of their friends and partakers earnestly desired.

Peace newly confirmed betweene the men of Zurich, & them that were banished, vpon diuers conditions.

This peace lasted not long, for the banished men (fauoured by a great number of the Nobility) made no regard at all of their promises: but molested the citizens, and conspired daily something or other against the city. In regard whereof, by permission of the Emperour, the houses, and al the goods which the banished had in the city, were confiscated. Notwithstanding, the yeare following, by the intermise of *Agnes* Queene of *Hungary*, (who was daughter to *Albert*, first of that name, and after the death of her Father, remai-

The peace broken again betweene the banished men and they of Zurich, yet afterward renewed.

remained in *Swetia* the moſt part of her time) of *Fredericke* of *Auſtria*, and ſome other of the Cities: peace was renewed betweene the baniſhed, and the citizens of *Zurich*: yet this was no firmer, or dured any longer then the former. For although the baniſhed promiſed faithfully, that they would ſtand to the councell of *Zurichs* ſentence, and pay the fines wherin they were condemned; yet would they not make any ſatisfaction at all.

Peace once more renewed, & broken againe the ſecond time.

Many of the houſe of *Habſpourg*, (among others, the Sonne and kindred to Count *Iohn*, whom they of *Zurich* ſlew in the battaile at *Grinow*) aſſembled a great number of Gentlemen, offended with the liberty of *Zurich*, hating that Democritall gouernment, as being too popular in their opinion: fauoured the baniſhed, and prouoked them ſtill on againſt them of *Zurich*. And they on the other ſide, for their better maintenance, firſt of all burned two Caſtles: one neere to the *Toſe*, appertaining to the Lords of *Landberg*, Gentlemen of marke: and the other to the Lords of *Schowenberg*, on an high hill aboue *Elgow*, becauſe theſe places did much iniure them. And to fortifie themſelues yet ſtronger, they combined amity with the cities of *Conſtance* and S. *Gall*. Alſo, becauſe ſome differences remained to be appeaſed with them of *Schaffouze*, and war might be moued from thē: they yeelded willingly (by intermiſſion of Ambaſſadors to ſome other cities) & in ſhort time after, comprehended them of *Schaffouze* in alliance with the cities of *Conſtance* and S. *Gall*. At the ſame time, they allied themſelues alſo with the Biſhop and city of *Baſile*. Afterward they receiued into the number of their Bourgeſſes, many houſes of the Rhodes, or of S. Iohn of Ieruſalem: to be ſupplied and maintained with Gentlemen, and men of warre, as continually (and from time to time) were in that worthy Order of Knights of S. *Iohn*.

Meanes deuiſed and vndertaken, to reſiſt enemies and maintain their liberties.

Schaffouze, Conſtance, & S. Gall allied with Zurich.

Theſe puiſſant cities and people round about, being leagued with them of *Zurich* by new alliances, or reconfirmation of their ancient amity: the eſtate of the city remained more peaceable, and it ſeemed, that the baniſhed had loſt all hope of euer enioying the city by power. But in this ſleeping time, they conſpired very ſecretly, to make themſelues Maſters thereof by treaſon. Count *Iohn* of *Habſpourg*, Son to him that was ſlaine on the day at *Grinow*, as already we haue ſhewn, was ioyned with them; vpon condition, that he ſhould re-eſtabliſh the baniſhed men, in poſſeſſion of their goods in the country, and that they ſhould diſingage the lands of the Count, morgaged for debts to his creditors. With them ioyned the Count of *Toggenbourg*, *Peregrin Landberg* (who ſome yeares before, had beene at great debate with them of *Zurich*, though all ſeemed to be laide aſleepe by an agreement made betweene them) the Baron of *Marzing*, and many Gentlemen, partly pentioners and vaſſails to the Count of *Habſpourg*, whō they gladly endeuored to gratifie, & partly as friends to the baniſhed, who had many ancient friends and partakers in the city, ſome wherof were well acquainted with al the conſpiracy, and others alſo that would ioyne with them, if the firſt attempt ſucceeded well. A further hope alſo was conceiued, that no meane number more would come to their part, if they did but ſee the ancient councellors, namely, ſuch as were greatly indebted, and could ſubſiſt by no other meanes. Such likewiſe, as in this alteration of the ſtate, wer not honoured nor recompenced according to their expectation, and who were vnworthy to be ſeene of others, aduanced and preferred before them. Then again, ſome others, who were weary of the eſtate in her preſent condition, deſiring nothing more then nouelty: as in all commonwealths are daily to be found, too many ſuch kinde of people. The reſolution of the conſpirators was, to make vſe of the night time, and to plant armed men in all the ſtreetes of *Zurich*, and to force the houſes of *Raoul le Brun*, Conſull alſo of all the new Councellors, and the reſt of their enemies, to maſſacre them, ſeize the citty, make themſelues Lords therof, and take away the liberties of the cittizens.

Loue of goods and greedy deſire of reuenge, are the onely Councellers of this conſpiracy.

Other reaſons inducing hope of more partakers in the treaſon.

A new coniuration of the baniſhed men againſt them of Zurich & the City.

In this manner, the 24. of February, in the year 1350. *Peregrin Landberg*, Count of *Habſpourg*, many Gentlemē, and ſome of the baniſhed with them, came vnto *Zurich*. The fame ranne through the Citty, that they came to preſent a requeſt to the Councell, in behalfe of the baniſhed. At the ſame time, diuers armed

Preparation to execute & performe the coniuration by cunning pretences.

armed men had secretly slipt into the city, and hid themselues in the houses of their complices. The Counts and Gentlemen had a very great troope of armed Groomes and Pages waiting on them, ready to execute whatsoeuer their Masters should command them. Moreouer, there wer sundry companies readily prepared (both of horse and foote) who in the night should come neere the city, and there to be suddenly let in, after the watch-word was giuen. Others should come by Boates, and on that side where the Lake makes a separation of the citty: to rush on by impetuous troopes, & hinder the country-men round about (who were very honest and faithfull to the city) that they should not come that way to helpe or releeue it.

Treacherie by water, as well as by land.

All things being thus ordered and appointed, vpon the very same night determined for the massacre, the conspiracy was discouered: more by the prouidence of God, then any councell or industry of men. For God (vndoubtedly) preserued this city, to be (very soone after) the first, for conseruing the *Switzers* liberties, as also, for the retreate of his church.

The admirable prouidēce of God in the conseruation of Zurich.

The chiefe men of this coniuration, were in the house of a citizen, where they conferred on their affaires, and closely expected the houre of night, when the watch-word was to be giuen abroad. A seruant of the house, who neuer had knoledge of this enterprize, being layd vpon a Bench to sleepe, happened to wake by their close whispering, and lending some attention to their talke, obserued their words very carefully, yet snored as if hee had bene in a sound sleepe. So soone as he could conueniently do it, softly he got away, and went directly to the lodging of *Raoul le Brun*, who was Consull then, reuealing to him at full, what danger hung ouer the head of him, the whole councel, and all the honest minded people of the city. He also acquainted him with the watch-word, whereby the enemies shold be knowne one to another, in the darke obscurity of the night.

In what manner the treason was discouered by a seruant of the house where the conspirators met together.

The Consull hauing heard the seruants words, armed himselfe immediately, and went towards the Towne-house: the enemies were going and comming already through the streetes, yet he escaped well among them, because hee deliuered the watch-word readily to them, and so got on to the Towne-house. A seruant of his, attired in the garments of his Master, hauing not vnderstood the watch-word, by reason of the great feare and haste the Consull made, was slaine by the enemies before the Towne-house: not so much because he could not giue the word, as for that they tooke him to bee the Consull.

The care and diligence of the Consull Raoul le Brun in such an vrgent time of necessity.

In the meane while, the Consull commanded one of the Officers of the Seigneury, to run to the church, and to ring out the watch-bell, after the wonted māner, to signifie the comming of enemies. The Officer seeing the gate before the clock-house to be round engirt with enemies: by a secret doore belonging to the church, got into the clock-house, & rung out the terror to all the city. On the other side, the Consull (himselfe) cryed out aloud on the top of the Town-house, *Arme, Arme, the City is full of enemies*. Now the Riuer named *Limagus*, or *Limmatus*, diuided the city in twaine, & those two parts met and ioyned together, by the means of two Bridges made of wood. Immediately, euery one ran to these bridges: but because the planks and boords of the one were not made fast nor nailed, they threw them all downe into the water. By this meanes, all the fury and tempest of trouble, kindled it selfe at the other Bridge, which ioyned neere to the Towne-house.

The watch-bell reports the enemies being in the City, & summoneth the Citizens together.

There is a place of indifferent greatnesse, at the entrance to the said Bridge and house: the enemies got possession of that place, and of another neighboring to it. Heere the conflict grew very sharp, for, from foorth the highest roomes of the houses, they of the city hurled downe Tyles and great Stones vpon their enemies, who were also to fight with other cittizens, gotten together in great number, and came to ioyne with their best helpe. The Butchers were the formost men in the fight; for they were then vp in the Butchery (it being builded neere to the Riuer) killing Oxen and other cattell. Hauing heard the noise and out-cryes of the Consull, they ran out vpon the enemies, with their Axes in their hands. In memory whereof, and as a testimony of their hardinesse; the common-wealth gaue them a Lyon of Copper or Brasse, which

Honest care makes vse of any the least meanes of helpe.

Citizens fight for liberty against an vniust inuasion of deadly enemies.

which(as yet)they beare yeerely in pomp and triumph through all the citty. They were moued to vndertake Arms, by theſe meanes following.

The Count of *Toggenbourg*, beeing with-drawne into a houſe of one ofthe conſpirators,and perceiuing the danger, fearing alſo his owne skin-coate; after he had a while conſulted with his Hoſt: determined to free himſelfe from blowes, reſoluing thus; that if matters fell out wel for his companions,he could eaſily come in againe among the troopes,and ſpeake to them, as if he had bin alwayes in the crowd. But if it happened otherwiſe,he wold be ſure to ſaue himſelfe,& learne to meddle with better buſineſſe. According to this concluſion,himſelfe, his Hoſt,and his ſeruant, well laden with money, got into a ſmall Boate,belonging to a fiſherman, named *Bax*, who ſhould conduct them along the Riuer out of the city. But fearing leſt this *Bax* ſhould diſcouer their flight, the Count commanded his ſeruant, that ſo ſoone as they were out of the city,he ſhould preſently kill the fiſherman. He being neerer to them then they imagined (by reaſon of the nights darkneſſe) vnderſtood their purpoſe and reſolution concerning himſelfe: wherein he wiſely preuented them, by ſuffering the boat to tilt ſuddenly on the one ſide, and ſo they all three together fell into the Riuer.

Traitors doe commonly proue voluntarie and forward cowards

Miſchieuous and wicked councell,returnes many times to the ruine of the author & deuiſer.

Making haſte afterward home to his owne houſe, and waking all the neighbours dwelling about him; hee deſired them to take Armes ſecretly, becauſe the city was in eminent perill, and enemies were hidden in many parts thereof, but he knew neyther how,nor what was their intent. Heereupon, they armed themſelues preſently,and hearing the Conſull ſtill crying, Arme, Arme: waked other friends and neighbours, by whoſe helpe they got the Bridge, and there raunged themſelues orderly in fight againſt the enemy. It is further ſaid,that the Prieſts of the great church, being then ſinging Matins,and hearing this tumult in the night: armed themſelues from the houſes round about, and entred in among the thickeſt throngs, fighting valiantly for the freedome & ſafety of their country. It might ſo come to paſſe,that this year the Popes excommunication was firſt raiſed, and that after eighteene yeares were expired, the Prieſts entred into the city againe.

The ſafety & liberty of our Country, ought to be deare & precious to euery man.

Thus the citizens (by little and little) gathered their ſtrength together,for from euery part they came in full troopes, and declaring their valour in ſo great a need, the enemies that were in the citty (conſtrainedly) gaue way. Fifteene among them were ſlaine, and more then thirty ſeuen taken priſoners, among whom was the Count of *Habſpourg*; others ſaued themſelues by fauour of the night. The Baron of *Matzinge*, and *Peregrin Landberg* were among the dead. The Count that fell into the water, was there drowned. The bodies of the ſlaine lay three whole daies on the pauement,expoſed to the mockery of all men, and to be trampled on with the feete of euery paſſenger.

Diuers of the conſpirators ouercome and ſlaine.

An ignominious,yet deſerued handling of ſuch enemies.

On the morrow,ſeuenteene, the principall men in the coniuration, were broken, and their bodies laide on wheeles: eighteene were beheaded. The Count of *Habſpourg*, *Huldrich*, Baron of *Bonſtert*, and ſome other,remained priſoners. The Army of the Count of *Habſpourg*,as well that which came on the lake, as the other by land,hearing this tumult in the citty, and ſeeing no man came that ſhould open the gates to them: retired backe in great feare, ſo that in the morning, the people gathered vp their armes and weapons for warre,which the run-awaies had gladly left behinde them,for their eaſier eſcaping.

A ſhamefull kinde of death inflicted on ſome of them.

The Counts army glad to run away.

Matters being thus appeaſed at *Zurich*, to preuent any more new troubles in the city: the Conſull brought an Army into the field,on the ſecond day of March, & being ſeconded with ſupplies ſent them by the men of *Schaffouze*; they went and beſiedged *Raſperwill*, the Fortreſſe & retreate of the conſpirators. The inhabitants of the Towne knowing that their Count was taken, the baniſhed mangled in peeces, or made fugitiues and vagabonds, and hauing no likelihood at all of ſuccour: on the third day of the ſiedge yeelded,and bound themſelues ſollemnly to the common-wealth of *Zurich*,promiſing (for euer after) to acknowledge them as their chiefe, and render them all ſuch duty, as formerly they had done to their Count. The Towne taken, they of *Zurich* thought they had gotten two aduan-

He that thinketh to depriue a man of his liberty, many times (in the attẽpt) loſeth his own

Two aduantages for thē of Zurich in their owne opinion for their best benefit.

uantages. One was, that from thence forward, no pilling or rauage was more to be made of their country, as oftentimes before had bene, and that the city wold now safely be preserued from ambushes and treasons. The other, that the kindred and friends to the imprisoned Count, began to treate on peace: fearing to lose all the country about *Rasperwill*, because the Towne and the Count were taken.

Enemies to the liberty of the people, gaine nothing by the refusall of peace.

Heereupon, the Queene of *Hungary* procured, that truce should be accorded for certaine moneths: but *Raoul* & *Godfrey* of *Habspourg*, being summoned by them of *Zurich* to make peace, declared no affection thereto. Considering withall, that diuers Gentlemen, neighbours, but enemies to the men of *Zurich*, incited them rather to make warre. So all hope of peace being quite cut off, the first day of September (the same yeare) they of *Zurich* conducted their Army towards the country of the *Marche*, situated at the beginning of the Lake of *Zurich*, towards the Sun-setting, then being in obedience to the Count of *Habspourg*. The cities of *Constance* and Saint *Gall*, sent succour to the men of *Zurich*, and hauing spoylde & burnt all the country, they besiedged a Castle, called *Rasperwill* the olde, and followed it so closely; that the besiedged, hauing no more meanes of resistance, yeelded, & went away with their liues saued. The Castle was ruined downe to the ground, and they of the *March* promised fidelity and subiection to the commonwealth of *zurich*. This done, the Army went to a Towne, called *Rasperwill* the new. They brake downe the Bridge that ioyned to the Lake, beate downe the Castle, and most part of the walles of the Towne, and hauing heard (for certaine) that *Albert* of *Austria* meant to come aid them of *Habspourg* with great forces: they set the Towne on fire, and burnt it wholy, not leauing any iote thereof remaining.

Another Army made out by them of Zurich, vpon denying the peace offered against the two Rasperwilles.

Another war against the mē of Zurich, by the Wadners of Sultz, &c.

At the same time, certaine Gentlemen, named the *Wadners* of *Sultz*, dwelling in *Alsatia*, declared warre against them of *zurich*, taking their Merchants, pilling & outraging them by all manner of wayes. They of *Basile* and *Strasbourg* withdrew, & gaue supportance to these wars there. Vpon these indignities, they of *zurich* wer moued, to seize on about eight score and ten persons of *Basile* and *Strasbourg*, that were come on pilgrimage to the Chappell of the Hermitage. As essaying by this meanes, whether they of *Strasbourg* and *Basile*, compassionating the imprisonment of their citizens: would expell from their countries those Gentlemen that were the cause of this disturbance. This fell out to proue but a very vaine hope, for these cities and their Bishops, offended with this vniust detention of their pilgrims; ioyned themselues with *Fredericke* of *Austria*, *Fribourg* in *Brisgow*, *Selestad*, *Brissac* and *Colmar*. Hauing vnited their forces together, they resolued to make warre on *zurich*, and redemand their prisoners by Armes. The men of *zurich*, finding themselues not strong enough, in regard of their precedent warres, seditions and losse of men, which had greatly impaired them in power: deliuered backe the prisoners, and so turned aside this dangerous tempest.

To auoid and put by a great danger, it is good to passe one of lesse power.

Now because they had suffered great outrages, and saw no likelihood of any better successe to ensue: they sent Ambassadors to *Charles* IV. to whom they made their businesse knowne. They told him, that hauing taken (in a iust warre, & within their citty) the Count of *Habspourg* their enemy, for maintaining their cause against him, they were molested and assaulted by Gentlemen neighbours. But that which most of all greeued them, was, to see those Gentlemen assisted by *Fredericke* of *Austria*, and other potent citties of the Empire. And because *zurich* was an Imperiall Citty also; they made their recourse to him, as being the sole head of the Empire. They humbly desired him, to lend them both aide and councell, and to take order by his power and authority, that (in succeeding times) the Princes of *Austria*, the cities and Towns of the Empire, nor any other Gentlemen might make warre against them, contrary to all right and reason. But rather to permit, that their citty might enioy her wonted liberty, in peace and quietnesse: considering, that they were ready (as they ought to be) to answer before the Emperor, to all whatsoeuer any man could obiect against them.

The men of Zurich demand succour of the Emperor, by sending their Ambassadors to him.

The Emperor hauing heard the complaint of them of *zurich*, answered the Ambassadors most humanely: that hee coueted nothing more, then to haue their liber-

The milde & honourable answer of the Emperor to the Ambassadours.

liberty continue in full perfection, and would do his endeauor, to accord them with *Fredericke* of *Austria*, and his associates. But he could giue them no succor, nor attempt any thing by force, against the house of *Austria*, the Nobility of *Germany*, or the Cities of the Empire: because (at that instant time) they were far stronger then he. Wherfore, they of *Zurich* should deuise to pacifie their differences with such enemies: by some reasonable agreement, wherein he would assist them to his power.

The negotiation of the men of Zurich, with Albert of Austria.

The Ambassadors departed away very sadly with this answer, and came home againe to *zurich*. And because (at that time) *Albert* of *Austria*, Sonne to *Albert*, was in *Swetia*: they of *zurich* sent presents to him by Ambassadors, to whom he gaue kinde entertainment, and tolde them, that he would come meete them with an ample power, for he desired to be a friend to them of *zurich*, and had some matters to acquaint them withall. Afterward, when the Ambassadors came vnto him againe at *Bruges* in *Swetia*, he was become an enemy to *zurich*, by accusations and reports of the Noblemen, and spake sharply to the Ambassadors, saying: That they of *zurich* had done him great wrong in ruinating both the old and new *Rasperwills*, and spoyling the *Marche* likewise, because they were in his Seigneury. He therefore demanded, that they should restore what they held from him, rebuilde those places which they had ruined, and repay their pillages with ready money, & in so doing, hee would pardon them all those wrongs.

How the lands of Iohn of Habspourg belonged to Albert of Austria, in manner of a right by title.

As concerning his maintaining the lands of *Iohn* of *Habspourg*; they belonged to him, in manner following. *Garnier* Count of *Hombourg*, Lord of *Rasperwill* the elder, and of three castles, seated vpon one Mountaine, named *Wartenberg*, nere to *Basile*, dying without children; the succession fell vnto that *Iohn* of *Habspourg*, who was slaine at *Grinow*. But *Otho* and *Albert*, Princes of *Austria*, laid claime to them, being the stronger (I know not whether they had any other title) and all the other goods of *Garnier*, including both *Rasperwill* the elder, & all the *March*. Neuertheleſſe, they rendred all vnto *Iohn* of *Habspourg*, and he to hold it of them as in Knights fee, and so became their vassaile and pentioner. Thus you see, why *Albert* of *Austria* said, they had done him wrong, and wherefore he demanded satisfaction.

Innocence hath euermore an armor of proofe wherewith to defend it selfe

The Ambassadors of *zurich* made answer, that (from those places) ambuscadoes had beene made against their citty, their cittizens spoyled and slaine, and in those castles their banished men were harboured. Therefore, seeing they had ruined *Rasperwill*, which no longer was an abiding for Noblemen, but a retreate for theeues & banished men: they thoght it no way meete, that any should be compelled to builde it againe, or in the selfe-same place. They entreated the Prince to consider seriously on euery thing: they being alwaies ready, to debate their cause before the Princes and cities of the Empire, and in any such place as hee would appoint. The Prince answered them in choller, that this was not a difference which stood in need of any Iudges, to beate downe his castles, and waste the places of his Seigneury. But if all were not reduced againe to the first condition, and full satisfaction made: he would imploy all his forces, and constraine them of *zurich* to do it. In briefe, he would haue no other debating of this cause, but by the point of the Sword.

The alliance of Zurich with the Cantons, to maintaine all their liberties together.

The Ambassadors hauing made their answer to the councell of *zurich*, & they perceiuing also euidently, that the cittie would very shortly be besiedged, because all the Noblemen were already in armes; the men of *zurich* well knowing, that in expecting aide from the Emperor or the Empire, was meerly to abuse themselues; resolued to combine alliance with the Cantons, for the better preseruation of their common liberties. Till then, they maintained themselues in amity one with another, and although in the day at *Morgarten*, they of *zurich* gaue succour to the Duke of *Austria*; yet notwithstanding, the Cantons were not offended therewith, but rather tooke pleasure, to approoue the hardinesse and valour of the men of *zurich* in fight.

Vaity of harts and hands, maketh any people to become inuincible.

Hauing then so maine an enemy (in common) against them all, to wit, the Duke of *Austria*; both the one and the other then might easily iudge, that their forces beeing thus combined together, they had thereby the better meanes for re-

reſiſtance. Moreouer, the Cantons were not ignorant, that this their alliance with them of *zurich*, did highly accommodate them for prouiſion of victuals; becauſe there was a very excellent market at *zurich*, and the Lake was apt to tranſport both food and Merchandizes. Wherefore, after that the men of *zurich* had ſent their Ambaſſadors to the Cantons, to require their alliance in loue, and freely had acquainted them with their preſent dangers: the Cantons imbraced their motion very thankfully, and (ſoone after) ſent their Ambaſſadors to *zurich*, with plaine power to confirme this alliance, which was fully reſolued on in the Moneth of Aprill, in the yeare one thouſand, three hundred, fifty one, and engroſſed in writing at the beginning of May following. Now albeit *zurich* is the fift, cõming thus into alliance with the *Switzers*; yet notwithſtanding, becauſe it is a citty much renowned and mighty; the firſt place was giuen to it, and *zurich* named to be the firſt Canton. The men of *zurich* (yet to this day) do hold that name and ranke, among all the thirteene Cantons, as well in dayes occaſions of the *Switzers* accounts, as in all Ambaſſages, and other publike actions whatſoeuer.

Zurich had the honour granted it, to be named the firſt Canton.

This vnity of them of *zurich*, cauſed warre (ſo much the ſooner) to come vpon them: for the Prince of *Auſtria* was already very angry with them of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*, which firſt of all were leagued together: neuertheleſſe, hee aſſured himſelfe (one day) to bring them vnder his yoake. For, becauſe the country was barren, and not conueniently grounded for warre; there grew ſome apparance, that (at length) it might bee ſubdued, albeit they were good Souldiers, and well reſolued for fight. But when *Lucerna*, which was vnder the dominion of *Auſtria*, ioyned with them, and then (ſoone after) *zurich*, a free citty, and cheefeſt of all other in the country: the Prince became much more mooued and troubled: for he was not ignorant, how greatly this alliance had ſtrengthened and authoriſed them of *zurich*. And therefore he concluded, to lay hold on this occaſion, to make warre on the men of *zurich*, and beſiedge their citty; to eſſay if thereby he could vnknit this knot of combination, before any other (following example of the former) ſhould make any more new leagues. See heere the true cauſe of the warre, and I dare maintaine, that no cauſe (concerning the ruine of *Raſperwill*) incited it; becauſe (at all times) when peace was treated on after the warre began: they of *Auſtria* neuer vrged that article, concerning the building againe of *Raſperwill*; but rather that they of *zurich*, ſhold renounce their alliance with the cantons.

The alliance and vnion of people, is as a thorne in the harts of all ſuch as would oppreſſe them

The principall intention of the Duke of Auſtria.

Thus then, in the Moneth of September, the yeare 1351. *Albert* of *Auſtria* beſiedged *zurich*. He had encamped with him, *Lewes*, Count of *Brandenberg*, *Fredericke*, Duke of *Teck*, the Duke of *Vrſilinge*, and the Burggraue of *Nuremberg*. The Biſhops of *Wircebourg*, *Bamberg*, *Friſingen*, *Coire*, and *Baſile* ſent him ſuccour. He had fiue and twenty Counts or Earles in his Army, namely; *Ewrad*, Count of *Wirtenberg*, conducter of the Army: *Lewes*, count of *Ottigen*: *Frederick*, count of *Ortemberg*: the two counts of *Schmanalech*: the two counts of *Tetnanges*: the two counts of *Furſtemberg*: the three of *Tierſtein*: they of *Habſpourg* and *Kybourg*; *Raoul* and *Hermand* of *Werdemberg*; *Albert* and *Henry* of *Nellembourg*; *Guillaume* of *Kilchberg*; *Immer* of *Strasberg*, of *New-chaſtle*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, of *Fribourg*, of *Zolerin*, and of *Metbourg*. Likewiſe the cities of *Straſbourg*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg* in *Briſgoye*, *Soleurre*, and ſome others ſent aide to the Duke. It is ſaid, that he had in his Army two thouſand horſe, and fiue thouſand foote. On the other ſide, the foure Cantons ſent a good Garriſon to them of *zurich*. The Souldiers and the cittizens fortified the citty, and made diligent prouiſion of all things requiſite to withſtand the ſiedge, and to defend it: ſo that (on both ſides) there were ſome ſallies and skirmiſhes.

The firſt beſiedging of the Citty of Zurich.

There neuer wants ſtore of helpe to be found, when any people are to be oppreſſed.

But few daies after the ſiedge, peace was made, by the intermiſe of *Frederick*, count of *Togge*, and of *Hertbeg Retchberg*, commander of *Rhodes*, abiding at *Vateuil*, with them of *Baſile* and of *Berne* on condition, that the *Switzers* ſhould refer themſelues vnto the definitiue iudgement of *Agnes*, Queene of *Hungary*, to whom, eyther ſide ſhould ſend their Aſſeſſours, and that which was concluded by them, with plurality of voyces, eyther party ſhould ratifie. For this effect, they of *zurich* were to giue in 16. Hoſtages, of the cheefeſt

Peace made, and on what condition.

A traine is made, to entrap them by a sheete of paper, that could not be ouercome by force.

of the Citty, and *Albert* promised by his Letters, that no wrong should bee done vnto them. The foure Cantons would not accept of this peace, alledging, that no trust ought to be giuen to the Queen of *Hungary*, who would not faile to giue sentence in fauour of *Albert*, he beeing her brother. Neuertheless, the men of *Zurich*, who had a good opinion of the woman, did so presse the other Cantons, that they subsigned together the conditions: adding this exception (in common) that their alliance should continue in full force.

A sentence no lesse pernitious then the warre.

The Duke of *Austria* chose for Iudges, *Immer*, Count of *Strasberg*, and *Peter* of *Stoëffelen*, commander of *Tannenfels*. They gaue sentence in behalfe of their Master, whereby it was appointed, that they of *Zurich* were bound, to renew (according to their former condition) the olde and new *Rasperwilles*, and giue satisfaction to *Albert*: rendring backe *Lucerna* vnder his gouernment, and surrender also great store of possessions and rights, in the territory of *Vnderuald*. They tooke away likewise from them of *Suits*, their right of fishing in the Lake, and their ancient possession and vse of many Forrests. Finally, they condemned all the fiue Cātons, in great fines of money: neuer hauing any regard, what wrongs the city of *zurich* had endured, by them of *Rasperwill*, nor other reasons and defences proposed by the Cantons, and by *Philip Kyen*, Knight, and *Peter de la Baume*, Consull of *Berne*, their Iudges deleagued.

Religion and protestation of willingnes to peace, in the mouth of a woman, exalted to authority, are aptest instruments (among all other) whereby to deceiue and abuse the people.

Queene *Agnes* approued the sentence of *Alberts* Iudges. She was a witty woman, that had an outward appearance of great sanctity, as we vse to say, from the teeth forward. At all times when she saw her brethren forward to make warre, but greatly vnfurnished; then would she bee sure to procure truce or peace betweene the *Switzers* and them. Onely to this end, that they might assemble their troopes together in the meane time, and bee the better prouided for a sudden assailing thē at vnawares. Yet all that while, she would still protest, that she did all this for the enioying of peace, and in meere compassion which she had of the *Switzers*.

Now albeit this sentence was most vniust; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* promised to ratifie it. But the Duke being not contented with all this, commanded them of *zurich*, to set at liberty (without eyther fine or ransome) Count *Iohn* of *Habspourg*, their prisoner taken in faire warre, and of whom the Iudges made not any mention. Hereupon, they of *zurich* would not yeeld to any thing, by which occasion, the Duke imprisoned their hostages, contrary to his faithfull promise, planted a Garrison on the Frontiers, and prepared himselfe for a new warre.

More insultation of the Duke of Austria.

CHAP. V.

How Glaris, being conquered by the Cantons, came afterward to be accepted into their louing alliance.

The determination of the Switzers, whē peace was made voide, and war must needs be vndertaken.

THE *Switzers* seeing that all hope of peace was vtterly frustrated, & that they must needs re-enter into war: determined among thēselues, to inuade the country of *Glaris*, for feare leste (in that quarter) the enemy would make courses on the lands of the confederates, and especially on them of *Suits*. Wherefore, the very same yeare, and in the Moneth of Nouember, the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, ioyned together, and led their troopes towards *Glaris*. Without any blow smitten, they made themselues Masters of the whole country, taking oath of them of *Glaris*; and in regard of their faithfulnesse, as also their approued valour in war, which they had well tried oftentimes before; they receiued them into their alliance.

A breefe description of Glaris.



Glaris is a straite Valley and long, cōtaining a league and an halfe of the Germane measure, neere to the Riuer of *Limagus* or *Limmatus*. It tookname from the principall Towne of all the Country, being engirt on three sides with very high Alpes: hauing the *Grisons* on the South side, & towards the East, *Vri*, & *Suits* to the West, and on the North, the field called the *Grisons*

sons country, by which, the Riuer of *Limagus* runneth along the Valley, and enters into the Lake of *zurich*. *Glaris* had bin subiect a long time, and for the space of many yeares, to the Abbey of *Secon*, & was giuen to S. *Fridolin*, by two brothers, named *Ours*, and *Landolphe*. They of *Glaris* paied tythes to this Abbey, and certaine constituted rents, beside taxations of some inheritances. They were not charged with any impostes, or subsidies whatsoeuer: they held their owne lawes, & a councell among their cittizens. True it is, that the election belonged vnto the Abbesse; but the Prouostship or gouernment (both of the Abbey and country) was the Emperors onely, & in his power.

The Abbey of Secon giuen to S. Fridolin, by two brothers.

Afterward, *Frederick Barbaroßa* gaue it to *Otho*, Palatine of *Bourgongne*, from whose successors, it came to them of the house of *Habspourg*. Vnder pretence of this authority, *Albert* of *Austria*, Sonne to the Emperour *Raoul*, made himselfe Lord of *Glaris*, in despight of the whole country: who had promised to the forenamed Abbey, neuer to be separated or alienated from it. This vsurpation was the cause, that many Noble families forsooke the country, and withdrew themselues thence, some to *Vri*, and others to *zurich*. They of *Austria* being well fortified, expulsed out of his house the Baron of *Suanda*, a rich Gentleman, and well beloued in those parts, appropriating all his goods to themselues. They vsurped also the rights of the Maiordome of *Glaris*, & brought in a nouelty neuer before practised: sending Gouernors into that country, to haue a seuere eye ouer the people, and to iudge them by processe in law.

What meanes the oppressors of any people do vse, in bereauing their liberty, & at length to dispose all at their owne pleasure.

Those Gouernors were very rude and insolent, so that the people (in despight of the *Austrians*) yeelded themselues voluntarily to the *Switzers*, when they came to warre vpon them, and made perpetuall alliance with them. *Gautier de Stad*, Gouernour for them of *Austria*, departed from *Glaris*, after the inhabitants had sworn fidelity to the *Switzers*, withdrawing himselfe not far off, namely to *Wesen*. But they of *Glaris* chose among thēselues (according to their ancient custome) a *Maior* or *Amman*, and their vsuall number of councellers. And because they expected nothing more, but that the *Austrians* would soone come againe to molest them: they strengthened their walles, and trenched their Valley, neere to a Village named *Naifell*, where was the easiest entrance into the country; that needed no fortification, but only there, al the rest being engirt with Mountaines round about.

Glaris yeelded willingly to the Switzers.

During these alterations at *Glaris*, in the Moneth of December, they of *zurich* marched with their Army towards *Bada*, where was a great Garrison of the *Austrians*, that by their often out-roades made much waste on the Lands of *zurich*. To requite them with money of the same stamp, they of *zurich* forradged the coūtry about *Bada*, and burnt the Subburbs of the Towne, getting vp on the Mountaine, to come neerer to them. But towards *Tetiuille*, on the Mountaine, a Captaine of the *Austrian* horsemen, named *Ellerbath*, made firme the passage with foure thousand men. They of *zurich* were no more then 1300. (some say they were much lesse) notwithstanding, they set vpon the enemy, and wonne a very remarkable victory, leauing there 700. enemies slaine, among whom (as is credibly auouched) there were 65. Gentlemen.

Of the day at Tetiuille, where the men of Zurich had a worthy victory gainst their enemies the Austrians

The yeare following, *Gautier de Stad*, not long before Gouernor of *Glaris*, hauing leuied an Army, prepared himselfe, to subiect the country again to the house of *Austria*. Hee tooke occasion to do this, because he had receiued intelligence that two hundred men of *Glaris* were in Garrison at *zurich*. But the other inhabitants ouercame him in a ranged battel, where he was slaine, and a great number of the Nobility, the 2. day of February.

The ouerthrow of Gautier de Stad, late Gouernor of Glaris.

The selfe same day, the *Austrians* that were at *Zug*, beeing gone by Boates to *Arte*; did set vpon the lands of *Suits*, but met with the like welcome as *Stad* had at *Glaris*. In like manner, al the confederates sent an Army to forradge *Berone*, and other neighbouring places, from whence the *Austrians* issued foorth oftentimes, to set vpon the *Lucernians*: As (on the other side) the *Austrians* put to fire and blood *Cusnach*, and some other places, yet not without their owne great losse. About the holidayes of *Pentecoste*, the *Lucernians*, assisted by the three Cantons, tooke (by assault) a Castle, called *Habspourg*, seated on the Lake of *Lucerna*; cut in peeces all them that were there in Garrison, & ruinated it quite frō the top to the bottom.

Another ouerthrow happening the same day.

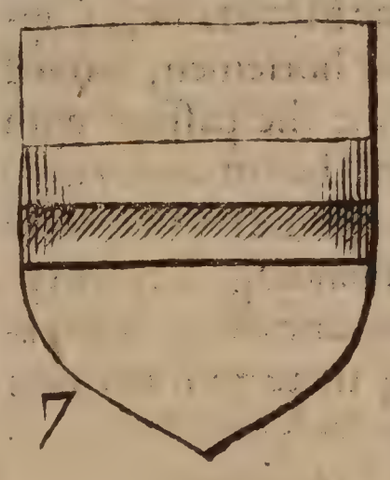
Courses and out-roades made onely for spoyle.

CHAP. VI.

Of Zug, and at what time it came to be comprehended, in league and confederacy with the other Cantons of the Switzers.

Concerning the ſcituation & firſt eſtate of Zug.

IN thoſe times, *Zug* hapned to be thus comprized in alliance with the *Switzers*. It is a Towne betweene *Zurich* and *Suits*, ſeated at the foote of a Mountain, rich in paſturages, and vines planted on the ſides ioyning to the Lake, which aboundeth with plenty of Fiſh, common to them both of *Zug* and *Suits*. It is reputed to be the capitall Towne of certaine people, which accomppaied thē of *Zurich*, in the warre of the *Cimbrians* againſt the *Romanes*. Sometimes ſhee aknowledged diuers Gētlemen as her Lords: but afterward, fell into the hands of them of *Auſtria*, who, during the warre againſt the Switzers, maintained there an ordinary Garriſon, which did many harmes to them of *Suits* and *Zurich*. And this was the cauſe, that in the yeare 1352. and the Moneth of Iune, the men of *Zurich*, with the foure other Cantons, prepared an Army to go againſt *Zug*. The Soldiers finding their ſtrength far too weake, would not attend the *Switzers* comming: but withdrew to *Bremgarten*, and other places thereabout. But the Townesmen, who would be faithfull to the Duke of *Auſtria*, maintained the ſiedge for fifteene daies ſpace: neuertheleſſe, hauing receiued a very violent aſſault: they yeelded themſelues, & tooke an oath to the *Switzers*, on this condition. That if within a certaine time appointed, the Duke of *Auſtria* brought an Army, to cauſe the ſiedge to bee remoued: they would returne againe vnder his obedience, and ſtand acquitted of their oath giuen to the *Switzers*. To effect this buſineſſe, they ſent their Ambaſſadors, to require ſuccour from the Duke of *Auſtria*: he being then in the Abbey of *Champ Royall*, about fifteene leagues from *Zug*, & there the Ambaſſadors let him vnderſtand their charge and meſſage.



The Cantons made an Army forth againſt Zug.

Zug being aſſaulted by the Cantons, yeelds it ſelfe vpon condition.

It chanced at that inſtant time, that the Duke was walking in a Gallery, demanding of his Faulconer, whether hee had (that day) fed his Hawkes or no? Thē the cheefeſt of the Ambaſſadors, named *Herman*, taking him at that word, ſaid. Alaſſe my Lord, haue you not more care of your Subiects, thē of Hawks? Eſpecially now, when the enemy hath ſo ſtrictly engirt vs, as if you ſend not preſent ſupply, conſtrainedly we muſt ſurrender our ſelues? The Prince returned this anſwer. It is wel, yeeld your ſelues; before it be long time, we will recouer againe whatſoeuer wee haue loſt. And becauſe they of *Zug* well ſaw, that it was in vaine to looke for any comfort thence: they ioyned themſelues in vnity and alliance with the *Switzers*.

By tyrants & oppreſſors, people are (oftentimes) leſſe valued and eſteemed then Hawkes and Hounds.

Hardly were the Letters of this alliance written, for combining thus the Cantons by oath: but *Albert*, Duke of *Auſtria*, now the ſecond time beſiedged the citty of *Zurich*, about the midſt of Iune. But at the end of the Moneth, by intermiſe of the Matqueſſe of *Brandebourg*, peace was made, on theſe conditions following. They of *zurich* ſhould ſet at liberty *Iohn* of *Habſpourg*, their three yeares priſoner, without eyther fine or ranſome. Alſo, that the Duke of *Auſtria* ſhould acquit (frank and freely) the hoſtages of *zurich*, whom he had likewiſe impriſoned. They of *Zug* and *Glaris*, abſolued of their oath taken to the *Switzers*, ſhould (as before) yeeld obedience to the houſe of *Auſtria*. In the meane while, nothing ſhould hinder, but that the alliance of the *Switzers* muſt ſtand firme.

A ſecond beſiedging the Citty of Zurich.

Conditions of the peace concluded on.

In the time of this treaty, *Iohn* of *Habſpourg* came forth of priſon, without paying any ranſome; but the Hoſtages of *zurich* wer not releaſed, according to ſworn promiſe: for before they could get forth, they were compelled to pay ſixteen hundred crownes for a ranſome, & yet could not enioy eyther peace or ſafety. For ſo ſoone as the Count of *Habſpourg* was releaſed, hee gaue *Raſperwill*, and the places neighbouring about it, to *Albert* of *Auſtria*; who immediately fortified *Raſperwill*, and planted a Garriſon there, whereby a new warre was engendered. For the Soldiers of that Garriſon ranne in on the Lands of *zurich*, and ſlew fifty men at *Meile*,

The crafty ſleights of ſuch men, as hold neither piety nor honour in due reſpect and eſtimation.

Meile, which was a Village belonging to one of the Chanons of *zurich*.

Heereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Duke of *Austria* did but seeke occasion, whereby to begin the warre againe. The yeare following, as the Ambassadors of *Suits* were gone (in name of the fiue Cantons) to require of them of *zug*, the obligatory oath of their alliance, according to the Articles of pacification: they of *Austria* expulsed them away with outrages. In regard whereof, they mustred their forces together againe, and made themselues Masters of *zug* the second time, and then commanded the cittizens, to giue their oath to the *Switzers*. In the same yeare, 1352. the sixteenth day of March, *Berne* ioyned it selfe in alliance with the *Switzers*. But we are to speake somewhat in this place, concerning this citty; which is the most powerfull among all them in *Swetia*.

At what time Berne allied it selfe with the Switzers.

CHAP. VII.

Of the building of Berne, the scituation and condition thereof, and how it was yeelded to the Empire.

BErthoul, fift of that name, & the last Duke of *zeringen*, built the citty of *Berne*, and being offended with the noblemen, who had caused his male children to bee poysoned in their youth: he submitted it to the Empire, & affranchised it. The Emperor *Fredericke* the eleuenth, ratified the Dukes will, and after the death of him, in the yeare, 1218. a Gouernor was sent to *Berne*, named *Otho* of *Rauenspourg*, in name of the Empire. But some yeares after, for good seruices done by them of *Berne* to the Emperor: hee gaue them much greater priuiledges and franchises, exempting them also from hauing any more Gouernor.

By whom Berne was builded.

Berne made an Imperiall City.

In the troubles and confusions which happened in the Empire, the Count of *Kybourg*, Lord of Burgdorff, stroue to abolish the cities liberty, leaguing himselfe (for that purpose) with Gentlemen his neighbours, and the Towne of *Fribourg*, which *Berthoul* the fourth had built: And his Son had giuen in charge to both these Townes, to continue friends for euer. As concerning the occasion of this war, it grew thus. The men of Berne had bought certaine Lands beyond the Riuer of *Ar*, & began to prepare a bridge, which the Count would not suffer, he beeing Lord beyond the Riuer. Whereupon they of Berne, (desirous to make thẽselues as strong as their enemies) did put themselues into the protection of the Count of *Sauoye*, who repressed the attempts of the Count of *Kybourg*, and hauing obtained peace, enlarged the compasse and roundure of the citty. Then after warre was moued, betweene the Count of *Sauoye*, and the Duke of Bourgongne, the Count promised the men of Berne, that if they carried themselues valiantly, and he prospered in his attempt; he would grant them whatsoeuer they would demand of him. They performed their duty so well, that the enemy was discomfited: and then (as in recompence) they desired nothing else of the Count of *Sauoye*, but their ancient liberty, and he granted their request, and kept his promise most faithfully with them. After that time, they of Berne were alwayes friends, and allied to the house of *Sauoye*.

Zug is assayled by the enemies to her liberty.

The Citty being reintegrated into her wonted liberty, before they entred into league with the *Switzers*, had many and very difficult warres, as well for conseruation of their liberty, as enlarging their limits. They gaue a battaile to *Godfrey* of *Habspourg*, in the yeare, 1241. but that was to their owne disaduantage, because the enemy was far greater in number. Moreouer, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, accompanied with them of *la Tour* and *de Gruyere*, besiedged (two seuerall times) the Citty of Berne; vnder colour of accusing them of Berne, that they had violated the publike faith of the Empire, in taking prisoners, and euill entreating certaine Iewes. *Albert* of *Austria*, sonne to the Emperor *Raoul*, did twice bid them battaile before the citty, and many citizens were there

The men of Berne had diuers wars before they came to be in number of the Cantons.

A great league and combination made againſt the Citty of Berne.

ſlaine. In the yeare 1291. the Counts of *Sauoye*, *Neuberg*, and *Gruyere*, the Biſhop of *Lauſanna*, the Lord of *Tour*, beſide ſome Townes and Gentlemen, made a league againſt *Berne*: but by the aide of the Counts of *Kybourg* and *Arberg*, as alſo the citty of *Solleurre*, the men of *Berne* wonne a mighty battaile, at a place called, *The hill of Thunder*. *Auldrich Erlach* was cheefe of the *Berniſh* Army in that warre. During the yeares following, many of the Caſtles, neighbouring to the citty, were taken in war, and demoliſhed by them of *Berne*. They alſo had victories in the warres moued in the vale of *Simmia*, and in many other places, againſt the Noblemen that much moleſted them, whereby they greatly enlarged their limits. Alſo the inhabitants of the vale of *Haſell*, who were at free liberty, ioyned with them of *Berne*. This happineſſe of theirs, ſo enflamed the malice and enuy of the Noblemen againſt *Berne*, as thereon enſued the memorable battaile giuen at *Loupen*.

The famous and memorable battaile giuen by Counts and Gentlemen, againſt the men of Berne at Loupen.

Many Counts and Gentlemen, hauing leuied a well prepared Army, of ſixteene thouſand foote, and three thouſand, fiue hundred horſe, at the leaſt, went and beſiedged *Loupen*, which is a ſmall Towne appertaining to them of *Berne*, who were about fiue thouſand, aſſiſted with three hundred men of *Vri*, as many of *Suits*, as many of *Vnderuald*, and as many of the Vale of *Haſell*, *Raoul Erlach* being chiefe of theſe troopes. This ſmall number ouercame the enemy in a ranged battaile, nere to *Loupen*, where dyed in the fielde, the Count of *Sauoye*, who was ſent to the Campe by his Father, onely to treate on peace: but the other conſtrained him to make one in the battaile. There were ſlaine alſo, the Counts of *Nidow*, of *Arberg* and *Valendis*, fifteene hundred horſemen, among whom were foureſcore Gẽtlemen of marke, and aboue three thouſand foote. This battaile was fought the 21. day of Iune, in the yeare 1339.

A fortunate and ſucceſſefull purſuite of victory, againſt them of Fribourg and many townes more.

After this ſucceſſefull day, they of *Berne* made warre (to their aduantage) againſt them of *Fribourg*, who were vaſſails to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and alſo to the Gẽtlemen about *Fribourg*. For at *Schonnenberg*, they of *Fribourg* were ouerthrowne, and loſt many of their men, their country forraged, and the Subburbs of their Towne burnt. *Signow*, *Langnow*, *Burgdorff*, *Longuenall*, *Pyrneſtic*, *Arberg*, *Erlach*, *Nidow*, *Thun*, and other Townes and great Villages, were eyther ſpoyled, or taken by them of *Berne*. Finally, *Agnes* Queene of Hungary, made an end of this warre, by meanes of a peace which ſhee compounded. In all theſe warres, they of Berne euer felt, that Gentlemen, no better then vaſſails to the houſe of *Auſtria*, moſt laboured to oppreſſe them: whereas (contrariwiſe) the amity of the *Switzers* did highly aduantage them. But in the meane while, and contrary to their hope and expectation, they were drawne into a new warre; wherein they of *Vnderuald* ioyned themſelues with their enemies. The Lord of *Ringenberg*, and the Prouoſt of the Abbey ſcituated betweene the two Mountaines, were Bourgeſſes of Bern. They were Gouernors or Bayliffs alſo of that country, which lies neere to the Mountaine of Brunic, and the Lake of Brientz.

An vnexpected warre of thẽ of Berne, againſt the men of Vnderuald.

The reaſon of the warres beginning and proceeding.

It came to paſſe, that they of the country, accounting the gouernment of theſe two Lords to be rude and harſh: began to mutiny againſt them, and after they had called to their aide the men of *Vnderuald*, who were neere neighbors; they tooke the Caſtle of *Ringenberg*, in abſence of the Lord, ſet it on fire, and denied the Prouoſt ſuch duties and tythes, as they were accuſtomed to pay. They of Berne ſent Ambaſſadors, to exhort them of *Vnderuald*, not to ſuccour ſuch ſeditious perſons againſt all right and reaſon. But they of *Vnderuald* made no reckoning of this aduertiſement, but went and encamped with the ſeditious at Brientz. On the other ſide, the men of Berne, hauing required their allies of *Solleurre*, *Thun*, *Bienne*, and *Morat* to ſend them ſuccour, and it being ſent them; marched with all their troopes to Brientz; gaue battaile to the ſeditious and them of *Vnderuald*, compelling them to flight, and retire into the neighbouring Mountaines. They of *Vnderuald* (ſtorming at this diſgrace) called their confederates of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* to helpe them: but they of *Berne* ſent their Ambaſſadors to thoſe Cantons, offering the iuſtice & equity of their cauſe, and to haue it tried before them.

Amity or alliance being vniuſt, is the ruine and ouerthrow of their confederates.

Hereupon, a day was held at *Lucerna*, where

Alliance and league perpetuall made by them of Bern with the Cantons.

where the Deputies of the Switzers, hauing heard the reasons aledged on either side, commanded them of *Vndcruald*, to renounce their alliance with them of *Brientz*. On the same day, the men of Berne made a perpetual alliance with the three Cantons, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. Now, although this alliance is made but with three, yet Zurich and Lucerna are comprized therein. For the three first Cantons bound themselues to succour them of Zurich & Lucerna whensoeuer they called them, and to bring with them the men of Berne, who by the same alliance are tyed thereto, if Zurich and Lucerna do desire it. In reciprocall manner they of Zurich and Lucerna, promised solemnly, to go assist (with all their power) the men of Bern, if the three Cantons cal them thereto.

The third time of siedge laide to the City of Zurich.

Immediately after this alliance made, the city of Zurich was besiedged agayne the third time. For, *Albert* of *Austria*, accused the Cantons before the Emperour *Charles* the fourth; who hauing heard the answer of the *Cantons*, made a truce, vntill his returne from a voyage, which hee was constrained to vndertake, about som affayres of the Empire. Beeing returned, he came to Zurich, where he heard either parties, and directing himselfe vnto the Switzers, especially to them of Zurich, he aduised them to renounce this alliance: adding withall, that the citty was Imperiall, and could make no alliance vvithout consent of the Emperor. But the confederates rendred a sufficient reason for what they had done, exhibiting their priuiledges, and making it manifest, that the alliance contracted between them, could not any way preiudice the rightes of the Empire. Seeing he could not driue the Switzers out of this league, then he made his re-course to *Albert*, desiring him to sell *Lucerna*, *Glaris*, and *Zug* vnto the Empire, because the difference did concerne those three places especially. But *Albert* audaciously answered him; *That he would rather buy some Townes, if the Emperour would sell him any, then let him haue any of his for mony.*

A proud answer of Albert of Austria to the Emperor.

Once againe the Emperor pressed the Switzers, to suffer him to end the difference, and promise to tye themselues to such orders as he should set downe, assuring them that *Albert* would do the like. But the Switzers would not consent ther to, without plaine exception of their priuiledges; and the Emperor vrged his authority, without any reseruation: by the which meanes, all this long imparlance serued to no purpose, but only that a truce was taken for some time. Which beeing expired, the Emperor being incessantly importuned, ioyned with *Albert* of *Austria*, and besiedged Zurich. The besied- (by diuers ambassages) intreated the Emperor, not to presse thus into the house of *Austriaes* fauour) their citty, which was Imperiall: for they desired nothing but conseruation of their priuiledges, and would not reiect any composition whatsoeuer, if it were reasonable.

The Emperor ioyned with Albert of Austria.

Then the Emperor began to summon *Albert* to listen to a pacification; which hee would not doe: in which respect, the Emperor raised the siedge, and returned home. That which also moued him hereto, was, because his Camp stood composed of soldiers, who were (almost al) prest forth of Imperiall Townes and Citties; & (in his opinion) bare more affection to the Switzers, then to the house of *Austria*, albeit those souldiers during the siedge) would obey none other then the Emperor. After the Emperors departure the duke of *Austria* also speedily got him gon: hauing heard, that the other Cantons had sent forth supply vnto them of Zurich. Neuertheless, hee lodged his troopes in Townes, Villages, and Castles round about, enioyning them, not to suffer the Cantonnes to haue any rest, but continually to make incursions on theyr Lands.

The siege raised from Zurich by Gods most singular prouidence.

Peace made between them of Zurich, and the Duke of Austria.

At length, in the fift year of this war, by authority and intermise of the emperor *Charles* the fourth, peace was concluded betweene the Prince of *Austria*, and them of Zurich. Now because it would seeme a troublesome matter, to insert heere the whole Tenure at large; we will be satisfied with a breefe Summary of the Articles, which are these following.

Articles of Peace concluded on, betweene the Duke of Austria and Zurich.

1. VV*Hatsoeuer hath bene taken on either side in this Warre shall be restored againe.*

2 *They of* Zurich *shall not receiue into the*

the number of their Bourgesses such as remaine vnder the domination of the Duke of Austria: but if any will retire themselues to Zurich, *they may be receyued. Prouided, that they bee of the number of them, which the Cittie might receiue, before this peace was made.*

3 *Such as hold any other way then in fee-seruice, shall be vnder the iustice of the lords of those Fees. And they which make vse of another mans possessions, shall surrender them, or shal stand bound to answer the same in Law: except it be for the goods of the banished.*

4 *From hence forward, they of* Zurich *shall not ally themselues with the seruantes of the Duke of Austria: or contrariwise, they shall helpe to recouer his rights.*

5 *If any difference happen to bee mooued, betweene the Duke and the Cantons: It is ordained before hand, that some Iudges shall consider on the cause.*

6 *Those alliances which the Switzers haue made together, shall remaine in their ful power and integrity.*

There are diuers other Articles in this pacification: but I am onely contented with these, as beeing the principall and cheefest.

A new variance concerning the Canton of Zug, & referred to the opinion of the Emperour.

It fell out, that diuers interpretations were made vpon this agreement, which likewise begat new contentions: yet they were still qualified, before they came to hand-blowes, for either sides purse being emptied of money, and their forces fayling, made them vnwilling to heare of any more warre. *Albert Bucheimer*, Lieutenant to the duke of *Austria*, pressed them of *Zug*, to giue their oath of fidelity vnto his Prince, which they would not do, but with exception of their alliance made with the Cantons, or else to stand acquitted by the sayde Cantons, to whom they had giuen their faith. This difference was referred to the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, who finally gaue iudgement, that they of Zug should stand exempted from alliance with the Cãtons: because (quoth he) the Articles of pacification doe declare, that the Switzers shall not possesse any of the Dukes Towns, neyther hinder any way his gouernment in them.

Now, although this sentence was greatly greeuous to the Switzers, considering, that in one of the Articles, the alliances made, were (by name) excepted, and onely ordained, that no new Alliances should be made with the vassails to the house of *Austria*: yet notwithstanding, they were so ouer glutted with war, as they wer vpon the point to leaue Zug to the Duke of *Austria*; if they of *Suites* (who had not (as yet) signed the peace) had not opposed themselues against it. They then sodainly gathered their troops together, and went to Zug, demaunding againe the faith of the Citizens, who (for their part) had sent their Deputy to *Suits* to require confirmation of the faith first giuen. This done, after some long debating and consulting, it was at length concluded; by meanes of the Lorde of *Torberg*, that truce should be confirmed for the space of eleuen yeares, which was till after the decease of *Albert*. During this truce, they of *Zug* and *Glaris* continued allyed with the Switzers, and al that while were thereunto subiect, acquitting themselues of all duties due to the house of *Austria*. The Duke receiued from *Suits* a man, from foure yeares to foure yeares, whom hee confirmed *Amman* or Maior at Zug: And he gaue as Gouernour vnto them of *Glaris*, *Godfrey Mulner* of Zurich. Afterward, the truce being expired, it was againe confirmed for a longer time.

The Switzers being wearie of war, would yeeld to their owne iniurie, rather then to heare of any more trouble.

A truce concluded on for 11. yeares, lasting till after the death of Albert.

War made by the Englishmen against the Switzers.

The sonne of *Albert*, named *Leopolde*, greatly hated the Switzers; but he durst not meddle with them, least hee should gaine as litile thereby, as his Father had done. And therefore he would worke his will by others, setting the Switzers at variance with the Englishmen, who hauing spoiled the country about the *Rheine*, entred into *Swetia*, where they did as much harme to the Austrians, as to the Cantons. But hauing bin beaten in some incounters, after they had forraged in Swetia, and all the countrey about *Montbeliard*, *Basile*, *Strasbourg*, and run into diuers other places, they retired home to their own houses, & hapned Anno 1376.

War made a gainst the Count of Kyburg.

Six years after, war was moued against the Count of *Kybourg*. Hee was enforced to take (by treason) the Towne of *Soluerre*, allyed with the men of Berne, and at the very same time, they of Austria would haue surprized *Dun* and *Arberg*, Townes appertaining to the Canton of Bern. Consequently the Count of *Kyburg* made

made open war vpon them of *Solleurre*, to whome they of *Berne* and the other Cantons sent supply. The Duke of *Austria*, who (so lately before) had made alliance with the Switzers, fortified (vnder hand) the Count of *Kybourg*, and (contrary to his faith) furnished him with victuals, and other necessaries for warre. Neuertheless, the Count was not able to endure the burthen of amity agreed on betweene them of *Solleurre* and *Bern*, but sold them *Burgdorff*, for the summe of forty thousand Crownes.

To ruinate the people they must bee diuided.

The Duke of *Austria* had a difference, in what manner I know not, with the Imperiall Cities and Townes. They made a league, wherein *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Solluerre*, and *Zug* were comprehended: but the Duke brake all in sunder by his cunning deuices, pacifying himselfe amiably with the Townes of *Suaba* and *Franconia*. And as for the Townes on this side the *Rheine* in *Halsatia*, hee conquered them in one battell. This victory did so aduance his hopes, as he began to consult with himselfe, how to bring the Townes of *Swetia* vnder his obedience, and the occasion of the warre grew thus. *Peter* of *Torberg*, Gouernour of *Wolhouse*, and in the Vale of *Entlibuch*; and *Herman Grunenberg*, gouernour of *Rottenbourg* for the Duke of *Austria*, who had engaged these places vnto them, tyranized on the people, and did many outrages to the neighbours of the Lucernians. The people being tyrannically dealt withall, sent men to Lucerna, to desire acceptation into their Bourguership. But the two Gouernours hauing discouered it, caused the Deputies to be hanged, and all them that had anie hand in the matter, recompencing them with death, that had faithfully imployed their paines, to giue life againe to theyr languishing countrey. Moreouer, they imposed new passage Tolles at *Rottembourg* on the Switzers, or else they might haue no passage there.

Warre begun by Leopold of Austria, against the Switzers.

Tyrants neuer want execrable and monstrous cruelties.

The Lucernians, too much prouoked by so many iniuries, being ayded by the men of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*: made themselues masters of *Rottembourg*, the 29 day of December, in the yeare, 1385. spoyling the Castle, which *Grunenberg* had forsaken. They did likewise beate downe the walles of the Towne, and filled vppe the Ditches: for feare least the Austrians should lodge any Garrison there, wherewith to molleste the Lucernians againe. Some short while after, they of *Sempach* were receiued into Fellow-Bourgeship with the Lucernians; & two hundred men were put in garrison by the Lucernians, into the Town of *Richensee*: but the Lieutenants to the Duke of *Austria*, hauing sodainely leuied an Armie, tooke the Towne by assault, cut y throats of the whole Garrison, put most part of the inhabitants to the sword, burned all the rest aliue, in the same fire wherewith the Towne was embraced, shewing no pitty to aged, sicke women, or children. On the other side, al the Cantons, except *Bern*, took a place in those parts, named *Meyenberg*, & there planted a garison but the Austrians (faigning a flight) drew the Switzers soldiers forth into the opē field, where they slewe fourescore and one of them, and compelled the rest to retyre speedily into the Towne. The Cantons aduertised heereof, called their people together, set fire on the Towne and Castle, leauing not a iote of them vnruined.

Richensee taken by assault burnt, and all in it slaine or burned, by them of Austria.

These beginnings and entrances into warre, seemed to threaten the *Switzers* with a farre greater confusion: & therefore, they of *Austria* made their preparations carefully, yet with great pomp, and euery day (by Letters and Heraulds) denounced warre against the *Switzers*, at the beginning of the ensuing yeare. The *Switzers* considered likewise on their owne affaires, and prouided to set vpon all those enemies, which had encloseth̄ round about. The men of *Berne*, who had not boudge as yet, beeing sollicited by many messages from their confederates: ruined two Castles, to wit, *Torberg*, and *Kopping*, belonging to *Peter* of *Torberg*. They of *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, spoyled the Castle and Towne of *Woolhouse*; as also *Liele*, *Rinach* and *Baldeg*. The men of *zurich* ioyned their forces with the Cantons, and after they had made some courses & waste in the countries neereste to their limits: in retiring backe, they tooke (by assault) the Castle of *Rumelange*, and set it on fire. And because the Duke of *Austria* made the mustering of his people, especially at *Brug* & *Bada*, neere to Zurich: it was imagined, that he would go and besiedge that Citie also. And this was the reason, why the foure

The Confederates ioyne their powers together.

The Lucernians manhood at Rottembourg.

foure Cantons ſent ſixteen hundred men to ſuccour them of Zurich.

Duke *Leopold* vnderſtanding that ſuch a Garriſon was at Zurich, marched ſodainly with his army towardes the Cantons, which ſeemed then naked of the moſt part of their troopes. But this enterprize was diſcouered by their ſpies, & therefore left the citty of Zurich, in the cittizens guard, and returned back thoſe ſixteene hundred men which marched vnder their Enſignes day and night; and ſo diligently, that they arriued at *Sempache*, euen at the ſame inſtant as the duke came to lodge his troops there. That day was the ninth of Iuly, and battell was giuen the very ſame day, wherein *Leopold* ſonne to *Albert* the wiſe, and Nephew or youngeſt childe to the Emperor *Albert*, was ſlaine in open field, with ſix hundred ſeuenty ſix Gentlemen, whereof there were three hundred and fifty more remarkable then the reſt by reaſon of theyr Helmes and Burganets, beautified with Coronets and goodly plumes. After ſo faire a victory, the Cantons began to extend their ſtrength thoroughout all *Swetia*, and chaſtiſed ſuch as hadde forraged their country, pilled the Citizens, & moued Warre vpon no occaſion: many caſtles were ruinated, and many Towns taken.

The battell at Sempach, in the which, the D. of Auſtria, and 676. gentlemen were ſlaine in the plaine field.

In the yeare, one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore, and ſeauen, the ſecond day of the moneth of February, truce was agreed on for a yeare, by the entermiſe of ſome Townes. The times of truce being expired, the citizens of *Weſen*, on the Lake *de Rine*, deliuered vp their Cittie to them of *Auſtria*, who ſlew the Switzers that were there in Garriſon. Afterward, the enemy (with great forces) to the number of eight thouſand at the leaſt, ſet vpon the Landes of *Glaris* the ninth day of Aprill. Some ſay, that they were aboue ſixteene thouſand men, conducted by *Donatus* Count of *Togge*, *Peter* of *Torberg*, *Iohn* of *Klingenberg*, *Iohn* Counte of *Werdenberg*, Lord of *Sargans*. This laſt man made choyſe of two thouſand men, which he brought by *Beglinge*, to encloſe the Switzers, and make them turne theyr backes with ſhame.

Truce fully agreed vpon for the ſpace of a year, but being expired new quarrels aroſe againe.

The other marched boldly on towards the Walles, which they of *Glaris* had fortified and made ſtrong their countries entrance the yeare before, gayning thereby ſuch aſſurance of the wall, as the victory was almoſt intirely in their hand; yet they beganne to pillage, and burne all that was about them. Meane while they of *Glaris* met together in a neere neighbouring Mountaine, to the number of three hundred and fifty, and thirty beſide, which they of Suits had ſent from the nereſt valley. This ouer-little Troope, by greatneſſe of corage and reſolution, met with the enemy in a verie narrow paſſage; where they ſaluted them with ſuch impetuous ſtormes of great ſtones, & whereof the place affoorded no ſcarſity: as, drawing them into a place more open, they preſſed and purſued on them vvith ſuch extreame boldneſſe; that the great armie was forced to flight, after they had renewed the charge eleauen ſeuerall times, as the Annales of *Glaris* do teſtify; for, ſo often did the enemy labour ſtill to ſet vpon them.

A notable victory obtaind by 380. Swizzers, againſt 8000. enimies to their liberty.

The Count of *Werdenberg*, looking from the height of a Mountaine (which hee had betaken himſelfe vnto) and perceyuing the ouerthrow of his aſſociates, ſaued his owne ſtake, as ſwiftly as he poſſibly could. There were two thouſand enemies ſlaine in this battaile, and about fiue hundred vvere drowned in the Lake: becauſe the multitude of Runne-awayes, brake downe the Bridge in theyr haſte, vvhereby they ſhould paſſe from *Glaris* to *Weſen*.

After this battell, the Cantons ſhewed themſelues ſtill in many other skirmiſhes againſt the Auſtrians, taking towns and Caſtles, either by force or compoſition: but they fought no more battels. For by entremiſe of the Cities of *Conſtance*, *Vberlingen*, *Rauenſpourg*, & *Rotuille*, truce was taken for ſeauen yeares: and afterwards it was prolonged, euen ſo farre as for the ſpace of twentie yeares; and finally, peace was made for the terme of fiftie yeares.

Townes and Caſtles taken by skirmiſhes but no more battels giuen or fought.

Peace being eſtabliſhed for ſuch length of time, brought ſome more eaſe & quyetneſſe to the Cantons. But in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundered and one, the war of *Appenzel* began, & continued ſeuen whole yeares. *Appenzel* is a Region of *Swetia*, ſeated neere vnto the Alpes, tovvardes the Eaſt, and on the Head of the Lake of *Conſtance*. At this day, it is

The begining of the warre of Appenzell, and how long it continued.

A bargaine made, but without any certainty.

is one of the thirteene Cantons ; but as then it was no way allyed with the Switzers : it onely acknowledged (as a Lord) the Abbot of *S.Gall*, who was then called, **Cuno de Stouffen**. Some difference happened between the Abbot and them of *Appenzell*, and after it had long time bene debated in Lawe before Iudges ; they fell at length to pleade theyr cause at the swords point. The Townes neereſt to the Lake of *Conſtance*, did take part with the Abbot, who had ſundered them from the men of *Appenzel*, with whom they were allyed and combined. The Abbot hauing leuied an army of the inhabitants of thoſe townes, gaue battell to the men of *Appenzel*, who ouer-came them, droue them in diſorder, with great loſſe of their men.

Townes diuided from Appenzel to take part with the Abbot, yet foiled in fight.

After this foile, they of *S. Gal*, of *Appenzel*, and of *Suits*, aſſociated thēſelues together. The Duke of *Auſtria* ioyned with the Abbot ; but they of *Appenzel* prooued ſtill victorious in all other encounters. And after they had conquered a great part of the country about them, ruined many Caſtles, and taken diuers Townes: at length they compeld the Abbot to craue peace, & leaue them in their wonted liberty.

A new warre hapning betweene the Cantons, and Fredericke of Auſtria.

Seuen yeares after theſe troubles were ended, a new warre kindled it ſelfe, betweene *Frederick* of *Auſtria* and the Cantons. The occaſion was, becauſe *Fredericke* had carried away (from foorth the Councel of *Conſtance*) Pope *Iohn* the 22. He was put to baniſhment from the Empire, and excommunicated by the councell. By this decree of the Emperour, and of the Councell, the peace for 50. yeares was broken, the Cantons abſolued of their Oath, and commandement giuen them to take armes againſt the Emperor: which they did, and tooke in that warre *Biberſtein*, *Bada*, and other places belonging to them of *Auſtria*.

A war of the Switzers, for the recouerie of Bellizona, from the duke of Millaine.

In the yeare, 1422. the Switzers ledde their army by the Alpes, and by the Griſons, to beſiedge Bellizona; it beeing a Towne which the Count of *Monſax* had ſold to them of *Suites*, *Vri*, & *Vnderuald*. The Duke of *Millaine* ſeemed to ſay, that this place appertained to him; and thereupon tooke it by intelligence. To recouer it againe, the Switzers conducted their army thither this yeare, then in *Anno* 1425. and the year following alſo. But they could not take the Towne notwithſtanding, they made hauocke, and forraged the Valleyes round about neighbouring, and belonging vnto the Duke of *Millaine*.

Cunning deuices prepared onely to ouerthrowthe people.

But in the yeare, 1436. they of *Auſtria*, by cunning trickes and ſubtle deuices raiſed a great ciuill warre among the Switzers. Firſt, betweene the Canton of Zurich and the men of *Suits*, to whom (ſoon after) the other confederats ioyned themſelues. The Duke of *Auſtria* (firſt of all) ranked himſelfe with them of Suits: and then (ſoone after) made alliance with the men of Zurich, and gaue them aſsiſtance There were ſome encounters, and the Switzers beſiedged Zurich: but ther was no battaile more memorable, then that which (not long after) was giuen at Baſile, the yeare, 1444. and the 26. day of Auguſt.

The battell of the Switzers againſt the Armignacs before Baſile.

The Dolphine of France, vvho vvas afterward King, named *Lewes* the 11. had brought a puiſſant army betweene *Montbeliard* and Baſile; prouided partly by the practiſes of Pope *Eugenius*, to breake the Councell of Baſile; and partly by the emperor *Frederick*, as wiſhing well vnto the Switzers. Sixteene hundred Switzers entred into battell againſt that great armie, and made a terrible ſlaughter of them. True it is, that all the ſixteene hundered men were ſlaine likewiſe, as beeing ouerborne with the meere multitude of their enemies: but they brake the whole armie in ſuch ſort, as they forſooke all Germanie immediately, to get themſelues into France againe. This memorable day, might well be compared with the battell of the Lacedemonians, at their paſſage of the* *Thermopylæ*, conſidering the magnanimity of ſo ſmall a number: who, for the ſafety of their country (euen all Germany) oppoſed themſelues valiantly, againſt an infinitie of enemies. In theſe ciuill Warres were made many Truces, which was the cauſe, why ſuch as haue vvritten thereof, do not agree together in the computation of the yeares. The common opinion is, that this war laſted ſeuen yeares: but it began in the yeare, 1436. & firme peace was made and ratified in *Anno*, 1450.

*A verie long mountaine, which paſſeth from Leucadia, thorough the middle of Greece, to the Egean ſea.

Diuers alliances of the Switzers with their friendes & confederats

A yeare afrer this peace, the Abbot of S. *Gall* made alliance with foure Cantons of

of the Switzers . And the yeare following, they of *Appenzel* allyed themselues with seauen Cantons. And again, a yeare after, the Citty of Saint *Gall*, with sixe Cantons. Consequently, and in the year one thousand, foure hundred, fifty foure, the men of *Schaffouze* allyed themselues with the sixe Cantons. But I shall make better mention of these alliances heereafter, and in apter manner.

Warre by the Switzers, against Sigismond, Duke of Austria.

These alliances were no sooner made but a new warre beganne to shew it selfe, against *Sigismond* Duke of *Austria*. Pope *Pius* had excommunicated him, I know not vpon what occasion, and so incited the Switzers to warre. On the other side, the Lords of *Grandler*, brethren of *Gratz* a Towne in *Styria*, hauing bene dispoiled of their goods by *Sigismond*, desired ayde of them of Zurich, who had receyued them into the number of their Burgesses. Then the Switzers went and assaulted *Winterduer*, tooke *Rasperwill*, *Diessenow*, *Frawenfeld*, and *Turgaw*. In the end, peace was made, Anno 1460. by the meanes of *Lewes* Duke of *Bauaria*. Afterward, in the yeare, 1466. certaine Articles of peace & mutuall amity, were set downe in Writing. Two yeares after, war was renewed against the Duke of Austria, so that the Switzers led their troopes towardes the Towne of *Mulhouse*, on the Frontiers of *La Franche Comté*. This Town had made alliance with the Cantons some moneths before: and in the same yeare, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, neere to *Basile*, named *Waltzhut*, was besiedged by the Switzers.

Articles of peace set downe in writing, yet war ensued thereon againe.

In the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, seuenty foure, began the *Switzers* warre against *Charles* Duke of *Burgongne*. It grew hot, and wonderfull sharp, in the yeare seuenty sixe, for two battailes were fought, in both which the duke was vanquished; but it tooke ending at the beginning of seuenty seauen, by reason of the Dukes death, who was slaine in Lorraine. The Princes of *Austria* were the sparkes to kindle this war. For *Sigismond* Duke of *Austria*, hauing ill performed his businesse in warre, which he maintained so long a time against the *Switzers*, was constrained to agree with them, although much against his minde. In the meane while, to torment them by some other meanes, he engaged those Landes which hee helde in *La Franche Comte* (as *Montbeliard* and *Basile*, neighbors to the Switzers) to *Charles* Duke of *Bourgongn*, the most potent Prince of his time, aduenturous, and of an high hand. *Sigismond* perswaded himselfe, that (as manie times it fals out among neighbours) some difference would shortly grow betweene Duke *Charles* and the Switzers: for they had sent Ambassadours to the Duke, to pray him renew the ancient amity of the house of Bourgongne with the Switzers, and confirme the Articles of peace, not long before concluded with *Sigismond*, in so much as concerned the engaged countries. But the ambassadors could neuer gaine accesse to the Prince, in regard of their hinderance by *Hagenbach*, chiefe Minion to the Duke of Bourgongne, and established Gouernor by him ouer those countries. This *Hagenbach* was the principall fire-brand wherby to kindle this war; for he gaue many outragious words vnto the Switzers, & daily kept company with theyr enemies, as *Heudorff*, *Eptinger*, and some other Gentlemen, who had threatned the Switzers with war.

Sigismond ingaged Montbeliard & Basile to the D. of Burgundie.

Minions attending on Princes, are oftentimes firebrandes to kindle warre.

Warre of the Switzers against the D. of Burgundie.

Hee tyranized also cruelly in those pawned countries, so that the poore subiects who vvere able to performe no more, intreated most earnestly Duke *Sigismond*, their ancient Lord, to disingage them, & receiue them againe vnder his gouernement. This request vvas quickly granted them by *Sigismond*, a Prince verie benigne, and (for his facility) sir-named the Simple.

D. Sigismond, sirnamed the Simple.

But the Duke of Bourgongne desired not to purse the money againe. And on the other side, the tiranny of *Hagenbach* still increased, so that hee grevv insupportable to the people, & neighboring lords. There vvere some other thornes between the Switzers and the D. of Bourgongne: becaus *Count Ramont* being seruant vnto him, had sent away diuers chariots from them, laden vvith Hides. In the mean vvhile, King *Lewes* the eleuenth, vvho desired not greatly the Dukes life, and had prooued (neere to Basile) the valour of the Switzers horsemen, made alliance vvith them. And although himself vvould not meddle vvith the vvarre, yet he could vvhet on the Switzers, and (by vnderhand trickes) furnish them vvith money, to the end that necessity should not inforce any pacifi-

The Switzers wer not voyde of oppressors.

pacification. He accorded *Sigismond* likewise with the Switzers, and made an Alliance betweene them. Soone after, *Rene* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Strasbourg*, and *Basile*, with theyr Byshoppes; *Colmar*, *Selestad*, *Montbeliard*, and some other cities, ioyned themselues likewise into this confederacy.

Hagenbach had the wages due vnto his villany and oppresion: & so may all other speede, that abuse their Princes.

During this time, *Hagenbach* was taken in a place, named *Brissac*, and the D. of *Austria* hauing consigned the money at Basile, for which hee had engaged his countries, re-entred vpon possession of them, and (by sentence) caused *Hagenbach* to be condemnd, and his head publikely smitten off. Contrarywise, Duke *Charles* made warre vppon the byshop of *Cologne*, pretending, that the Prouostes Office, or protection of the Byshopprick appertained to him; and therefore planted his siedge before *Nuss*, aboue *Cologne*. The Emperor *Fredericke*, accompanyed with the Empires forces, encamped nere vnto him, to fight with him. And, according to right and maiesty of the Empire, sent vnto the Switzers and their confederates, to assault (on their side) the Duke of Bourgongne, that his forces might be broken and scattered. But immediately after, hee shewed himselfe to bee of the house of *Austria*, and (consequently) an enemy to the Cantons. For so soone as the Switzers were entered into Bourgongne, and had won a battel, and taken some Townes, hee made peace vvith the Duke of Bourgongne, wherein the Princes of the Empire were comprized, and the Townes which had succored the Emperour in this warre. But the confederats were excluded, to wit, Duke *Sigismond*, Duke *René*, the Cantons, and the forenamed Townes.

Hatred & enmity of great persons, do last a long time.

Duke *Charles*, beeing deliuered from the warre which he had against the Emperor and the Germaines: turned all his forces vpon the Switzers, and theyr Allies. There were some encounters on either side: but the very greatest effortes and valour, shewed themselues in three battailes, whereat the Duke himself was present in person. The first was fought at *Granson*, neere to the Lake of Yuerdun. which (at this day) is called the Lake of *Newcastle*. This Towne had bene taken by the Switzers, and re-taken againe by them vpon composition: neuertheless,

That Duke sirnamed the Terrible, felte at length the trueth of this sentence; Shame & destruction doe alwaies folow after pride, close at the heeles.

the Duke of Bourgongne (contrarie to his promise) hanged and drowned the Souldiers of his Garrison; but (soone after) hee receiued wages answerable vnto his owne perfidie and cruelty, the Switzers ouercomming him in a fielde of battaile. True it is, that then he lost not many of his men, for the Cauallerie sustayned, and meerely couered the Infantery beeing broken and disordered, and the Switzers had not their Horsemen there, because they came not at a conuenient time: yet notwithstanding, the Duke of Bourgongne lost his baggage, wherein hee had great store of Riches and Treasure.

The battell that was fought at Granson.

Then afterwardes, there was another battaile fought at *Morat*, neere to *Berne*: the Switzers (after a great ouerthrow of their enemies) wonne the day, and it is sayde, that eighteene thousand *Bourguignons* lay slaine in the fielde; and to this day, there is still to be seene huge heapes of dead mens bones, as a credible Testimony of that victory.

The battell fought at Morat.

The third battaile, was fought before *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, besiedged by the duke of Bourgongne: but the Switzers sent in succour vnto the Duke *Rene* of *Lorraine*, (who had sixe hundered men at Armes, well neere all Frenchmen well prouided) eight thousand foot, and the other confederates three thousande more. With all these forces Duke *René* gaue battell to *Charles*, who had many more to attend him: neuertheless, he was ouercome, & (in flight) slaine by the Switzers, and so (with him) dyed all this warre. A yeare after, the Switzers passed the * *Leopontine* Alps, which mountaine is now called S. *Godard*, & went to giue battell to the D. of *Millain*, in a place named *Iornico*. The occasion of the war, was, because the inhabitants of the valley towardes *Iornico*, subiects to the Canton of *Vri*, complaind of diuers outrages doone them by theyr neighbours, who molested and troubled them in the vse and possession of certaine Forrests. The Switzers Ambassadours, being vnable to reconcile this difference, the men of *Vri*, craued succour of theyr confederates, and ledde their Armie to *Bellizona*. But because they could not besiedge it in regard of the winter: they leste sixe hundered men in Garrison at *Iornico*, which is not farre from thence.

The battell fought at Nãcy, wher duke Charles of Burgundie was slaine.

*Lepontii, people of the Alpes, next to the Salassi.

War vndertaken by the Switzers, against the D. of Millaine.

These two places are vpon the *Tesinus*, a Riuer passing thwart the Lake *Maior*, and so goes to *Pauia*.

They of Millaine goe against the Switzers, and a battaile is fought.

The *Millaineses* came in great troops, to set vpon the Garrison of the *Switzers*, which being shut vp in the straites of the Mountaines; the more speedily and easily slew fourteene hundred of them, and chased the rest quite out of the Valley. This battaile was fought about the third day of Nouember, 1478. And in the Moneth of December following, by the intermise of the King of *France*, peace was made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, & the *Switzers*. In the same yeare, Pope *Sixtus* made alliance with the *Switzers*, and beside other priuiledges, he gaue thē also strong pardons. Two yeares after, the *Switzers* sent seuen thousand men, to aide King *Lewes* the eleuenth, according to the tenour of the alliance before contracted. But they hauing passed so farre as *Chaalous*, the King (who had obtained the height of his enterprise) hauing then no occasion elsewhere to imploy them; sent them backe againe with very good recompences: where-with many of them were so earnestly allured, that they stroue among themselues, who should first take pensions or wages of the French.

Pope Sixtus allyeth with the Switzers, & giues them large pardons

The yeare after, they of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, made a particular alliance, because they conceiued that their associates had carried themselues inhumanely on their behalfe, in the warre against the Duke of *Bourgongne*. For the forenamed cities and townes had bin at great charges, as well for conduct of their victuals, as also the carriage of the Artillery: moreouer, they furnished more people, then the other cantons did. Neuertheless, when they shold diuide the spoile and booty, which was very great and rich; the cantons that had defraied nothing, neither brought any such number of men, tooke their part of the booty by equall portion. In regard of which iniury (as they pretended it) and some other light offences; these cities and townes, desiring to prouide particularly for their owne affaires; allied themselues onely together. But the other cantons were heereat greatly offended, especially, they of *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderuald*: maintaining, that it was not lawfull for the Lucernians, to make any new alliance without their knowledge and consent.

The seedes of warre among the Switzers, quite smothered by means of a Hermit.

A particular combination of some Cantons by themselues from the rest.

This matter was debated diuers daies together, in a Councell holden at *Stantz* in *Vnderuald*; and finally by the meanes of an Hermit, named *Nicholas* of *Vnderuald* (who was then in verie great authority among the Switzers, by their resolued opinion of him, that hee was a holie man) the parties were accorded to conditions, to witte; That the fore-named Townes should depart from that nouell alliance, and altogether (by a common consent) should agree on causes then debated; as that *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*, should bee receiued into the number of the Cantonnes of *Swetia*, so that there should be tenne Cantons: And because the former eight (which were and are called the olde Cantons, because they allyed themselues together before the other) had made a bodie of a Commonwealth together of the Switzers, for the space of sixe score and fiue yeares, or thereabout; I will heere set downe a Summarie of the articles of the alliances which those olde Cantons made, and of that which was subscribed vnto at *Stantz* by a common consent among the Cantons.

Conditions concluded on by the Hermit and Cantons, for a generall contentment.

A briefe Summary, of the Alliances and Confederations made betweene the 8. ancient Cantons of Swetia.

The first Article of the leagues, concerneth mutuall succours, and publike affairs

THe principall & first Chapter or Article of the leagues and alliances, doth concern the aide and succour which one ought to giue another, against such as wrongfully shall assayle them: wherein all thinges are verie well ordered, gouerned by equity, and according to reason. For, to the end that no warre may be lightly mooued, and vpon small or slender occasions; It is first of all ordained, that the Cantons which are offended, shall make knowne the merite of the cause to the Councell in generall for that Canton established. And then, if it do appeare, that offence and out-rage is done, it may demaund succour and assist-

Concerning the alliance of Glaris.

sistance.

In some other alliances, namely, that of *Glaris*, this knowledge is deferred to other allyed Cantons. After that the equity of the cause hath appeared, & the outrage receiued: the Canton interressed, may require the Confederates to come and helpe it. In the interim, the Cãton may not make recourse to whom it liketh best; but onely to that vvhich is allyed to it in some especiall manner. For (as I haue hitherto shewne) euery one of the Cantons is not allyed with all the other. In the first place, concerning them of Zurich, allyed by antiquity with six of the cheefest Cantons; they may demand ayde of all those sixe. Since then, they made alliance with them of Berne: and so (by consequent) they are bound likewise to giue them assistance, being therto required. The Bernishmen may call vnto their assistance, them of Vri, Suites, and Vnderuald, by reason of ancient alliance: and they (reciprocally) may cal to their ayde, and for their other confederats the Canton of Berne. But by reason of the new league, they of Zurich and Berne, must require ayde one of another. The Lucernians (in times of necessitie) may haue recourse to the men of Zurich, Vri, Suits, Vnderuald, and Zug. They of Vri, Suits, and Vnderuald, may call all the other Cantons. And they of Zug haue the same right as the Lucernians, that is, to require aide from the Cantones of Zurich, Vri, Suits, Vnderuald, and Lucerna. They of Glaris, haue recourse vnto the Cantons of Zurich, Vri, Suits, & Vnderuald.

Euery Canton is not allied with al the rest.

Vri, Suits, and Vnderuald.

The Lucernians in their necessity.

Now, although that all haue not their rights alike heerein; yet notwithstanding if one *Canton* require one or two of his allies to come and succour him: all the *Cantons* must assemble together, because they which are first called, shall giue aduertisement to the other. But, aboue all things, they shal send their Ambassadors to the Chappell of the Hermitage, or to a place named *Kienholtz*, and if question bee made of an acte, which concerneth the men of Berne: they must aduise altogether (by all meanes) to appease the difference in friendly manner, or according vnto right, or (if it may not so bee done) how they may assuredly giue succour. Their alliance speaketh expressely, that such as are called vnto assistance, shall not vse any fraude or deceit, neither any friuolous or vaine excuse, but to assist with all their power.

All the Cantons haue not their rights alike.

No fraud or excuse to bee vsed in giuing succour.

And because it may so happen, that a Canton shall bee so sodainly assayled at vnawares, as the enemy may stoppe all the passages, and so (by consequent) the *Canton* can compasse no meanes of craving succour, neyther by Letters or Ambassages. For this it is prouided and expressely ordained, that in such a case, and when most neede is of speedyest helpe: al the confederate *Cantons*, shall assist with all their forces, euen as if they had beene (by name) called thereto. In the alliance with them of Berne, it is ordained; That if the enemie assault the higher countrie, the confederates shall make spoile on the other, vpon the Landes of the enemie: thereby to scatter his forces. And the same to bee done in the higher countrey, if the enemie intrude vppon the lower. They that are called to succour, shall come at their owne expences, and without any wages. Onely in the alliance of Berne, with Vri, Suites, and Vnderuald, mention is made of Wages, Namely, of a *Sol Tournois* (each day) for euerie man on foote. Neuertheless, if the Warre be in the countrey of *Ergow*, then they of Berne shall pay nothing. But there is a Village or Hamlet, neere vnto the first Lake of the Riuer *Ar*, which is called *Vndersee*: beyonde which, such foote Souldiours as come to assist the one or other partie, shall receiue that aforesaid Wages.

When any Canton shall be sodainly or vnawares assaulted by the enemie, and when no help can be required.

Aide on theyr own expence, and without wages, or else what wages is to be receiued

If the warre last of any continuance, and that they must besiedge and batter some Towne, Village, or Castle, and the same is fully concluded and agreed vppon, by common consent and aduice of the Cantones: then that Canton, in whose fauour, and on whose limites, the Towne or Castle of the Enemie is besiedged, shall pay onely the charge and expences, as well for munition, pouder, conuoy of Artillerie, Pionners, as all other things necessarie and requisite in a batterie. Neuertheless, if the Warre bee vndertaken, not onelie in the name of one cãton, but ỹ vnder name of the Switzers whole Commonwealth:

For a warre of long lasting, and besieging or battering Townes, or Castles.

then they shal euery one pay their shares alike.

Of wrong done to the whole Nation, or in particular in places farre distant.

Likewise it comes to passe many times, that some such as dwel far off from *Swetia*, doth offer wrong to the whole Nation, or to one part in particular; in the meane time, no knowledge is had how to pursue this warre, eyther because the enemy is too farre distant, or keepeth no certaine abiding, where he may bee dealt withall. For such, it is ordained, that if (by any occasion) they, their goods, or any of their complices can bee apprehended on the lands of one of the Cantons: hand shall be laid on them, & they constrained to satisfie them whom they haue offended. Finally, to preuent & hinder, that none shall abuse, or be abused by the *Switzers* Soldiers, leading them whether they list: in many alliances, the limits wherein some stand bound to succour other, are prescribed and determined. The limits are partly to the Cantons confines, according to their extendure foorth, or a little more further out: but they may not passe the ancient bounds of *Swetia*.

Orders for the Soldiours of the Switzers.

The second Article concerneth publike controuersies.

The second Chapter or Article, is touching publike differences or controuersies, between two Cantons or more. Forasmuch as it cannot be otherwise, but the very best friends and confederates, may sometimes haue cause to disioyne & sunder: our predecessors did deuise, to stay the consequence of such differences, to wit, that no warre should follow, as fearing leste alliance and kindnesse might thereby perish, & vtterly be broken. First then it is ordained, that the other Cantons shall send their Ambassadours, to take order, that the variance may amiably be ended, or according to right, and it is established to be administred in manner following. Each party shall chuse two Iudges of his owne Canton, to whom they shall promise by oath, that without any affection or loue to their country, they will iudge on the difference. To these foure Iudges, a fift must bee added, named Vnipire or Superarbitrator: who is elected sometimes by the Iudges, and sometimes by the parties. If the one canton will not vndergo iudgement, nor suffer his right to bee examined: the other cantons stand bound by alliance, to succour him that consents, that the controuersie should bee ended by the Arbitrators.

Iudges chosen to heare and define variations, and a Superarbitrator added to them.

The third Chapter or Article, concerneth alliances. The foure first Cantons do determine, that it is not lawfull for any one among them (without the will & consent of the other; to bind themselues by Oath, or make alliance with any, whosoeuer it is. Likewise, in the alliance of *Glaris*, it is saide, that they may not make any alliance or confederacie, without consent of the other Leaguers. For otherwise, the other Cantons may reserue to themselues, the liberty and authoritie of making new alliances, yet leauing (in meane while) the ancient stil in ful force. They kept also the freedome, for increasing and diminishing their alliances, by a publike and common consent. And ordained in like manner, that these alliances might bee renewed by writing, or by word of mouth, and to bee confirmed by Oath, if neede required, from fiue or ten to an hundred yeares. If this might not bee done commodiously, yet notwithstanding, they were to be obserued firmly.

The third article touching alliances, and beginning with the foure first Cantons.

Liberty to augment and lessen leagues and alliances.

In the fourth place, are added exceptions; because certaine Cantones, which anciently did concerne the Empire; as *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderuald*, excepted the Empire, and the rightes thereof, from which they pretended no derogation by this alliance, in any manner whatsoeuer.

Lucerna and *Zug*, excepted the rites of the Duke of *Austria*. By the alliance of *Glaris*, are excepted all rights and deuoires due vnto lawfull Lords and Magistrates. Likewise, in all these confederations, are excepted the ancient alliances, rights, priuiledges, and customes of the Cantons, together with their Castles, Villages, and Hamlets: so that those rights remaine sound and intire to euerie one.

The fourth Article speaketh of exceptions to bee obserued in the alliances.

Now, although the other Chapters and Articles are not of any such importance; yet notwithstanding, they tend to maintenance & conseruation of peace and quietnesse. There is one for the punishing of homicides or Men-killers. Hee that killeth any one of the Confederates, shall loose his head; except hee can make good proofe, that hee did it in defence of his owne bodie, and for safetie

For punishment of homicides and banished persons, in their seuerall qualities of offence.

safety of his life. Whosoeuer shalbe condemned and banished from his Canton, shall stand banished and excluded also from the countries of the other Cãtons: and whosoeuer lodgeth or assisteth anie such person, shall be guilty and punished in some other nature.

Concerning debts, pawnes matrimony, & known vsury.

There is another Article, which prohibiteth the exacting or vrging of names to wit, if any Lay-man attempt to pay himselfe in his debtes, by the name or meanes of Iudges of the Church: onely causes Matrimoniall, and manifest Vsury, are to be referred, and sent to the Court for the Church. No man shall exact a pawne of any one, except of his debter, or him that standeth pledge for him. Neither shall he receiue pawnes of his owne priuate authority, but by consent of the Iudge. No one shall engage himselfe for another man.

Of iudgments and not standing to the award and censure.

Concerning iudgements, it is ordayned, that each man may haue, & assigne his Iudge. He that shall not appeare according to the assignation, but falleth into default, and interresseth the contrarie party by his absence, shall pay his charges. Causes shall be pleaded in the Audience Hall of the Canton, where the acte makes mention of the deed doing. Iustice is to be done without fraude or deceite. And euerie man shall content himselfe with the iudgements, Lawes, and customes of the Canton, where his cause is pleaded.

Matters too largely dilated, do manie times breed offence.

Although that these Articles, and other such like, may seeme to bee of small consequence: yet notwithstanding, because thereby (oftentimes) great debates do arise, yea, warres with our alliances, in discoursing them distinctly & at large, it contents me (for mine owne part) that I haue thus breefely & summarily toucht them.

The Tenor of the Arrest or Agreement made at Stantz.

The first Article is for pacification of wars that may happē among the Cantons, and of differences betweene particular persons.

FIrst, we ordaine, that no one of the eight Cantons, either by it selfe, or aided by others shall enterprize to make war on any one of the said Cantons, or any other ioyned there-with in this alliance. Neither shal offer anywrong to their bodies, goods, Townes, Countreyes, or people, nor robbe or despoile them of any thing to them appertaining. If any one of the eight Cantons shall do otherwise (which God forbid) and outrage any of the other. To the end it may bee remedied, and order giuen, that our alliance may remaine firme, so that wee may liue together in peace like Bretheren: all the other Cantons shall ranke themselues with that which is offended, and conserue the rights thereof, in good faith, and without any fraud. And if some particular person, or many together, shal doe wrong or iniurie vnto some other particular body: that then speedily, and without any contradiction, they shall be chastised by their Magistrate (in vvhat place soeuer it is) according to the quality of the offence, and as they haue deserued.

Of insolencies committed on the iurisdictions of other men.

Neuertheless, if any one shall commit such insolences vpon the iurisdiction of another, and moue it to be troubled, answere may bee made him in the very same place, and he iustly punished, according to the right and custom of the country.

The 2. Article concerneth assemblies or Conuenticles without knowledge & consent of the Magistrate.

Secondly we say, that hence-forward, none shall attempt to make anie assembly, and therein to purpose anie thing whatsoeuer (either secretly or publikely) in the Cities, Townes, or Countries of *Swetia*, whereby any damage or danger may ensue, without making it first knowen, and with the consent of the Lordes of that Canton. Whosoeuer swerueth, and endeuoureth to make any such assembly, or shall fauour it, either by worde or deede, shall bee chastised by the Magistrate, according to the exigence of the act, and that without the least hindrance or delay.

For disobedience to Magistrates, or infringing their orders and decrees.

In like manner, and by common consent, we expressely ordaine, that (honour and oath reserued) it shall not be lawfull for any one, to excite the subiects of any Canton, to do any thing derogatorie, to the obedience due to the Magistrate, or mooue the people to any disobedience or reuolt. And if the subiects of any one of the Cantons, shall bee rebellious against the commandements thereof: that then the other Cantons shall succour it faithfully, and reforme those subiectes to their duties, according to the agreement of our alliances.

The third Article concerneth the Military discipline of the Cantons, answerable to that of Sempach.

Thirdly, because that after the battell of *Sempach*, our Ancestors resolued vpon some ordinances, concerning matter of warre: it seemed good to vs, to explicate in this agreement, that which is perpetuall, euen the principall Article of those ordinances, and in regard of our selues and our successors, to set it downe as followeth. If one Canton or more, do bring an Army into the field, marching with colours displayed against the enemy: all they that march vnder those colours, must continue together for the fight, as honest men ought to do. And according to the example of our Ancestours, what necessity soeuer is enforced, be it to fight in ranged battaile, in skirmish, or otherwise, how short or long soeuer the time be: it is to be carried according to the orders Military, made after the day of *Sempach*.

The fourth Article concerneth matters of contracts passed long ago by our Ancestors

In the fourth place, we haue ordained, that those contracts passed long time since, by our Ancestours, as concerning Ecclesiasticall persons, and other things, in the yeare, one thousand, three hundred and seuenty; shall bee obserued inuiolably, firmly, and from point to point. And to the end, that the memory thereof may be perpetuall, at al such times as our alliances may be renewed by oath: those two transactions and ordinances, concerning affaires of warre and Ecclesiasticks, together with this amiable agreement, shall be publikely read, among and with the Articles of alliances. But to the end, that yong men, and they of meaner yeares also, may the better remember our alliances, and obserue them the more faithfully; we haue agreed, that heereafter (from fiue yeares to fiue yeares) the alliances shall be renewed throughout all the Cantons, by oath, which shall bee giuen for this effect.

For yong men and they of vnder age.

The fift Article concerneth booties conquered in warre, & the ransomes of prisoners.

Finally, we haue accorded, that when any warre happeneth, all the booty conquered from the enemy, and those sums payed by prisoners for their ransomes: shall be distributed (by equall portions) among the number of Soldiers, which the Cantons or Townes haue in the Army. But the Cities, Townes, Castles, Countries, passages, anuall reuenewes, iurisdictions, and other things of the same nature, though conquered in warre, shall be equally parted or diuided among the Cantons, according to their ancient custome. If we permit any of these things to be bought or solde to any; the money paide, or arising thereby, shall be distributed among the Cantons by equall portions.

The reason of making and publishing this amiable agreement so generally abroad.

We haue determined and published this louing agreement, and in this manner, that all such as haue or shall carry Armes with vs, all Subiects, cittizens, inhabitants, confederates, and parties ioyned with vs, may haue their iust portion in the booties. But as for Cities, Towns, Castles, Countries, men, reuenewes yearly, iurisdictions, ports, and conquered passages: such things doe belong to the Cantons onely. We make exception in this accord, of our perpetuall alliances, intending that nothing thereof shall bee infringed; but that this present transaction shall be inuiolably maintained, yea, faithfully and without any fraud, for the confirmation and manutention of our alliances.

Fribourg and Solleurre receiued into the number of the Cantons, making them ten.

This Arrest was ratified with the consent of all, in the yeare, 1481. in the house for particular alliances of our Townes: And by common accord, they of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, were receiued into the number of the Cantons. And then the common-wealth of the *Switzers* (for the space of twenty yeares) stood composed of ten Cantons; whereto consequently, *Basile* and *Schaffouze*, and then *Appenzell* were added. But before we speake of their alliances, wee must say somewhat as concerning *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*: then will we summarily declare, what they did, after their receiuing into alliance.

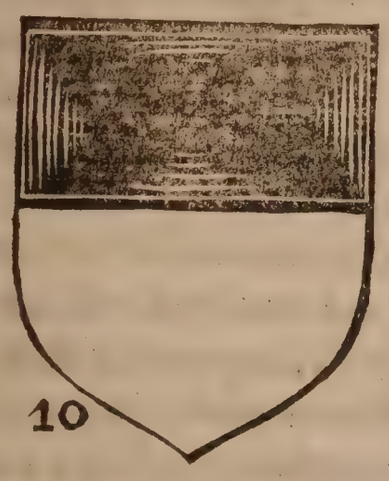
CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Towne of Fribourg; who was the first Founder thereof: And how it came into league and alliance with the Cantons.

The originall of the Towne of Fribourg.

FRibourg is a Towne, seated vpon the Riuer of *Sana*, builded by *Berthoull*, fourth of that name, Duke of *Zeringen*, some few yeares before *Berne*. These two Townes maintained themselues long time in amity: but after the Dukes death, *Berne* became subiected to the Empire, and *Fribourg* fell into the hands of the Counts of *Kybourg*, that dwelt at *Bourgdorff*, which was the cause, that (by succession of time) they forsook their affection to them of *Berne*. First of all, they were present in the warre with *Godfrey*, Count of *Kybourg*, against the Bernians. Soone after, their friendship was renewed againe, but yet with this exception, that if the Lords of *Fribourg* were at discord with Berne; the *Fribourgers* might follow their Lords part, without any preiudice to that louing accord. Some short while after, the Count solde



Fribourg to *Raoul*, King of the Romanes, and from thence forward, about the space of two hundred years it remained vnder the dominion of *Austria*. During which time, the *Fribourgers* beeing conducted and commanded by them of *Austria*, were present in many fought battailes, giuen to the Bernians at *Loupen*, at *Schonenberg*, and elsewhere. Againe, afterward they renewed (diuers times) their ancient alliance and amity, with the men of Berne.

Fribourg sold to the King of the Romans.

The perpetuall alliance made betweene the Fribourgers and the men of Berne.

In the yeare 1403. after they had bin tormented (in many kindes) by Noblemen, they contracted a perpetuall alliance with the Bernians: and yet notwithstanding, continued subiects to them of *Austria*. This amity endured forty fiue yeares, at the end whereof, warre being moued betweene the Prince of *Sauoye*, and the *Fribourgers*: they of Berne followed the faction of the Prince of *Sauoye*, to whom they had beene allied, and stood friends a long time. There were some courses on eyther side, and a battaile fought neere to *Griertz*, wherein the *Fribourgers* had the worst. The yeare after, the Ambassadours to the King of France, of the Duke of Bourgongne, and of the Cantons, made a peace. And the yeare following, *Albert* of *Austria* being come to *Fribourg*; some certaine men of the Towne complotted with him, to make warre vpon the Bernians. Matters grew on so forward, that there was some apparance of sedition, and one was ready to run vpon another: if the men of Berne (by a singular prouidence and addresse) had not appeased the commotion, by the sending of their Ambassadors.

The diuers deportments and carriage of the Fribourgers.

The enemies of peace put themselues formost into the greatest danger.

Albert perceiuing that *Fribourg* fauoured the Cantons, and leaned to that side, and that the citizens, who enioyed the priuiledges of their Ancestors, obeyed not entirely to what he commanded them, and that oftentimes (according to their alliance) they followed them of Berne, and went in warre with the Cantons: he began to lose all hope of remaining any longer Master of the Towne. For this cause, the cheefe Master of his household came to *Fribourg* (sent by the Prince, as some say) where he caused instantly to be noysed through the Towne; that the Prince wold very suddenly come thether, how soone he knew not. Heerevpon, he borrowed and got together, all the siluer Vessels, Tapistries, and such like costly mooueables, to adorne that house in the Towne, where it was saide that the Prince should alight and lodge. But (by vnder-hand meanes) the Master of the household, caused those goods to be secretly transported out of the towne.

Albert seeing he shou'd lose Fribourg before he could quit it, taketh the latter hand or course.

The day beeing come, of the Princes appointment to be there, he rode foorth with his horsemen, as it were to meet his Master, accompanied with the worthiest men of the Towne. Being farre enough off, no Prince came; but only such horsemen as he had sent before, to attend the Master of the housholde, and the charge he had. When they were come into a place of security, he saide to them of *Fribourg*,

A cunning tricke of the Master of the household.

bourg, who rode in his company to honour the Prince, that for the confidence they repoſed, in their league made with the men of Berne, and combined amity with the Cantons: they were rebels to the Prince, and therefore it ſtood with reaſon and iuſtice, that the Prince ſhould get what he could from them: as namely, the ſiluer veſſels, and the other goods brought from the Towne.

Speaking theſe words, hee galloped away with his traine to meete the Prince with the ſpoiles of *Fribourg*. But the cittizens, beeing thus vnworthily handled, made a far ſtricter alliance with the Bernians, and ioyned themſelues alſo with the confederates, vpon certaine conditions. So that during the warre againſt the Duke of Bourgongne, the Cantons ſent a thouſand men for Garriſon into *Fribourg*. And the *Fribourgers* likewiſe, were preſent in the battailes with their confederates, againſt the Duke of Bourgongne, carrying themſelues very valiantly in that warre. Afterward, they were receiued (with them of *Solleurre*) into the nũber of the Cantons, as heereafter we ſhal tell you.

There is nothing gained by goods ill gotten, and loſing the harts & obedience of ſubiects.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Citty of Solleurre, being one of greateſt name in Swetia.

The originall and antiquity of Solleurre.

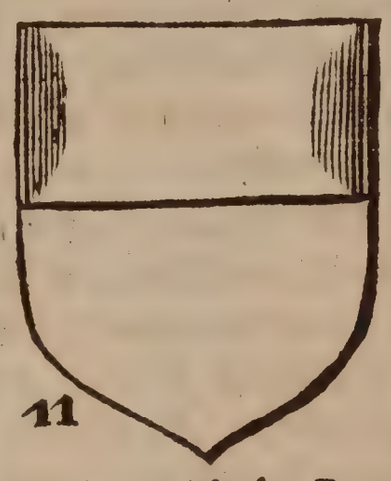
Solleurre is one of the moſt ancient cities or townes in all *Swetia*. It is called by many, the Siſter of *Treuers*, which was builded (as the ancient Annals doe make mention) in the time of *Ninus*. The olde Romane inſcriptions, which are yet to bee ſeene at *Solleurre*, do teſtifie the antiquity of the citty. But by the warres and courſes of the *Allemaignes*, *Hunnes*, and *Franconians* in *Gaule*, vpon the declination of the Romane Empire; *Solleurre* was ruined, as many other cities and townes were in like manner. But after that the *Franconians* became Lords & Maſters, it was rebuilded, and yeelded in ſubiection to the Biſhop of *Geneua*. For it is ſaid, that in the Church or Temple of S. *Victor*, neere to *Geneua*, theſe words are found written.

Acta ſunt hæc regnante Domitiano, Epiſcopo Geneuenſi, quo tempore etiam Caſtrũ Salodorenſe Epiſcopatus Geneuenſi ſubditum erat, &c.

Theſe things were made and done, in the time of *Domitian*, Biſhop of *Geneua*: during which time, the Caſtle of *Solleurre* was ſubiect to the Biſhop of *Geneua*, &c.

Solleurre numbred among the Imperiall cities.

In the times of the *Allemaigne* or *Germane* Emperors, *Solleurre* was daily numbred with the Imperiall cities & townes: yet (notwithſtanding) in ſuch ſort, as the colledge of the chanons enioyed the principal priuiledges and franchiſes. And it is ſaide, that they haue the ſame righrs as the chanons of *Zurich*.



The Dukes of Suaba, Gouernors of Solleurre.

The Dukes of *Suaba* were Prouoſts or Gouernours of this citty, as likewiſe of other Imperiall towns in *Swetia*. They of *Solleurre* (in auncient times) made an alliance with the Bernians, I cannot well tell in what yeare; but ſince that time, the two cities haue borne good and loyall amity together. And (almoſt) in all the warres the Bernians had: the men of *Solleurre* euermore ſuccoured them with happy ſucceſſe.

The men of Solleurre excommunicated by the Pope, for taking part with the true Emperor.

Vpon the contention moued betweene *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Auſtria*, which ſhould be Emperor of them both: they of *Solleurre* tooke part with *Lewes*, by which occaſion, the Pope excommunicated them, and then they were afterward beſiedged by the Duke of *Auſtria*. But they of Berne ſent them foure hundred men for their Garriſon. Moreouer, they had warre againſt the Count of *Kybourg*, who wonne a battaile of thẽ, by treaſon of one of their cittizens. Finally, in the yeare, one thouſand, three hundred, fifty and one, they made a perpetuall alliance with them of Berne, & continued alwayes good friends with the other Cantons. So that after the warre of *Auſtria*, wherein *Leopold* was ſlaine; they made peace and alliance with the houſe of

Solleurre rebuilt and ſubiected to the Biſhop of Geneua.

of *Auſtria*. But it was vpon thoſe ſame conditions, that the other Cantons, with whom they were ioyned in letters and contracts of alliance; by generall and common aduice, ſhould eſtabliſh and ſweare them together in the Military ordinances. Then after that the war againſt the Duke of Bourgongne was ended, wherein they deliuered true teſtimony of proweſſe and valour, in the iudgement of all men; they were accepted and receiued (with them of *Fribourg*) into the nũber of the Cantons.

Their receiuing into the number of the Cantons.

CHAP. X.

Of the Switzers wars againſt them of Millaine; againſt the Venetians; and at the conqueſt of Naples.

THE men of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, being admitted into ranke with the Cantons; the *Switzers* made theſe warres enſuing. In the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, eighty and ſeuen; *Iuſtus de Sillim*, Biſhop of *Sion*, leuied an Army of *Valachians* and *Switzers*, which he led beyond the Alps, againſt the Duke of *Millaine*. But the iſſue of that voyage was vnfortunate, becauſe the Duke ouerthrew them: ſo that they were enforced to returne home againe to their owne houſes, after they had loſt very many of their men.

War made by the Switzers, againſt the Millaineſes.

The yeare following, the *Switzers* ſent ſuccour (according to the tenour of their alliance) to *Sigiſmond*, Duke of *Auſtria*, againſt the *Venetians*. And then afterward, they were in pay with the King of *France*, *Charles* the eight, who had renewed the alliance, which his Father made with the *Switzers*. They were firſt in *Bretaigne*, where the King won a great victory againſt the Duke, at Saint *Aubin*. Then againe in *Italy*, when *Charles* conquered the kingdome of *Naples*. And at *Fornoüe*, when hee gaue battaile to the Princes of *Italy*, that were leagued againſt him. In all theſe warres, the *Switzers* did good and faithfull ſeruice vnto the King.

Succour ſent againſt the Venetians.

They ſerued the King of France for pay, in many places.

In the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, & ninety, another ciuill warre kindled it ſelfe in *Swetia*. The Abbot of S. *Gall* had begun to build a new Abbey at *Roſack*. The cittizens of S. *Gall*, they of *Appenzell*, and the ſubiects to the Abbot (partly moued by a kinde of deuotion, as vnwilling that the bones and reliques of S. *Gall*, ſhould be carried any where elſe; and partly alſo for their owne profit, fearing leſte the packs of linnen cloth (which grew to great gaine among them) ſhould be tranſported to *Roſack*, conſpired together, and at vnawares, went out in Arms, and ioyning together in troopes, went to beate downe the new building, which was not (as then) fully finiſhed. The Abbot not a little moued with this iniury, called the foure Cantons, wherto he was allied, to aide him. The ſixe other Cantons, mediatours for peace, exhorted thẽ of S. *Gall*, to decide this difference with the Abbot, by courſe of right in law. But becauſe the confederates alledged, that great wrong was done them, in building a new Abbey, and (by that means) aboliſhing their ancient priuiledges; therefore conſequently, they had iuſt occaſion to vndertake Armes, and wold not haue it debated in iuſtice. The foure Cantons with ſome other people of their allies, brought their troopes to *Turgaw*: but this warre was appeaſed without blowes. For firſt of all, they of *Appenzell* made peace with the *Switzers*, who took from them the Valley of *Rheguſce*. Then afterward, the citty of S. *Gall* being beſiedged, peace was made betweene the cittizens & the *Switzers*; by the means of *George*, Count of *Sargans*, *Gaudentius*, Count of *Metſch*, and the Lords of *Conſtance*. In like manner, the ſubiects to the Abbot were reconciled, after each one had paide his fine.

Strife about the bones and reliques of S. Gall, & the building of a new Abbey.

The Abbot craueth aide of foure Cantons.

The war vndertaken of S. Gall.

A war ended, and neuer a blow ſmitten.

Some ſhort while after, followed the laſt warre againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, which the *Switzers* called, the warre of *Suaba*: the Emperor *Frederick* did ſpread the ſeeds abroad, but after his death, his Sonne and Succeſſor *Maximillian*, gathered them together. *Fredericke* had procured, that certaine Princes, Lords, and Townes ſhould make an alliance, which they tearmed, The great league of *Suaba*: and (among other matters) to oppreſſe eſpecially (as was conceiued) the liberties of the *Switzers*. The Emperour was

The laſt war againſt the houſe of Auſtria, tearmed the war of Suaba.

a great league to oppreſſe the liberties of the Switzers.

was chiefe of this league, which was beneficiall to *Germany* in one kinde: for by that meanes, the wayes were more ſafe & aſſured, theeues were taken and puniſhed, and their caſtles and places of retreat beaten to the ground. There had beene (long time before) ſome enmities betweene the *Switzers*, and ſome of their neighbours, vaſſails to the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Day by day the fire lay kindling, and the *Switzers* ſuffered inſupportable iniuries and outrages. On the other ſide, they of *Auſtria*, greeued the *Griſons* with nouell charges, and had caſt them out of their ancient poſſeſſions in ſome places.

Vpon this occaſion, and to prouide for their owne ſecurity, againſt the violence of their enemies; the *Switzers* and the *Griſons* made a perpetuall league together.

A league of the Switzers and Griſons, againſt that of their enemies.

Moreouer, King *Lewes* the twelfth, deſirous to recouer the Duchy of *Millaine*, which he auouched to belong vnto him: purchaſed the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*, who in ſuch a perillous time, thought good not to refuſe it, neyther to let ſo fit and apt occaſion ſlippe them.

Many goings and commings were betweene them, to pacifie this buſineſſe, and the parties on eyther ſide took arms, in the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, ninety nine. Many encounters they had in this warre, and the *Switzers* ſtill remained victors: except once, when they were put into route, neere to *Conſtance*.

Diuers victories of the Switzers.

But they recouered their honour againe the ſame day, hauing freſhly recollected their forces, and then giuing battaile to the enemy, enforced him to forſake the place. Moreouer, they and the *Griſons*, in eight other as great encounters as skirmiſhes, had ſtill the aduantage: as at *Mont de Lucé*, at *Treiſe*, *Harden*, *Fraſtenz*, on the plaine of *Malſa*, nere to *Baſile*, in the Forreſt *des Freres*, in the vale of *Leime*; and laſtly, at the Caſtle of *Dornech*, appertaining to them of *Solleurre*.

They of *Auſtria*, beeing tired and ſpent with ſo many loſſes, came finally to a compoſition; by the intermiſe of *Lodowicke Sforzza*, Duke of *Millaine*, who ſent thether the Vicount *Galeazzo*. And ſo peace was made, vpon this condition, that the liberties of the *Switzers* ſhould remaine in their integrity, and they were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of all thoſe places which they had taken before from them of *Auſtria*. In like manner, the iuriſdiction in criminall cauſes, at the command of *Turgaw*, which they of *Conſtance* had enioyed vntill that time, was giuen to the *Switzers*.

Behold what gaines they get, that labour to abolish the peoples liberty.

Thus you ſee the laſt warre (except that of the *Griſons* againſt *Iohn Iaques de Medicis*, Lord of *Muſs*) that the *Switzers* had to this preſent time, to maintaine the liberties of their countries, againſt the violence and force of forraigne Princes. They were afterward preſent in many other warres, and wonne renowne of beeing hardy and valiant men: but thoſe warres were made partly in Italy, partly in France, vnder authority and command, eyther of the King of France, or of Popes, or of the Dukes of *Millaine*. For immediately after the peace made with them of *Auſtria*; the Vicount *Galeazzo* began to make ſecretly a leuye of *Switzers*.

Reſt and quietneſſe doth well helpe, after long toile and labour ſpent in war.

Contrariwiſe, the King of *France* demanded ſuccour all openly, according to the tenour of the league, which was granted to him. Notwithſtanding, contrary to the will and Edicts of the leagued Lords; *Galeazzo* enrolled fiue hundred *Switzers*, by the aide of whom, together with an army of Lance-Knights, which he had got together, Duke *Lodowicke* recouered *Millaine*.

The Frenchmens beſiedging of Nouara.

Soone after that, the Frenchmen being come with a puiſſant Army to beſiedge *Nouara*, the *Switzers* that were then in Garriſon, perceiuing it to bee a place, not of defence, nor well munited, nor wherein they could any way reſiſt the enemy; agreed to depart, and repaired home to their owne country. The Duke tooke the habite of a *Switzer* Soldier, and mingled himſelfe among the reſt, onely to eſcape: but happening to be knowne and diſcouered, by a certaine man named *Turman* (who afterward was hewed in peeces) he was taken and led priſoner into *France*, and kept in the Caſtle of *Loches*. For the reſt, they do great

great wrong to the *Switzers*, that impute to the whole Nation, the faulte of one man onely. If they will charge all them that were with the Duke, becauſe (maulgre his will) they compoſed with the French: yet (for all that) they muſt not couple the whole Nation of *Switzers*, with them in that action. Conſidering, they that did the deede, were not ſent by their Cantons, to ſuccour Duke *Sforza*; but followed his faction, againſt the Edicts of their Lords. Heereto may be added, that they appeared not to be partiall, or hare-braind in the buſines, when they departed by compoſition.

One mans offence may not blemiſh a whole nation.

In the ſame yeare, when theſe things were done beyond the Mountaines; *Huldrich*, Duke of *Wirtemberg*, made an alliance for twelue yeares, with the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. In like manner, the Emperor *Maximillian* renewed the hereditary alliance, made formerly by Duke *Sigiſmond*, with the cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*. In the yeare, one thouſand, fiue hundred and one, two potent cities on the *Rhine*, namely, *Baſile* and *Schaffouze*, were ioyned to the number of the *Switzers* cantons.

Alliances of Princes made with the Switzers.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Citty of Baſile, and diuerſity of opinions, how it receiued that name: As alſo the originall and antiquity of the Citty.

THE Citty of *Baſile*, capitall & cheefeſt in the country of the * *Rauratians*, is the very greateſt of all the cities and townes in *Swetia*. It is not knowne at what time it was firſt of all built. *Amianus Marcellinus* maketh mention in his hiſtory of it, calling it *Baſilia*, and teſtifieth, that the Emperor *Gratian* erected a Fort hard by it, to bridle the courſes of the *Allemanes*. There are ſome other, who do thinke that it tooke name of *Baſilica*, Mother to the Emperor *Iulian*. *Phlegonus*, the enfranchiſed ſeruant of the Emperor *Adrian*, maketh mention of *Baſilia*, in a little Tract which he wrote of admirable things, and of people that liued long: but it is not well knowne, whether hee meaneth this citty or no, whereof we now ſpeake. But the opinion of them is moſt probable, that hold the citty of *Baſile* to take name, from one of the Romane Colonies, ſent by *Auguſtus* into the country of the *Rauracians*, before named.

*A people of Belgia, neere to the Riuer Rhene.

Opinions concerning the name of Baſile.



But *Baſile* is in the number of the free cities of the Empire, and hath obtained (for very long time) verie franke and liberall priuiledges, from the Romane Emperors. The Biſhoppricke and Vniuerſity encreaſed the renowne thereof. And as it is a neighbour to the *Switzers*, ſo hath it beene likewiſe very carefull for maintaining it ſelfe in amity, long time before it came to bee allied with them. For after the Pope had excommunicated the Emperor *Lewes* of *Bauaria* (in which caſe all *Germany* was combuſted with great troubles) they of *Baſile* made alliance, and promiſe of mutuall ſuccours, with them of the three firſt Cantons; and afterward, in the yeare, 1327. with *Zurich*, *Berne*, and many other citties and townes of *Germany*. In the yeare one thouſand, three hundred, forty fiue, they made a particular alliance (for 2. yeares) with them of *Zurich*, and then renewed it for three yeares after. Againe, in the yeare 1365. by the procurement of *Leopold*, Duke of *Auſtria*, an Army of Engliſhmen came and forraged the country of *Halſatia*, beſiedged *Strasbourg*, and threatned *Baſile* with the ſame behauior, becauſe the cittizens of the leſſer *Baſile*, engaged by the Biſhop to the Duke of *Auſtria*; would not ſubmit themſelues wholly to his will.

Baſile numbred among the free Cities of the Empire.

The men of Baſile were friends with the Switzers a long time.

Engliſhmen inuaded the Country of Halſatia, by Duke Leopolds meanes

On the other ſide, *Baſile* beeing not ſtrong for reſiſtance of an enemy, by reaſon of an earth-quake, which had caſt downe the walles and many houſes, and fire had conſumed and done as great harme: *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, and *Sollearre* ſent a ſtrong Garriſon to *Baſile*: ſo that the Engliſhmen durſt not beſiedge the citty, but retired thence, becauſe the Empe-

A ſtrong garriſon ſent to Baſile.

Katherine the Widdow to Duke Leopold.

Emperor *Charles* the fourth, alſo broght an Army againſt them. In like manner, in the warre of them of *Baſile*, againſt *Katherine* of Bourgongne, the widdow of *Leopold*, in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, and nine, the Bernians & they of *Solleurre* ſent ſuccour: the other Cantons imploying themſelues carefully, to accord them with the houſe of *Auſtria*. Moreouer, at the time of the councell of Baſile, when as *Lewes* the Dolphin of France, brought a great Army into *Germany*, to breake the councell, and made warre on the *Switzers*, by the inſtance & working of the Duke of *Auſtria*, who had procured him to come: the *Switzers* maintained and defended the citty and councell, againſt the encountering of a ſtrange enemy; as an example very remarkable, it beeing not aboue ſixteene yeares, ſince they had coaped with great troops of the French. True it is, that they all (well neere) loſt their liues there: but yet they did ſo weaken their enemies troops, that he tooke part with thē which fled faſteſt.

The Dolphin of France brought an Army into Germany.

They being thus auoyded, the men of Baſile ioyned their forces with the *Switzers*, and ſo made warre together on the Duke of *Auſtria*. In like manner, when *Charles*, Duke of Bourgongne, made himſelfe ſo terrible, and affrighted all the world, they of Baſile ioyned in alliance (for ten yeares) with *Strasbourg*, and other citties on the *Rhene*. Afterward, with *Sigiſmond*, Duke of *Auſtria*; *Renê*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and with the Cantons. In this warre they ſhewed themſelues both faithfull & valiant, for their confederates. Finally, a great warre being moued betweene the Emperour *Maximillian*, the *Switzers* and *Griſons*: they of Baſile remained neuters, without giuing ſuccour to eyther ſide, nor receiued their Garriſons; but they furniſhed them both with victuals and munition. In this war there was a battaile giuen (almoſt) againſt the walles of Baſile, afterward at *Dorneck*, where the *Switzers* wonne a faire victory ouer the enemies, whom they did beat backe to the gates of Baſile. But during all this war, the cittizens of Baſile fauoured equally both the one and other ſide. To conclude, by the diligence of *Lodouico Maria*, Duke of *Millaine*, the Ambaſſadors on both ſides met at Baſile, & peace was made betweene the Emperour and the *Switzers*.

The Basilians ioyne with the Switzers againſt the Duke of Auſtria.

War between the Emperor Maximillian, the Switzers and Griſons.

The Emperor and the Switzers no way diſtaſte the dealing of the men of Baſile in the warre.

The *Switzers* allowed well of this expedient, in the men of Baſile during this warre, and the Emperor *Maximillian* (for his part) ſeemed not to improoue it. But the Noble-men, who were deadly enemies to the Cantons, held Baſile (almoſt) in the ranke of a foe, becauſe the citty did not then ſhew it ſelfe openly, as an enemy to the *Switzers*; and not onely the ſubiects to the houſe of *Auſtria*, but many more, who till then had beene cittizens; with-drew themſelues to the Count of *Ferrara*, and about *Montbeliard*, into *Halſatia*, and to *Briſgow*, countries appertaining to them of *Auſtria*. Being in thoſe places, they ceaſſed not to outrage (both with words and deeds) the inhabitants of Baſile, who being moued with ſuch indignities; the yeare after the war ended, to wit, one thouſand, fiue hundred and one; made a perpetuall alliance with the Cantons, and ſo were left in peace with their neighbours, who ſtood in awe of the *Switzers* ſuccour.

CHAP. XII.

At what time Schaffouſe was receiued into the number of the Cantons; and the antiquity thereof.

The originall and ſcituation of Schaffouſe

Schaffouſe, accepted the very ſame yeare, to be nūbred among the cantons, is not of ſo great age and antiquity. It is ſeated on the Riuer of *Rheine*, within *Germany*, and yet notwithſtanding, the Bridge is in *Swetia*. In the time of the Emperor *Henry* the third, the Counts of *Nellenbourg* builded there an Abbey, which ſtandeth yet to this day, and it is thought, that it gaue a beginning to the cittie: as likewiſe the citties of S. *Gall*, *Lucerna*, and many more in *Germany*, haue deriued their originall from Abbeyes. The *Rheine* is alſo another cauſe of the citties encreaſing, continuing ſo for ſome thouſand of yeares ſince, beneath the citty, where

Many citties in Germany tooke their names of Abbeyes.

wherewith it is (in a manner) encloſed. It falleth downe from a very great height, with ſuch a dreadfull noyſe, and remounting vp againe into the ayre ſo vehemently, that it maketh there a continuall fogge or myſt. And for this cauſe, and the vncapableneſſe of any Boats to paſſe there, all ſuch as deſcend downe the Lake of *Conſtance*, and from *Celta* on the *Rheine*, are conſtraind to diſcharge at *Schaffouſe*; which hath beene conceiued by many, to giue that name to the Citty, to wit, of a Squiffe, or of a Boate, which the Germanes call *Skiff*, or *Schiff*, thence to be tearmed *Schaffouſe*. Neuertheleſſe, the vulgar ſort, taking vp a falſe etymologye of the word *Schaff*, which ſignifieth a Sheepe; haue grounded their opinion ſtrongly thereon, and forged Armes alſo of the ſame nature. There is a great tole or cuſtome gathered in this Citty, eſpecially for the paſſage of Salt: which appertained in ancient times, and before the foundation of the Citty, to two Noble Families, to wit, of *Turn*, and of *Stad*, which remaine yet to this day at *Schaffouſe*.

No Boates able to paſſe the water at Schaffouſe.

Concerning the name of Schaffouſe.

A great Tolle or Cuſtome for ſalt.



Schaffouſe at liberty at the firſt, but afterward alienated by the emperour.

At the beginning, the principall dominion or ſway of the City, belonged to the Abbot, who elected and choſe one halfe of the Magiſtrates; but (by little) and little) they exempted thẽſelues from his gouernement, and obtained many good priuiledges and franchiſes of the Emperors. But *Lewes* of *Bauaria* (weakened by long warres) could not pay the Duke of *Auſtria*, ſuch monies as he ought him, according to an agreement made betweene them, which cauſed him to alienate and ſell *Schaffouſe*, together with ſome other Townes, and ſo (by that meanes) it became diſmembred from the Empire. After that time, *Schaffouſe* remained ſubiect to the Dukes of *Auſtria*, for the ſpace of foureſcore and fiue years, euen vntill the councell of *Conſtance*: for then *Fredericke* of *Auſtria*, becauſe hee brought Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth out of the councell, was baniſhed by the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, who cauſed him to bee ſo narrowly purſued, that all his goods were partly pilled, and partly confiſcated to the Empire, without any other meanes of helpe.

Schaffouſe ſubiected to the Dukes of Auſtria for 85 yeares.

In this warre, *Schaffouſe* became revnited to the Empire, and the cittizens (hauing giuen a good ſumme of money, to the Emperor) obtained great priuiledges vnder Letters patents: and therein was plainly expreſſed, that (thence forward) their Citty ſhould not any more be alienated from the Empire. But *Frederick* the third, of the houſe of *Auſtria*, being Emperor: laboured to ſubiect it againe, and that the citty of *Schaffouſe* might remaine to his ſucceſſors. And therefore hee permitted Duke *Sigiſmond*, to compell the cittizens to ſweare fidelity to him; which they refuſed to doe, but with exception of their priuiledges, and they would not receiue the Princes Ambaſſadors into the citty, but vppon that condition. Contrariwiſe, the Ambaſſadors preſſed them earneſtly, to oblige themſelues to the Prince, without any exception, and propounded certaine Articles, for the maintenance whereof, they required oath: threatening the cittizens with very great harmes, if they would not yeelde to that which they demanded of them.

Schaffouſe vnited to the empire again, and great priuiledges grãted thereto.

The men of *Schaffouſe*, ſeeing the Ambaſſadors perſiſt ſtill in their opinion: to make good their owne part, receiued the Switzers Ambaſſadors into their citty, and made alliance (for ſome yeares) with them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, ſo that the Ambaſſadors of *Auſtria* returned backe, and performed iuſt nothing.

The Switzers Ambaſſadors receiued into Schaffouſe, & alliance made with them.

Before this, they of *Schaffouſe* were in good amity with the Switzers, and from the yeare, one thouſand, three hundred, forty fiue, made alliance (for ſome time) with them of *Zurich*. But becauſe they were Subiects to the houſe of *Auſtria*, againſt whom, the Switzers had (well neere) continuall warres: they could not then entertaine firmely this amity, but were compelled, to go in war againſt the Switzers, vnder the Enſignes of the *Auſtrians*. But after this laſt alliance, they were very good and faithfull friends vnto the Cantons, and bare them company in many warres and battailes. For immediately after the alliance began:

The Switzers had continuall warre againſt the houſe of Auſtria.

began: the *Auſtrians* came and aſſaulted the *Switzers*, and namely them of *Schaffouſe*.

The Cantons made war on Sigiſmond of Auſtria, by the Popes command.

It came to paſſe, that the Cantons (obeying the command of Pope *Pius*) made war with *Sigiſmond* of *Auſtria*, which being pacified, they of *Auſtria* tooke Armes againe, becauſe *Mulhouſe* and *Schaffouſe* had ioyned themſelues with the *Switzers*, who ledde a great Army to the Count of *Ferrara*, and into the quarters about *Montbeliard*. At the ſame time, *Peregrin de Hewdorff*, accuſed them of *Schaffouſe* in the Imperiall chamber of *Rotuille*, and ſollicited ſo much, that they were put to baniſhment from the Empire. Among others, he charged *Iohn* and *Conrad de Fulach*, brethren & cittizens of *Schaffouſe*; of a noble and ancient Family, who ſometimes poſſeſſed a Caſtle, neere vnto the downefall of *Rheine*, whence *Albert* of *Auſtria* had expelled them, but ſoone after they entred it againe by intelligence. In regard whereof, they & the other cittizens that maintained their iuſt quarrell, were proſcribed. In this war the Cantons ſent a good Garriſon vnto *Schaffouſe*.

The men of Schaffouſe accuſed by Peregrin de Hewdorff.

While theſe helpes and ſuccours laſted, the cittizens made diuers courſes into the lands about, appertaining to the houſe of *Auſtria*; as in the Mountaines of the black Foreſt, in *Hegow*, *Kleckgow*, and other limitrophing lands of *Suaba* and of *Baſile*. Finally, hauing laide ſiedge before *Waldshout*, which is a Towne at the entrance into the Blacke Foreſt, where the Riuer of *Ar* falleth into the *Rheine*, and which was vnder the *Auſtrian* gouernment, peace was made; wherein they of *Suaba* were exempted, & ſtood baniſhed from the Empire, at the purſuite and charges of *Sigiſmond*. Thus then the Cantons hauing experimented in theſe warres, the faithfulneſſe of them of *Schaffouſe*, and knowing well withall, what commodities they receiued from ſuch a citty, ſeated in ſo apt a place on the confines of *Swetia*; And reciprocally, the men of *Schaffouſe*, feeling themſelues to be deliuered from their enemies, by the good aſſiſtance of the *Switzers*; they thought it very expedient, both for the one ſide and the other, to prolong the alliance. And accordingly, in the yeare 1479. they made an alliance for twenty fiue yeares following: wherein were comprehended, the men of *Vri* and *Vnderuald*, with whom *Schaffouſe* (till then) had not any particular acquaintance.

Incurſions made on the Auſtrians lands, by them of Schaffouſe.

A new alliance of Schaffouſe for 25. yeares, made with the cantons.

The tenour of this alliance, is (almoſt) anſwerable to that of the ancient Cantons. For in the firſt place, they binde themſelues to aide one another. Afterward, they eſtabliſh a forme of iudgement, for reconciling or auoyding ſuch differences, as ſhould happen between them of *Schaffouſe* and the Cantons. Then followeth in what manner debts ought to be paide, & what meanes are to be vſed in ſuch caſes. Then for the puniſhment of homicides, or men-killers. The laſt Article concerneth the new & ancient alliances, to wit, the one ſide ſhall make no new alliance, without the will and conſent of the other: And that the auncient alliances ſhall alwayes be eſteemed of moſt aduantage, & to precede all the other.

A breefe of the Articles and conditions of the alliance.

After all this, the warre of *Bourgongne* hapned, and ſome yeares conſequently, that of *Suaba*, mooued by the Emperour *Maximillian*, againſt the *Switzers*. In both theſe warres, they of *Schaffouſe* did their duty exceeding well, furniſhing men and money for the weale-publike: by which meanes, they entred into the good grace of the Cantons, much more then euer they did before, and wonne great honour. Alſo, the yeare after the laſt warre, to wit, 1501. they made perpetuall alliance with the *Switzers*, and were enrolled in number of the Cantons, obtaining the 12. ranke or roome.

Schaffouſe is reckoned for the twelfth Canton.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the warres of the Switzers, ſince ſuch time as they came to be in number of the Cantons, and making them twelue.

AFter that *Baſile* and *Schaffouſe* were numbred with the cantons, and that they were 12. during the alliance which they had made with King *Lewes* the 12. in the yeare, 1503. ſome among them (in great number) went for him in the war of *Naples*, without leaue neuertheleſſe, and againſt the Edicts of their Magiſtrates. As the *Switzers* and *French* might brag of ſmall happineſſe, in the firſt warre of *Naples*,

Wars in Italy, the Frenchmé & Switzers not fortunate in the war of Naples.

Naples, vnder King *Charles* the eight: so their fortune prooued little better in this last warre. They, who (during the first warre) were left in Garrisons, in strong places and Fortresses of the Kingdome; dyed of diseases for the most part. Such as escaped in this warre, in recompence of their trauaile, brought home to their owne houses, that villainous contagion of the Pockes, which afterward was tearmed the Spanish disease, the *Neapolitane* euill, and the *French* Pocks: At the last war they were ouercome in two battailes, and lost a great number of their men. The yeare 1507. the Cantons sent succour vnto the King, who (by their meanes) made himselfe Master of the field, which the *Genewayes* had planted in a Mountaine, that commanded ouer their citty, which (soon after) yeelded it selfe.

The Spaniards brought it first out of the Indies into Christendome, & bestowed it on the French, at the siedge of Naples.

At the same time, the Emperor *Maximillian* demanded men of the *Switzers*, and they promised him a leuye of 6000. men, prouided, that he should not leade them against the King of *France*, their allie: but because he would not accept this condition, the leuye remained, and was not made.

An honorable minde in the Switzers, not to beare arms against their Allie.

Soone after, to witte, in the yeare 1509. the league of alliance betweene the King of *France* & the *Switzers*, tooke ending, and the Emperor, Pope *Iulius* the 2. the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, leagued themselues together, and made warre on the *Venetians*, wherin the *Switzers* serued the King of *France* for wages. The yeare following, Pope *Iulius* made alliance with the *Switzers*, by the meanes of *Matthew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who immediately after the alliance concluded, led sixe thousand *Switzers* into *Italy*; vnder pretence of defending the lands of the Church, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. But his true intent was, to surprize and expell the *French* out of *Millaine*. The *Switzers* hauing discouered his purpose, would not follow the Cardinall against the *French*, and their Lords had likewise forbidden them: so that the Pope sent them into *Swetia*, without paying them their wages, wherat they were very highly discontented.

The Cardinal of Sion a warriour and capitall enemy to the French

In the yeare 1511. perpetuall alliance betweene the *Switzers*, the houses of *Austria* and of *Bourgongne*, was renewed. On the other side, the Ambassadors of *France* desired the *Switzers* to renew the alliance with their King: but the most part of them were displeased, because so soone as the first alliance was expired, the King had denied them all their payes and yearely pensions.

The Switzers offended with the King of France, about their payes & pensions.

And albeit that a very great number among them, were no found well-willers or friends to the Pope, who likewise had not payed them: yet notwithstanding, fearing leste hee should excommunicate them, they durst not allie themselues with the King of *France*, who then was enemy to the Pope. Heereupon, hapned a disgrace to be done them by the *French*, for they had taken at *Lugano*, a Herauld of the *Switzers*, with letters from the Seigneury about him: first, they drowned him, and to despight the *Switzers*, the Coate of Armes, which the Heraulds and Officers to the Cantons vse to weare, they solde at open port-sale, or out-cry, as we commonly call it.

Great wrong done to an Officer of Armes.

The *Switzers*, in the very strongest of winter, led their Army ouer the Alpes, where hauing burned some Villages, they returned backe againe, without performing any other memorable deed. But the yeare following, Pope *Iulius* (who had lost a great battaile at *Rauenna*, at encountring there with the French) called them to helpe him, and therefore they sent into Italy, an Army of twenty thousand mē. They beeing ioyned with the *Venetians* (then reconciled to the Pope) tooke at their arriuall *Cremona* and *Pauia*, driuing the French out of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, so that nothing remained to them, but onely the Castle of *Millaine*. In regard of these worthy exploits, the Pope gaue the *Switzers* the title, of *Defenders of the Church*; enriching their Standards with diuers Images, and publikely gaue to the whole Nation of the Switzers, two great Standards, which they call, *Paner*, that is, *The Sword and Bonnet*, as a noted marke of liberty. *Maximillian Sforza*, re-established in his paternall domination by the Switzers succour: made alliance with them, and gaue to the Cantons *Lugano*, *Locarna*, *Mendrisa*, and the Vale of *Madia*.

The *Switzers* reuenged on the French in very notable manner, and called, Defenders of the Church.

The Sword & Bonnet, signes of liberty.

He gaue also to the *Grisons*, their confederates, the Vale *Telina* or *Volturena*. Likewise *Charles*, Duke of Sauoye, whose predecessors had particular alliance (long time before) with some of the Cantons:

Great gifts bestowed on the Cantons.

made alliance with all the Switzers, for 25 yeares after following.

In the same yeare, the King of France solicited the Switzers, to become agayne allied with them: but because hee would not set free the Castle of *Millaine*, and some discouery was made beside, that his Ambassadors laboured to corrupt some particulars by gifts, and to buy theyr voyces for faire money layde downe; they were commaunded to depart out of the Leagued countries; and so the warre was renewed again. For the King sent a great Army into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of the Lords of *Truulse* and *Trimouille*, who besiedged *Maximillian Sforza* in *Nouara*. Hee was then accompanied vvith foure thousand Switzers, to whose ayde, eight thousand more were sent. Their vantgard being arriued at *Nouara*, and they within being ioyned with them, they gaue the battell to the French, vanquishing & driuing them out of *Italy*. *Guichardin* the Italian, an Historian much renowned, writes that the *Switzers* won such honor by this victory, as many haue made no difficulty in equalling this happy successe of theirs, with (almost) all the braue exploites of the Greekes and Romanes. Notwithstanding, the field was deere enough bought by them, because fourteen hundred *Switzers* were there slaine, and the most part of them by the Cannon, before that they could come to handye stroakes. Which made the people of *Swetia* to murmur in many places, and all blame fell on them that tooke part with the French: so that diuers withdrew themselues from *Swetia* for a time onely, and two only had their heads smitten off in those mutinies and commotions: for the rest, all was well pacified, without any effusion of blood.

The King of France is denied to bee leagued with the Cantons.

The victorie of the Switzers ouer the French at Nouara, very famous.

An Armie of Switzers, by councel of the Emperor, entred into France thorowe Bourgongne.

After this victory of the *Switzers*, the Emperor *Maximillian*, quitting the amity and alliance of the King: aduised the *Switzers*, to enter France by Bourgongn, with an army of six thousand men; whereto (wel-neere) sixteene thousande other voluntary ioyned themselues, together with some troopes of horse belonging to the Emperor, vnder the conducte of the Prince of *Wirtemberg*. There they besieged *Dijon*, the capitall City of all Bourgongne. But the Lorde of *Trimouille*, an olde Captaine, beeing not of strength to defend well the place, agreed vvith the Switzers, on conditions, that the King should acquit whatsoeuer he pretended to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and paye them (at certaine appointed times) sixe hundred thousand Crowns; for assurance whereof, he gaue them foure Lordes of marke, as hostages, with whom the Switzers departed thence immediately.

* Dijon.

Meanes made to get the Switzers gon out of France

Nowe, although it was a matter most palpable and notorious to all men, that this composition warranted the kingdom because that *Dijon* being taken, the *Switzers* might haue run vp so farre as to the gates of *Paris*, or ioyne themselues there with the English; and beside that king *Lewes* hadde not a sufficient Army to make head against them; yet notwithstanding, he would not ratifie his composition. For he would not admit (by any meanes) that his rights to the Dukedome of Millaine, should be so much as talkt of. The Switzers seeing themselues thus handled, and highly offended with such slye trickes: threatned to kill the Hostages, except the confirmation might be brought within a certaine time. Neuertheless, the winter grew extreame vpon them, and yet they resolued to re-enter France in the month of Nouember: But the King sent his Ambassadors, who laboured (by all meanes) to make a perpetual peace with the Switzers. In the meane while, they coulde no way ioyne, because the conditions which the King propounded, were very vnreasonable: which was the cause that the time spent it selfe in dayes and deliberations, in meere talke and friuolous disputes, whereby the enterprize of marching into France, was quite broken. Concerning the rest of these meetings and assemblies, they were thus considered on, that in the month of December, the same yeare, they of *Appenzel* were added to the Cantons number, and held the thirteenth place.

The King of France refuseth the former composition agreed on by Trimouille.

Much talkt on and nothing done.

Appenzel the 13. Canton.

CHAP

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Originall of Appenzell: how it tooke that name. The Lawes, Customes, & maner of gouernment there obserued.

A description of the situation of Appenzel, and the villages therto belonging.

APpenzel is the name both of a Country, and of a Village. The country is situated somwhat aboue S. *Gall*, betweene the high Mountains, and on the Frontiers of the Grisons country. The inhabitants liue (scatteringly) in Villages, and among the number of them, there are eight chiefe and principal, which haue euery one their Temple or parish church. The maine head of all is the village of *Appenzell*, whereof all the rest of the countrey beareth name. This Countrey was sometimes vnder the gouernment of the Abbots of saint *Gall*, and becaus they alwaies vsed to dwel in the chiefest town or village, wher they builte a very strong Castle, named *Claux*: the village was therefore cald *Appenzel*, which in Latine is, *Abbatis Cella*: that is to say, *The Chamber or dwelling of the Abbot*.

Abbatis Cella The Abbots Chamber or dwelling.

The people of *Appenzel* aimed at liberty, first by armes, and after peace made, they bought liberty for themselus & their children, by meanes of a great sum of mony, which they paied to the Abbot. They had wars which continued seuen yeares, against *Cuno de Stouffen*, Abbot of S. *Gall*; to whom the townes about the Lake of *Constance*, and belonging to *Frederick* D. of *Austria*, the bishoppe of *Constance*, the Count of *Wirtenberg*, & many Counts & Gentlemen gaue succour. Yet they of *Appenzel* would not yeeld themselues for all this, but being ayded by the Cittizens of S. *Gal* (who, at the beginning, were partakers with the Abbot, but afterward ioined with them of *Appenzel*, won som battels, tooke fiue Townes, and more then sixty Castles, part whereof were quite ruined. In this war, they leagued themselues with the Switzers, who were enemies vnto the house of *Austria*. Some say, that they allyed themselues with *Suits* and *Glaris* only; but others doe maintaine, that it was with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderuald*. This Warre tooke ending in the yeare, 1408. and by meanes of the Emperour *Rupert*, agreement was made betweene them of *Appenzel* and their enemies, in the City of *Constance*.

The inhabitants of Appenzel buy their liberty.

Their Warre made against the Abbot of S. Gall.

Their league with the Switzers.

This being done, the men of *Appenzel* framed a forme of gouernment to themselues, which yet they hold vnto this day. For till then, each village had her ensign, and her estates apart, or by it selfe. Now there was but one Ensigne, one assembly of their estates, and one Councell, composed of the most honest people, and the notablest persons in all the Villages thoroughout the countrey. Then three years after the peace was made, the Abbot of Saint *Gall* attempted a new suite against them: but then they made alliance with *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, & *Glaris*, which so offended the Abbots of Saint *Gall*, as, about the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty fiue, *Henrie Mansdorff* (then Abbot) preuailed so far, that they of *Appenzel* were proscribed by the Emperour, and excommunicated by the Pope. Banishment was no great hurt, or inconuenience to them in any manner whatsoeuer, becaus the countrey (being round engirt with Mountaines, and not Trafficking almost with any bodie) no inuasion could bee made vpon them. As concerning the excommunication sent from the Pope, they resolued in an assembly of al the country, not any way to care for it. And therefore they expelled all the priests (that obserued the command of the Pope) out of their Countrey, and vvould not permit them to administer the Sacraments: amongst all which they killed but one.

Their forme & maner of their order and gouernment. first by themselues, and afterwards in due fashion.

People are banished and excommunicated, becaus they maintain their coũtries liberty.

The Abbot of Saint *Gall*, perceiuing that this course did him not any seruice; and that (on the other side) the men of *Appenzell* ranne verie fiercely vpon such, as durst tearme them to bee excommunicate, and ruined the Castelles of manie Gentlemen. Finally, by helpe of the Byshoppe of *Constance*, and the Noblemen of *Suaba*, hee accused them before the Electours of the Empire, imploring theyr helpe and aide in this extreamitie. The Electors sent to the Switzers, and to

The Abbot of S. Gall appealeth to the Electors.

The Switzers would not war on their neighbours.

the Cities of *Suaba*, that they should bring them of *Appenzel* vnder obedience. But the *Switzers* would not make any war on their neighbours and fellow cittizens: but rather laboured to make peace, which was agreed on foure yeares after this excommunication, the men of *Appenzell* hauing beene (before) ouercome in two encounters, by the Count of *Toggenbourg*.

Warre made vpon the Noble-men by them of Appenzell.

This peace lasted not long, for the Gentlemen, neighbours to *Appenzell*, about the Lake of *Constance*, assembled a great number of horsemen, wherewith to inuade them of *Appenzell*. But they disappointed their hope, and got before them; possessing themselues of *Rineck*, & of the Vale of *Rheguſce*, in the year, 1445. The Lords of *Hagenwill*, who helde that country in pawne or pledge: caused them of *Appenzell* to be censured with banishment, by the Imperiall Chamber established at *Rotuille*. But gaining nothing by the bargaine, they solde them their right, for the summe of sixe thousand crowns, and tooke off the censure.

When anger helps not, patience must preuaile.

In the yeare, 1452. they made perpetuall alliance with seauen of the Cantons, and (after that time) ioyned themselues with the *Switzers*, in the warres against the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Bourgongne*, and the league of *Suaba*, wherein they shewed themselues both faithfull and valiant. Afterward, in the yeare, 1513. they were receiued into the number of the Cantons.

Appenzell receiued into the Cantons.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the alliance made betweene the fiue last Cantons; And a breuiate of their Articles, binding them together in confederacy.

ALL the latter cantons, except *Basile*, long time before their receiuing into this ranke, were allied to the other ancient Cantons, and then afterward, at sundry times they were receiued and numbred with the cantons, according as wee haue noted already.

What rights and priuiledges belonged to the Cantons

Now those Cantons doe hold this right aboue their confederates, that they deliberate, and giue aduice in their dayes of consultation, for all occasions concerning (in common) the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. They haue a share or part, in all commodities and discommodities of the comminalty. They gouerne (in equall authority) all the Baliwicks by them obtained, and partake equally and publikely, all booties gotten in warre. For the rest, the Articles of alliance of the old Cantons, and latter with the first, are almost alike.

Articles of alliance of the latter canton with the former.

The first and principall Article, concerneth mutuall succour or assistance, wherein there are diuersity of clauses. The Cantons which shall be called, ought to succour their associate or companion, without any fraud or delay. If a Canton be so suddenly engirt by the enemy, as he cannot call the other, neither by Letters nor Ambassadors; yet shall not they forbeare (for all that) from giuing succour, and in as speedy manner, as if they had receiued expresse aduertisement. If the latter Cantons doe conceiue, that a wrong is done vnto them; yet notwithstanding, they shall mooue no warre against any person, without the will and consent of the olde Cantons. If their enemies will debate their cause in iustice, and accept the *Switzers* for their Iudges, or others of equall and indifferent iudgement: the Canton may not attempt to pursue his right by Armes. Euery one of the Cantons, at their owne charge and expences, shall come to succour the other, and send such numbers of men as they would haue, and according as they shall see it commodious, wherewith the other Canton must content it selfe.

The limitation & bounds of succour to be sent.

In like manner, the limits are prescribed, wherein the auncient Cantones stand bound to send helpe to the new: And the limits are the confines of the Cantons, as they then stand. There is likewise mention made, concerning charges and expences, at the besiedging and battering of Townes and Castles. And the Lawes agreed vpon at *Stantz*, touching the partage of booties, which also are heerein confirmed.

The second Article declareth, what kinde

Of differences betweene two Cantons or many.

kinde of courſe is to be obſerued, if a difference do happen between two Cãtons or many: But wee ſhall ſpeake in our ſecond Booke, what forme of iudgement is in the caſe to be kept. Moreouer, there is mention made, concerning actions in caſes of iniuries betweene particulars, and what Iudges they are to take note of in that kind. Then for the exactingof names: Concerning commerce, and free Traffick, and what bargaining ought to ſtand free for buyers, as well on one part as the other. That no Canton ſhall receiue the citizens and ſubiects of another Canton: till they be firſt left at liberty, by them vnder whoſe dominion they were before. That the new Cantons ſhall not make alliance with any whoſoeuer, without conſent of the olde Cantons. If war is mooued betweene the old Cantons, the latter ſhall remaine as newters, and labour onely to agree the parties. Each Canton ſhall keepe his or her ancient priuiledges rights, and cuſtomes in their true integritie.

No ſubiects of one Canton to be entertained by another Canton

Behold the principall conditions of the latter alliances, wher namely it is decreed that the new Cantons ſhal not moue any warre, without aduice of the old, neyther refuſe that which is right, nor any honeſt condition of the countrey; and other ſuch like things, concerning warre, are eſtabliſhed fully. And becauſe that the moſt part of the latter Cantons, are vpon the limits and euen out (as it were) of *Swetia*; they ordained, that no one ſhoulde attempt to make any warre, except it were for ſome matter of very great importãce: and ſo much the rather, becauſe it is very hard to conduct and maintaine an army in thoſe quarters.

An eſpeciall ſuruey of the conditions moſt material

CHAP. XVI.

Heere we are to ſpeake of the Switzers wars in Italy, when the French vndertooke to recouer the Dukedome of Millaine, &c.

The death of Lewes, the 12 K. of France, after whome ſucceeded Frances de Valois.

IN the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand, fiue hundred, & fifteene, King *Lewes* the twelfth dyed. He had newly ſought by his Ambaſſadors, the amity and alliance of the Switzers. Neuertheleſſe, in the meane time, he made great preparation for war, pretending to recouer the dukedome of *Millaine*. *Frances de Valois*, his kinſman, and his ſonne in law, came after him (as ſucceſſor) to his crown; who following the deliberation of his father, had alſo his minde and eye fixed on the *Millaineſes*. The Switzers (on the other ſide) allyed with the Emperour *Maximillian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, *Sforza* Duke of *Millaine*, and with Pope *Leo* the tenth: vndertook to defend *Millaine* againſt the French. Wherefore, after they vnderſtood the King of France his preparation they ſent (at their firſt leuy) ſix thouſand men to the Duke of *Millaine*. Afterward, the tenth of Iune, they made another leuy of 13000. men, which they ſent alſo to ioyne with the firſt.

The Switzers attempt to guard Millain againſt the French.

King *Frances* paſſed ouer the Alpes in the meane while, by vnaccuſtomd waies, ſhunning the Garriſons of the Switzers, which were vpon the vſuall paſſages, and entred into *Italy*, with an Armie verie potent, of French and Germaines. This was the reaſon that the Cantons ſent twelue thouſand men more thether, ſo that the campe of Switzers onely, conſiſted of one and thirty thouſand men. Now, although the Kings troopes were well prouided and reſolued, yet they woulde not hazard any thing, nor ſet vppon ſo great an Army of Switzers: it being ſuch indeed as hardly (at any one time) had ſo manie euer before beene in the field. Hereupon by their Deputies, they began to treat on peace with the Colonels of the Switzers: who likewiſe (for their part) were not far off from it in diſpoſition, becauſe they conſidered, that their confederated princes did not march on roundlie vvith them.

The Camp of Switzers, was 31000. men in number, and neuer ſo many of them ſeene before in the field at one time.

For firſt of al, their wages was not paid them, according to promiſe. Moreouer the Emperor had not ſent his companies of horſemen, as he ſtood bound to do by the confederacy. And contrarywiſe, he had not prohibited the Lance-Knightes (which hee might haue done in regard of his authority) from going in ſeruice with the King: but ſuffered them (by troopes) to depart from Germany, and enter into France. Finally, although the forces of the Pope and King of Spaine were neere yet

Reaſons inducing the Switzers to liſten to peace when it was moued.

yet notwithstanding, they could hardlie be perswaded to passe the *Pau*, and ioyne themselues with the *Switzers*. Beside, there were messengers gooing and comming betweene the French and them, & from them to the French. Wherefore, the *Switzers* seeing themselues vvithout money, and forsaken of their Consortes: made peace in the village of *Galleras*, with the Deputies to the King of France, vnder honest conditions. Which hauing bene confirmed by some Cantons, immediatly twelue thousand *Switzers* took their way to *Coma*, and returned home to their countrey, without tarrying for the rest, who likewise prepared to depart the next morning. But the Duke of *Millaine* would not accept the conditions of this peace; and the Cardinall of *Sion*, (a great and perpetuall enemy to ŷ French) laboured by oblique meanes, to break & frustrate all.

12000. Switzers part home to theyr country, without the rest of their cõpanie.

It came to passe, that by cunning tricks and plottes, the thirteenth day of September, the *Switzers* of the Guard to the Duke of *Millaine*, and some others beside offended with the King, in the night time brake in vpon the French, sending worde instantly to aduertise their companions, in what danger they were, and intreated their present succour. The other, imagining that it would be a great shame vnto them, to forsake their friendes in such a neede, and being made to beleeue withall, that the French had begunne this broyle, went with all their troopes to assist them. The fight was very sharp on all sides; but the night parted them. In this charge was slaine *Frances*, the Lorde of *Bourbon*, the Lord of *Imbercourt*, also the Count of *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Talemond*, sonne to the Lorde of *Trimouille*, the Lords of *Bussy d'Ambose*, and manie other: which made some to holde opinion, that the *Switzers* were Maisters in this conflict, and a brute ran thorow *Italy*, that they remained conquerours. But the very same night, the King hauing mounted his Artillerie on their carriages, leuelled the battalions of the Gascoigns and Germaines, re-assembling the horsemen vnder their Regiments, and sending *Bertelomeo d'Aluiana* with the Armie of Venetians: very earely in the Morning, he gaue battaile to the *Switzers*, whom he vanquished, after they had lost manie of their men.

A hot & fierce fight between the Switzers & the French wherein the Switzers wer ouerthrowne in the end.

Read the lord du Bellay, in the first book of his Memories.

The *Switzers* seeing the victory in a contrary hand, withdrew them-selues to *Millaine*; yet in such sort, that their retreate sauoured not of flight. For, they brought backe the Artillery which came out of *Millaine*, and marched in ranke of battaile, hauing their wounded Men in the middest among them, and going but a very softly pace: yet in all the French Army, not a man, eyther Horse or Foot, durst pursue them. On the morrow, hauing lefte the Duke of *Millaine* fifteene hundred men, to strengthen his garrison in the Castle, they returned into *Swetia*, by the way of *Coma*. But, by reason of their foile, the French recouered the dukedom of *Millaine*.

The retreat of the Switzers backe to Millaine.

The Emperour *Maximillian* contested hardly to take it from them againe, & the yeare following, he ledde into Italy (to effect that hope) an army of Germans and *Switzers*: but he could doe nothing, and so was glad to come backe again immediately. As for the King of France, hauing well felt how deare a price this victorie cost him: he neuer ceased till hee hadde made peace and alliance with the *switzers* in the end. Perpetuall peace, betweene the French and the *Switzers*, was made in the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, and eighteene, the last day of Nouember: and the alliance was confirmed three yeares after, to wit, in Anno one thousand, fiue hundred, twentie and one. The Articles both of the peace and alliance, are set downe in their due place, heereafter following.

The Dukedome of Millain recouerd by the French

Perpetuall peace betweene the Switzers and the French.

CHAP. XVII.

A Discourse, concerning the Alliance of the Switzers, with the King of France.

AT that very time, all the Cantons, Zurich onely excepted, made Alliance with the King of France. And, although they of Zurich were earnestly

Certaine reasons why the mē of Zurich refuſed to be allied with the king of France

neſtly ſollicited by the reſt, to ioyne in this league with them: yet for all that, they could neuer bring them to the point of yeelding to this alliance. In the firſt place, the yeares going before, *Mathew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who came verie often to Zurich: by his Orations and perſwaſiue ſpeeches, had wholly eſtranged them from the French. On the other ſide, *Huldrich Zuinglius*, being then a principal miniſter at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceaſed not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre ſeruices. Shewing by arguments & remonſtrances of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Chriſtian man, to ſet himſelfe to ſale for a price of money, and go ſhed the bloode of ſuch as are (oftentimes) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He ſayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had planted liberty in their countrey. All which while, they wholly eſtranged themſelues from ſuch courſe of liuing; their liues wer maintained by their trauell; neuer binding themſelues vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was to be ſold.

The allegations of Huldrich Zuinglius, why Chriſtian men ſhould not make themſelues hyrelings in warre.

And as hee had words verie readie at command; ſo he approued by great ſtore of ſound reaſons and arguments, that ſuch alliances did but eneruate & meerely proſtitute the liberty of the Switzers to forraine Kings and Princes. So that the men of Zurich, being (otherwiſe) people of peace, and little addicted to martial affaires; were much mooued with his ſpeeches, and abhorred this new League. On the other ſide, the Captaines that hadde bene in the warres in the times of King *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the eleuenth, diſſwaded them from the league, as being farre vnlike to the alliances with former Kings. For, in precedent times, after that the *Switzers* had well vnderſtood & comprehended the occaſion of the war; they made choiſe of ſuch Captaines and ſoldiers as they ſhould ſend to the king, according to their promiſe. But in the Newe League, the Cantons neither choſe Captaines nor Soldiers, neither cared vvhat became of all; what the occaſions of the warre were, nor whether they vvere iuſt, or no. But, if the King were to deale with any people, he choſe ſuch Captains of the Switzers as himſelfe pleaſed, and cauſed them to come whether he thoght good. By which meanes, the Cantons had not any power ouer their Men for warre, except they might counter-mand them, when any warre was moued in the country.

The men of Zurich were peacefully minded, and little giuen to warre.

Taxations impoſed vpon the new legue

Moreouer, many ſaide, that this newe League was contrary to the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*. For, in the firſt Article they ſtand bounde, to guard all the Prouinces of France, againſt all enemies whatſoeuer they are. True it is, that the firſt alliances were exempted; but immediately is added, that if the ancient allies begin to make warre vpon the French, the Cantons ought to ſend ſuccour to the King, againſt the other: wherupon enſued (as it ſeemeth) that if any one of the Cantons, or of the Confederates, could not haue reaſon (in friendly maner) of the King of France, and would purſue his right by Armes; the other Cantons are bound to warre on him, according to the new League, and contrarie to the promiſes of the ancient alliances.

Articles concerning the ancient and perpetual Alliances of the Switzers.

Moreouer, it is not any long time, ſince the Switzers denied theyr troopes to the Emperor *Maximillian*, alleadging (for their excuſe, becauſe he would haue had them ſerue at his Corronation) that they were occaſioned (for many reaſons) to keepe their men of warre (as then) at home in their owne countrey. Therefore it appeared to them verie vnfitting, that they ſhould then allye themſelues with the King, who would make a Leuye of them, ſo ſoone as the alliance was concluded.

The Switzers denyed their troopes to the Emperor Maximilian, and vpon what cauſe.

They conceyued alſo, that it would be farre off from theyr auncient grauity and magnanimity, if they ſhould league themſelues ſo ſtrictly with the King of France; of whom (but a yeare and an half before) they had written vnto the Electors of the Empire; that it was no way expedient that he ſhould gouern the affayres of Germanie, ſo that if he ſhould be elected Emperor, they were not minded to giue him obedience. And, as concerning the commodities of the alliance, which many did make lowd proclamations of: there vvere others of opinion, that the profite would fall into ſome particular purſes, and eſpecially of ſuch, as enriched themſelues by the penſions of Fraunce; but the Com-

The Switzers denied obedience to the King of Frāce if hee were choſen Emperor.

mon-

monwealth of the *Switzers* would be no way benefited by the bargaine, as very easily was to be proued.

Arguments very considerately alledged by the Switzers, against ioyning in League with the King of France.

For in the first place, the country had no neede of any strange horsemen or infantery, hauing worke enough to doe in nourishing their owne breed for that imployment. Moreouer, the hope of helpe, and money from *France*, robbed the Switzers of all their true force and courage. In following the example of their predecessors, they were best to let their hope leane and rest vpon God, to serue and honour him in sincerity of heart, and vprightnesse of conscience. That not onely hope in God, would faile and diminish by such a League; but also it was to be feared, that it would very strongly break and corrupt their ancient manners, cause all husbandry to cease, giue ouer honest trades and exercises, and engender nothing but idlenesse. And then is easily known what followeth; dissolution in diet and apparrell, drunkennesse, whoredomes, adulteries, thefts, and blasphemies. For these are the fruites of warre, and the Arts that are lerned in the armies of strange Princes.

The fruites of war in forrain Princes seruices.

For a finall conclusion, the euent and successe of precedent alliances, haue both instructed and guarded many (especiallie the men of Zurich) to weigh well & consider on nouell combinations. For, albeit that some fewe did sufficient seruice to the nation, as that which was made against the Duke of Bourgongne: yet notwithstanding, the most part of those alliances, brought it into great extremities. Because in such straunge warres they lost many of their people: or els in those coũtries, they were rudely hurried and agitated, by factions and seditions. For these reasons, and diuers other considerations; the inhabitants of Zurich could not (as then) be induced to ally themselues with the king of France.

Some former examples wer not altogither warrantable.

But the other confederates, who were not of any such opinion, maintaind what they did, by reasons enow. First, they declared, and would prooue it, that euery voyage in war was not condemned by the word of God: but that many holye persons had made wars; wherein they were ayded and succoured by others, as in like manner they had assisted their Allies. Secondly, that the war of the *Switzers* was not mercenary nor vendible; because

Arguments for alliance of the Switzers with the K. of Frãce, against those formerly alledged by thẽ of Zurich.

they went to the seruice of a King onely, (with whom they were ioyned by an honest alliance) with the will and consent of their Lords.

Thirdly, that if the King should moue a warre, which all men knew to be vniust; then it remained in the power of the Lords of the Leagues, to deny him succour. But if the occasion were doubtfull and vncertaine: the souldier had nothing to doe to make any curious inquisition thereof: it only appertained to the King and his Councell, to render a reason for it. Fourthly, that the Switzers Countrey was greatly peopled, but narrow, hard, & barren in many places, and could not furnish so many men with nourishment: wherefore the commodity was not to be condemned, which the King had offered voluntarily.

The Switzers countries stored with people, but very barren.

To these we will adde, that the Switzers ought to consider, with what neighbors they were enclosed, som wherof enuyed them, and others pryed into their Liberties: so that it was both well and wisely done, to fortifie themselues with strange succour against them, and that trust and hope in God, did not prohibite the vse of humane assistance. Also, this was a means to traine vp the Switzers in martiall discipline, which is necessary for all Commonwealths: and in regard whereof, warlike people haue euermore beene highly respected. Finally, although that some alliances haue discommodited the Countrey; yet notwithstanding, the Switzers haue sped well in the more part, especially, in those which they had with the kings *Lewes* the eleuenth, *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the twelfth. And therfore they must needs expect a happy yssue of this which they contracted with a King powerfull & fortunate.

Martial & militarie Discipline very expedient for all Commonweales.

This was the discourse then made concerning aliance with the French: as I learned of my predecessors, which liued in those times. The selfesame question hath bene often and seriously debated & handled, euen in my time, by men well grounded in the affayres of State, to whome (as yet) I referre the further knowledge of the case.

Of

Of them that are Allyed and Leagued with the CANTONS.

And first, The Abbot of Saint Gall. CHAP. XVIII.

Another Discourse of the Author, concerning the associates in particular maner.

HItherto wee haue shewne what the Cantons & confederates are, making vp a whole body of the Switzers Commonwealth, and what hath beene the estate and condition of euery one of them before they were leagued. Also, for what causes, at what times, and with what conditions they assembled themselues in a body politicke. Now we will discourse of the associates of this Commonwealth, according to the same order: and we will heere shew, wherefore, when, and vppon what conditions they allyed themselues with the Cantons. And because the Abbot, and the Citty of Saint *Gall* do holde the first ranke, wee purpose to begin with them.

The City of S Gal tooke name at first of one Gallus, a Gentleman of Scotland.

Gallus, of whom the citty of Saint *Gal* hath taken name, was a Gentleman of Scotland, and Disciple or Scholler to an Abbot, named *Colombanius*, with whome hee came into France, and thence transported himselfe into Germany, to a place called *Tuggen*, neere to the Riuer named *Limagus*, at the mouth of the Lake of Zurich. There he preached the Gospel with great zeale and affection, to the people of the Countrey, then bewitched vvith diuers kindes of Idolatry. Hee continued (soone after) at *Bregents*, at the mouth opening of the Lake of *Constance*: next, at *Arbonna*, and in diuers other places of *Swetia*, for the space of sixteene years, or thereabout. *Gonzo* Duke of *Suaba*, hauing called him to bee Bysshoppe of *Constante*; he would not accept that charge: but councelled the Duke to giue it to one of his schollers, named *Iohn*, whom hee thought to be more fit for the place. As for himselfe, about the yeare six hundered and thirty, he retired into the Mountaines, aboue the Lake of *Constance*, into a very solitary place; and in the very same plot or square of ground, where the Citie and Abbey of S. *Gall* now standeth: hee builded a little Cell or house, wherein he spent the rest of his dayes, with som of his schollers, in the studye and meditation of holy matters.

Gallus refused to be byshop of Constance, and preferred one of his schollers to it.

After the death of S. *Gall*, his schollers liked well to liue in that place, and according to his manner of life: neuertheless, without making profession then of anie certaine rule or order. But the Kinges of France, and the Dukes of *Suaba*, taking delight in their deuotion, did them many kinde Offices: where by the number of these religious men encreased, & (by little and little) the small silly house of saint *Gall*, became conuerted into an Abbey. For fourescore yeares after the death of S. *Gall*, they requested Counte *Bertrand*, Gouernor of the countrey for the Kinges of *France*, that hee would giue them an Abbot. He sent them a Priest, named *Omer*, bred and brought vp in a Colledge, called *Coire* of the Grisons, and towardes *Pepin*, Prince of France, sonne to *Charles Martell*: who following the aduice of his father, established this Priest the first Abbot of Saint *Gall*, and then (first of all) the Monkes made profession of the rule of S. *Benet*. Af-

The death of S. Gal, & succession of his schollers, and his litle house becomming an Abbey.

Omer a priest the first Abbot of S. Gall.

After that time, the abbey became verie rich and powerfull, so that the Abbot of that place, was sette in number of the Princes. And in ancient times, he was vnder protection of the Emperours, who tooke the Gentlemen of *Suaba* to be Gouernors of this abbey. Afterward, warre being kindled betweene the *Abbot*, and them of *Appenzel*: the Monkes well perceiued that their Conuent stood in neede of some good Protectours, because the Townesmen or Cittizens of S. *Gall*, who were (as within the abbey) ioyned with them of *Appenzell*, who were also fauored by many seruants of the *Abbot*.

The Abbot of S. Gal desires to be receiued into the number of 4. Cantons, and to bee ordered by them.

For this cause *Gaspar de Landberg*, then the two and fiftieth *Abbot* (by the aduice and counsell of the Monks) requested the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suites*, and *Glaris*, to receiue him into their alliance: establishing them patrons, fathers, & defenders of his freedom, & of al his goods, possessions, vsances, and priuiledges. This right is perpetuall, and at all times, and as often as a new *Abbot* is to be elected; hee promiseth this accord, and that al the places of his Seigneury, shall alwayes lye open to these foure Cantons, and they to haue free accesse thither. And if diffrence shal happen between him and any other: he shall commit it (continually) vnto the hearing of the foure Cantons, and be iudged by them.

Landberg the Abbot beeing dead, Huldrich firnamd the Red, succeeded after him.

The successour to *Landberg*, named *Huldrich*, and sir-named *Le Roux*, added to this first alliance, that the foure Cantons should send (one after another) one of their Councell, that should remayne two yeares with the *Abbot*, to bee Captaine of all his country. He gaue assistance in pleadings and iudgements, & the moity of all fines remained to the Switzers. Moreouer, it was ordained in this allyance, that in all warres the *Abbots* subiects should goe to the succour of the 4. Cantons. As concerning that vvhich *Abbot Huldrich* renewed, and the League also, ioyning himselfe more strictly vnto the foure Cantons, the cause was thus. Sometimes before, the Citizens of Saint *Gall*, they of *Appenzel*, and the subiects of the *Abbot*, had conspired together, and ruined the abbey of *Rosach*, which the *Abbot* had newly builded. So that the foure Cantons hauing sent for the other Cãtons to theyr assistance, reseated the *Abbot* in his rites, and reproued his aduersaries very stoutly. This association endureth yet to this day, and although al the Cantons are not at agreement with the *Abbot*, as concerning matter of Religion; yet notwithstanding, according vnto the articles of alliance, they send him a Captaine, who manageth and gouerneth ciuill causes, conseruing (in this regard) the rights and priuiledges of the *Abbot*.

Abbot Huldrich renewed the league with the four Cantons, and more strictly.

Couenants of alliance kept, though not in Religion all alike.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Towne or City of S. Gall.

THE Citie of Saint *Gall*, oweth her originall and encreasing to the Abbey, and hath beene enfranchised by the Emperours, who vnited it to the Empire, and gaue it many priuiledges and immunities. In the time of the Emperour *Arnould*, the citie began first to be enclosed with walles: as fearing the courses and surprizals of the *Hungarians*, and both it and the Couent were vnder the Empires protection. The cittie was subiect vnto the Abbey in many things: meane while, the citizens had their rites, which they augmented by their industry, & by means of the Emperors liberalities.

The Abbey began and increased the city of S. Gall.



Now, when the number of cittizens, and the riches of the Abbey beganne to increase: many debates and contentions also tooke Original, betweene the abbot and the citizens. Oftentimes, the Townes round about it, and the Imperial chamber, would set them at agreement again. Sometime likewise, they were glad to satisfie the Abbots demands with money, and encreased their liberties, by buying their rightes of him. But when they of *Appenzel* moued warre against *Abbot Cuno de Stouffen*; the men of S. *Gall* beganne to take part with the Abbot, and got nothing for their labour but blovves, vvhich caused them (soone after) to make alliance vvith them of *Appenzel*. This vvarre being ended, and some other after, abbot *Landberg*, being made a fellow-Bourgesse vvith

Wealth and ease are the first causes of strifes & ciuill contentions.

with foure Cantons · the cittizens of S. *Gall*, to maintaine themselues by the like expedient, entred perpetual alliance with Zurich, Berne, Lucerna, Suits, Zug, and Glaris. This alliance was sworne on the Eue of S. *Iohn* Baptist, in the yeare, 1454. And they of Saint *Gall* made a publicke banket for the Ambassadors of the Cantons, whereat were present aboue fifteene hundred men. Before this alliance, they were leagued with some Cantons for certaine yeares: as with *Zurich*, *Constance*, and *Schaffouse*, in the yeares, 1312. and 1347. And at other times often with *Zurich* and *Constance*. Afterward, with *Zurich*, *Berne Vri*, *Suits*, & *Vnderuald*, in the yeare 1329. But I haue purposely omitted those alliances made for so short times, contenting my selfe onely with this last mentioned, which continueth to this day

1500 men present at one banquet.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Leagued Grisons.

Concerning the antiquitie of the Grisons, beeing sometime called Rhetians, of the captain Rhætus.

IT is generally agreed on that the people of the Grisons are very ancient. For some ages before the birth of our Sauior Iesus Christ, the Tuscans beeing driuen from their houses by the *Gauls* they possessed the Alpes, vnder conduct of their captain, named *Rhætus*, for whose sake they called themselues Rhætians. Heretofore this country extended it selfe greatly in length & largenes, so that the Romane Emperors made two Rhætian Prouinces, named the first & second *Rhætia*: which comprehended not onely the Alpine regions, but also a great part of *Suaba* & *Bauaria*. Now, it is well knowne, that this first *Rhætia* beginneth at ỹ sourse of *Rheine*, & taketh a sufficient great quarter of the Alpes, and all the valleyes on both the sides. Almost all the people ther are (to this day) called Grisons; and in former times they were tearmed *Gris*: as likewise the *Allmains* gaue them the same name, & call them beside, **Graw-pundter**, that is to say, *Leagued Grisons*. For, in regard that these Rhætians are Leagued, not onely with the Switzers, but also among themselues, and that of verie long time, we call them *Leagued Grisons*, & somtimes the Switzers names them simply, **Pundter**, that is, Confederates.

Diuersitie of names giuen to the people of Rhætia.

Three seueral Leagues of the Grisons.

Wee are to obserue three leagues of the Grisons. The first tooke name of her antiquity, and of the scituation of the countrey: for they called it, *The High League*, or *high Grisons*. It containeth nineteene Communities or Fellowshippes, among whom (heeretofore) the Abbot of *Dissentiss*, and the Baron of *Rhætia*, & the Count of *Misauk* held the cheefest ranke: but the families of the 2. latter are expired. Neuertheless, among them in common, they which possesse the Castle of the ancient Barons of *Rhætia*, are called Lords of *Rhætzurs*, a title which (some short while after) the Lordes of *Marbrée* took; and after them, they which are named *Plantes*. They of *Tauetscher*, *Liuiner*, and *Masoxertal* are the principall people of this league.

1. The High Leauge, or high Grisons.

The second is called, *The league of Gods house*. I thinke it to be so termed, because the byshop of *Coire* is comprized in this league. It also comprehendeth nineteene Communities; two whereof doe speake the Germane Language; the other, vse the Rhætian or Grison, which is their mother tongue, & cometh neere to the Italian. The principall people of this league are the city of *Coire*, which is the bishops See. Also they of *Pregaul* and of *Engadin*, out of which countries run two renowned riuers, to wit, *Etsch* and *Inn*.

2. The league of gods house or of the Hospitall.

The third league hath ten Communities, and is called, *The League of ten Iurisdictions*. Therein are comprized them of *Rhuchemberg*, and of *Tunlesch*. The former two leagues had (at the beginning) amity and alliance a certaine time, vvith the Cantons necrest to them. For, in the yeare, 1419. the Byshop, the Chapter, & the cittie of *Coire*, made Allyance vvith them of *Zurich* for one and fiftie yeeres. Also, they were sometimes allyed vvith them of *Glaris*. And the Grisons of the high league, wer long time confederated with them of *Vri*. Then after, with them of Gods house they made a perpetuall alliance vvith seauen of the Cantons. But the thirde League is not comprized in this alliance, and yet notwithstanding do

3. The league of ten iurisdictions.

Seuerall all iances, & at seuerall times.

entertaine this amity and society with the confederates, euen as firmely and faithfully, as if they stood solemnly bound thereto.

Alliance of the Grisons with the Switzers, and vpon what occasions.

First then, in the yeare 1497. the high league, more properly called, *The Grison league*, made perpetuall alliance with seauen Cantons: and the yeare following, the league of *Gods-house* ioyned it selfe with them, by this occasion following. Some yeares before, the league of *Gods-House* had had certaine great differences, with the dwellers in the county of *Tyroll*. In the end, by the will of the Emperour *Maximillian*, it was decreed; that the parties should chuse an equall number of Iudges, to take knowledge of their variance, and that *Thomas*, Bishop of *Constance*, should be Arbitrator aboue all the Iudges. But while the Councellers to the King delayed to end this discord, the Bishop of *Constance* dyed: and in his stead, *Maximillian* subrogated *Fredericke*, Bishop of *Ansbourg*. But the Kings councellers taking no knowledge of this other Arbitrator, prolonged (from day to day) the decision of the suite, as before they had done: all this while molesting the *Grisons*, and charging them still with nouell impositions.

A great difference between the league of Gods-house, and them of Tyroll.

The Grisons depute two of each league for ending their cause.

They perceiuing no cessation, deputed two of each league, and sent to *Inspruk*, insisting, that this difference should end, according to the order of the Emperour *Maximillian*. Which the councellers pretended not to know, albeit diuers of them, and (among the rest) the chanceller was present when the decree was set downe. Yet notwithstanding, because the Deputies should not bee sent backe without answer; they assigned a day at *Velcure*, in Lent the next yeare ensuing. In the meane while, they of *Austria* planted Garrisons vpon the Frontiers, and strong Artillery in diuers places, making (vnder hand) their preparation for warre. For they had appointed that day expressely, because they would set vpon them at vnawares, & vtterly ouerthrow the *Grisons*, no way standing on their guard: wherein the Bishop of *Coire* lent his helping hand to them of *Austria*. But the league of *Gods-House*, hauing discouered the enemies intent; sent men to the cantons, who kept then a day at *Zurich*, and gaue them to vnderstand this eminent danger.

Cunning tricks, and fit for such to vse, as desire to oppresse the peoples liberty.

The Ambassadors declared, that beside the olde quarrels, new differences were moued, betweene them of *Austria* and the Switzers, so that there grew an appearance of warre: therefore for the profit & security both of the Switzers & Grisons, it seemed good, that they should be allied together. For by that meanes, the *Grisons* shold easily expell the enemy out of their country: although they gaue them but little ayde, or almost none at all. On the other side, the Switzers should haue a Bulwarke to back them, and so might the more strongly make head against the enemy. The Cantons, who had bin well affected to the *Grisons* before, and knew those Mountaine-bred men, to bee a warlike disposed people, and how beneficiall this alliance wold be both to the one and other: concluded and established a perpetuity of loue with the *Grisons*, in the yeare 1498. and the Moneth of December, and the Articles of the alliance are these that follow.

An offer of alliance betweene the Switzers and Grisons.

A perpetuall league of loue with the Grisons.

The Articles of alliance, betweene the Switzers and the Grisons.

For friendship and assistance

1. *First, that they shall be friends, & giue mutuall succour one to another.*

Agreeing of controuersies.

2. *The second Article concerneth the agreeing of differences, which may happen betweene confederates.*

No selling of debts.

3. *The third is, that no man shall giue or sell away, those actions that he hath against his debter, or the answerer, or surety for him.*

For food and trading.

4. *The fourth concerneth victualles, according to one anothers trading: And to bee freely in the Markets, without standing bound to pay any new tributes.*

For new alliances, & making of peace.

5. *That neither the one nor other side, shall make any new alliance, wherein these Articles shall be comprised, but with exceptions: And that in times of warre, the one side shall not make peace, except the other be therin comprehended also.*

These are the Articles and principall points of the alliance. But the yeare following, the warre of *Suaba* happened, wherein the *Grisons* valiantly defended their Frontiers, against the men of *Austria*. And by the ayde of their people, many times in like manner, and by the assistance of the Switzers, diuers braue battailes were

New troubles hapned by the warre of Suaba.

were wonne against the enemy. Yet after these victories hapning on either side, peace was (at length) made in the citty of *Basile*, with the Emperor *Maximillian*; in which peace, the *Grisons* are also comprised. By this meanes, the beginning of the alliance was wholesome and happy to both parties, and afterward, in many wars where the *Switzers* were present, vnder wages of strange Princes their confederates: the *Grisons* alwayes marched as kinde companions with them.

Peace made in the citty of Basile, for the Switzers and Grisons.

It came to passe, that in the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, thirty and one: *Iohn Iaques de Medicis*, who afterward was Marquesse of *Marignano*, getting vsurped possession of the Castle of *Muß*, vpon the Lake of *Coma*, and hauing taken *Clauenna* from the *Grisons*, forraging the country thereof: many Cantons, according to their league of alliance, sent succour to the *Grisons*: by meanes whereof, the enemy was ouercome at last, and driuen far off. In our time, the *Grisons* were allied with the French, and with the cantons of Swetia, and went to warre together for the King: yet in such sort neuertheless, that they send oftentimes a regiment separated of the Switzers, & which hath his Colonell & Captaine in chiefe.

Iohn Iaques de Medicis, Marquesse of Marignano.

The Grisons allied with the French.

CHAP. XXI.

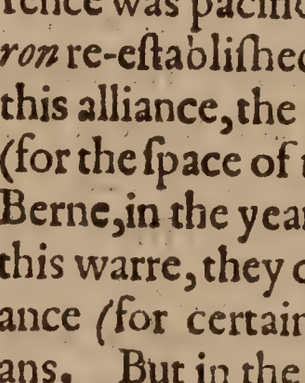
The Alliance of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.

THE name of *Valaisians*, or them of *Valois*, comprehendes three distinct people, enclosed within the most high Mountaines, and dwelling in the Valley, from the sourse of *Rheine*, so farre as the Lake * *Lemanus*. They were anciently called *Viberines*, *Seduſians*, or *Seguſians*, some say, *Sebuſians*, and *Veragrians*. At this day, the *Viberines* and *Seduſians*, are called the high *Valaisians*, and are diuided into seuen Dioceſſes, or Wards of ten Parishes. The *Veragrians*, or lowe *Valaisians*, are subiects to the other: but the Bishop of *Sion* is Prince of all the country, hauing the soueraignty both temporall and spirituall, and he is called Count, or Gouernor of *Valois*. We haue described in another Tract, apart by it selfe, not onely this Valley, but likewise all the most remarkable things of the *Valaisians*.

A description of Valais or Valois.

* A Lake of the Allobroges by Geneua and Lausanna.

The Bishop of Sion is Count and Gouernor of Valais or Valois.



Fiue Wardes or Dioceſſes of the *Valaisians*, made first alliance with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Vnderuald*, in the yeare 1417. They were then in warre against a Bishop, named *William de Raron*, and his Father *Guiscard*, whom they had (by a popular tumult) forced from their houses. The Bernians gaue assistance to the Bishop and his Father, who were of their Bourgesses: And for this cause the *Valaisians* desiring to haue succour elsewhere: allied themselues with the fore-named 3. Cantons. Now fearing leste this might be an occasion of breeding quarrell betweene the Bernians, and the three Cantons allied with the *Valaisians*: the other cantons, who were as neuters to the businesse, laboured so earnestly, that the difference was pacified, and the Lords of *Raron* re-established in their goods. Before this alliance, the *Valaisians* had made one (for the space of ten yeares) with them of Berne, in the yeare 1250. Againe, after this warre, they contracted another alliance (for certaine time) with the Bernians. But in the yeare 1475. they made a league defensiue and offensiue. And in the same yeare when wee wrote this History (to wit, 1575.) an hundred yeares being expired, after the beginning of this league: they renewed and confirmed it on eyther part, by magnificent Ambassadors. Two yeares before they were leagued with the Bernians, they made a certaine agreement with them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*.

Guillaume de Raron and Guiscard his father.

Contracted alliances of the Valaisians with the Bernians.

To conclude, in our time, vpon great differences mooued, concerning matters of Religion, Ceremonies, life and manners of the Cleargy, whereof reformation was required, *Swetia* being diuided into contraty parts; *Adrian*, Bishop of *Sion*, and seuen Wardes of the *Valaisians*, in the yeare 1533. made alliance with seauen Cantons, in the Towne of *Fribourg*, which Cantons made profession of the Roman Religion, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*. In this Alliance (ouer & beside that which is vsed in the other) it

Differences about the ceremonies, liues, and mãners of the Cleargy.

was especially agreed, that they should aide one another, to maintaine the vsed and approued Religion, to wit, that of the Romane Church, against all them that would depriue or violence it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of. Rotwill, or Rotuill.

Opinions concerning the name of Rotwill, or Rotuill, which is an Imperiall Towne or Citty.

SOme haue imagined, that *Taxgætium*, whereof *Ptolomy* speaketh in his Geography, was *Rotwill* or *Rotuill*, which *Glareanus* calleth *Erythropolis*, hauing changed the *Aleman* or *Germane* word, into a Greek word: but they much deceiue themselues. For *Ptolomy* placeth *Taxgætium* in the country of the *Grisons*, and *Rotuille* is scituated beyond *Danubius* in *Germany*, on the left side of the Riuer *Nicra*, and very neere to the Spring-head of both those Floods or Riuers. This citty is sufficiently renowned among the Imperials, for therein is a chamber of the Empire, which is vulgarly called *Hofgricht*, whereunto all the round neighbouring countries resort, for causes of appeale. Such as are contumacious, and fayle of their appearance there; are sent (by sentence of the Iudges) into banishment from the Empire. It is said, that this chamber was established by the Emperor *Conrad* the third, and that it is 424. yeares since.

The first alliance of them of Rotuille with the cantons.



The first alliance that they of *Rotuille* made with the Switzers, was in the time of the Emperor *Fredericke* the third, in the yeare 146[illegible]. This alliance was renewed diuers times betweene them. At last, in the yeare 1519. they contracted perpetuall alliance with all the Cantons of the Switzers. Dvring the warre of *Suaba*, they of *Rotuille* (engirt with enemies on all sides) shewed themselues alwayes faithfull to the Switzers; offering them amiably and liberally all their riches and men: which the Switzers could not accept, but onely desired them, to defend their citty against the enemy. Now in regard that *Rotuille* is scituated along the limits of Swetia, and that succour cannot bee brought to one another, but with danger, considering, they must passe through other mens lands: the alliance speaketh expressely, that they must be carefull for drawing any war vpon them, or vpon any of their confederates.

Rotuille is scituated thorough the midst of Swetia.

A breuiate of the Articles of alliance betweene them and the Cantons.

And first of all; It is said, that they may not make war with any whosoeuer, without the knowledge and consent of the Cantons. They shall giue no succour to any person out of Swetia, without the will and consent of the Cantons. Moreouer, if they would haue reason by Arms, for any iniury or out-rage done vnto thē; they must attempt nothing, but by aduice of the Cantons. If their enemies will vndergoe iudgement, such as the Cantons shall thinke to be honest and equall: the men of *Rotuille* must also consent therto. If warre chance to bee moued among the cantons; they of *Rotuille* are to follow that part, which the most part of voyces do allow. The cantons are to conserue (with all their power) the Imperial chamber of *Rotuille*; which (in the mean while) shall vse no authority against the Switzers, or any of them. And if any stranger shall cite or summon thether a Switzer; they are to make knowne, and he likewise, how farre he is to bee defended by priuiledge. In breefe, they are not to molleste any Switzer in that iurisdiction.

The Imperiall Chamber of Rotuille, to be powerfully defended.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Mulhouse.

The situation and nomination of Mulhouse.

Mvlhouse is a Towne in the county of *Ferrara*, or (as some do hold opinion) in the Territory of *Basile*. It is thoght that in ancient times it was called *Ariabinium*. For in the Guide or Directer of wayes, appointed by *Antonius Augustus*;



this place is set betweene *Augusta Rauraca* (which is *Basile*) and *Vruncim*, which some do thinke to be called at this day, *Enshеym*; then Mount *Brissac*, *Heluetum*, and *Strasbourg* are named. In times of antiquity, *Mulhouse* was in number of the Imperiall townes: but the Bishop of *Strasbourg* was Gouernor thereof, also of the Towne

Mulhouse one of the Imperiall Townes.

Towne of *Colmar*. It came to paſſe, that warre happened betweene *Raoul* of *Habſpourg*, and the Biſhop of *Strasbourg*, wherein *Mulhouſe* was taken from the Biſhop, & the Caſtle ruined. After which time, *Mulhouſe* was againe re-obtained, and numbred among the Imperiall Cities and Townes.

Her firſt alliance with the *Switzers*, was made about the yeare 1464. For in regard that the neighboring Gentlemen molleſted the Towne, and narrowly watched all occaſions to aſſault it: the cittizens made alliance with them of *Berne*, for fifteene yeares, as alſo with *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*, and by meanes of the *Bernians* interceſſion, the other ſeuen Cantons tooke the Towne into their protection. Which proued ſo diſpleaſing to the Noble-men, that theſe priuate enmities conuerted themſelues (ſoone after) into open warre: which cauſed the Switzers immediately, to ſend and plant Garriſons in *Mulhouſe*. Afterward, all the Cantons brought their troopes into the field, and came with great aſſiſtance to releeue *Mulhouſe*.

Aliance made with Berne for fifteene yeares, and other.

In the end, hauing beſiedged the towne of *Waldshout*, appertaining to the houſe of *Auſtria*: they compelled the Gentlemen, to come to ſome equall conditions of peace. Afterward, they of *Mulhouſe* were receiued for fellow-Bourgeſſes with them of *Baſile*, and thereby more ſtrictly vnited to the Switzers. Nine yeares after, the 19. day of Ianuary, they made alliance with all the thirteene cantons. The conditions were all alike to the alliance of *Rotuille*, as well in regard of warres, as leagues with ſtrangers.

Alliance with all the thirteen Cantons

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of Bienne.

The ſituation and eſtate of Bienna.

Bienne is at the ende of a very pleaſant Lake, abounding with plenty of fiſh & round engirt (on all ſides) with goodly Vineyards. It is vnder the gouernment of the Biſhop of *Baſile*; and yet it enioyeth lawes and regiment a part by it ſelfe, as alſo liberall frãchiſes and priuiledges.



The firſt alliance of thẽ of *Bienna*, was made with the men of *Berne*, in the yeare 1303. to ridde the country of certaine robbers and theeues, which wandred there in ſo great numbers, as almoſt no way had any ſecurity for paſſage. In this alliance, they of *Strasbourg*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg* and *Solleurre* were alſo comprized. Three years after, in regard of ſome great differences, which they had with their neighbours: they made a particular alliance with the Bernians. Their third alliance was made in Anno 1352. and fifteen yeares after, becauſe *Iohn de Viana*, Biſhop of Baſile, (a man of turbulent ſpirit) wold not ſuffer any of his neighbours to liue in quiet: they of Bienna, deſirous to prouide for their owne eaſe and tranquility, ioyned themſelues more ſtrictly with the men of Berne, by giuing each to other the right of fellow-Bourgeſſes. The Biſhop very angry at this vnion, muſtred together ſome troopes of horſe, and (at vnawares) ranne vpon them of Bienna, and clapt vp in priſon the Authors of this aſſociation.

Iohn de Viana Biſhop of Baſile, a man troubleſome to his neighbours.

When the men of Berna heard of this deede, they came to ſuccour their fellow Bourgeſſes, tooke (by force) the Caſtle, which the Byſhop had in Bienna, ſet the priſoners at liberty, and made warre vpon the Byſhoppe, as alſo on them of *Solleurre*, his aſſociates. In this warre, they tooke and ruined many places, which were in ſubiection to the byſhop.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Geneua.

Eneua is the laſt and vtmoſt Cittie of the *Allobroges*, of which (amongſt other of Antiquity,) *Cæſar* hath made mention in his Commentaries.

Iulius Cæſar in comment. lib.1

Iul. Cæſ. in com. Lib. 1. The ſituation and antiquitie of Geneua.

It is neere to the limits of the Switzers, at the end of the Lake *Lemanus*, and an iſſue of *Rhone* commeth into it. Not onely the words of *Iulius Cæſar*, but alſo many antiquities there found, do teſtifie the ancientneſſe of the citty. Many famous Monuments might haue beene ſeene there, but that the citty was oftentimes ruined by enemies, and much deſtroyed and defaced by fire. For I finde in ancient chronicles, that in the time of *Heliogabalus*, *Geneua* was embraced with ſo fierce a fire, as hardly was any one houſe to be found, that ſtood free from it. The Emperour *Aurelianus* reſtored the citty againe, being ſo pitifully diſſigured, granted it great priuiledges, and gaue it the right of Fairs, and of the Empire, becauſe it was ſcituated moſt commodiouſly. Hee called it *Aurelia*, according to his owne name: but after his death ſhe took her ancient name againe. Afterward, it was forradged (as many other citties were) by diuers barbarous Nations, intruding themſelues into France. And ſome 250. yeares after, or thereabout, within the ſpace of 7. yeares, fire tooke it in ſuch terrible manner, as the moſt part of the citty was quite ruined.

Geneua called by the name of Aurelia.

The Biſhoppricke of *Geneua*, in former times had very ample priuiledges & franchiſes: yet notwithſtanding, the cittizens held their liberties to themſelues, and alwayes carefully conſerued theyr leagues perpetuall with the Biſhop, according as they were left vnto them by their anceſtors. The Counts of *Geneway* were great enemies to their liberties: who (neuertheleſſe) were vaſſailes of the Biſhoppricke, and held their Earledomes of him by fealty. So in like manner were the Counts of *Sauoye*; but the cittizens maintained their rights and priuiledges couragiouſly againſt the Counts.

The Countes of Geneway and of Sauoye, great enimies to the liberties of the cittizens of Geneua.

In the yeare 1420. when *Amias*, the firſt Duke of Sauoye, laboured to obtain of Pope *Martin*, by way of enterchange, the right and ſuperiority (as they call it) ouer the citty of *Geneua*: the Biſhop named *Iohn de Pierre-ſcize*, made an agreement for him, and all his ſucceſſors with the cittizens, that he nor they ſhould at any time conſent, that the liberties of *Geneua* ſhould be exchanged or alienated. If eyther he, or any of his ſucceſſors did otherwiſe; the cittizens might hold and ranke him or them in the number of traitors and conſpiring enemies. Some while after this, the Emperor *Maximillian*, hauing amply publiſhed his Sonne in law, *Philebert*, Duke of Sauoye, Vicar of the Empire in thoſe parts: then againe, *Philebert* and his brother *Charles*, ſtroue to ſubiect *Geneua* vnder their awe, pretending the title of this new right, and priuiledges of the Vicarſhip, giuen in former times to the Counts of Sauoye, by the Emperour *Charles* the fourth. Who (notwithſtanding) tooke from Count *Amias*, all action, power, iuriſdiction, and preheminence, ouer the citty and territory of *Geneua*.

Anagreement made betweene the Biſhop and cittizens of Geneua, concerning the liberties of the Citty.

While theſe practiſes and conſpiracies of the neighbouring Princes laſted, they of *Geneua* maintained themſelues heedfully in amity with the Switzers, and (diuers times) made alliance with the Bernians and Fribourgers, for certain years. At length, they combined alliance and fellow-Bourgeſhip perpetually, with thē of *Berne*, and confirmed it more ſtrictly, in the yeare 1536. Then in regard of the religions alteration, the Duke of *Sauoye*, and the Biſhop of *Geneua*, made war vpon the cittizens, they being ſuccoured by them of *Berne*. This alliance hath bene (ſince then) renewed, and many friendly motions made, to allie *Geneua* with the Cantons: but I know no reaſon, why it is nor executed and done.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of New-Caſtle.

The eſtate of New-caſtle, being both a City & County in the ancient country of the Auantici.

THE Citty of *New-Caſtle*, is ſeated in the country of the *Auantici*, vpon the lake which is called the Lake of *New-Caſtle*, at the head whereof is another little Towne, called *Yuerdun*. *New-Caſtle* is both a citty and country, and the Count thereof was choſen by ſucceſſion of the Counts of *New-Caſtle*: but ſince, falne to the Counts of *Hochberg*, the Marqueſſe of *Rotelin*, and to two Dukes of *Longueuille*. During the warre betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Switzers, the men of Berne (in name

name of all the cantons their confederates) poſſeſſed themſelues of the citty of *New-caſtle*, and of the whole county, and placed there a Gouernor. This order the other cantons continued, except that of *Zurich*, who hauing loſt their ranke: at the returne of it to their turne againe, they ſhould command at *New-caſtle* two yeares together.

A Gouernor placed in New-caſtle by the Cantons.

But when the time drew neere, *Ione* of *Hochberg*, widdow to the Duke of *Longueuille*, preuailed ſo much, as (with certaine conditions) the county was ſurrendred back againe, in the yeare 1529. Somtime before, this county had beene allied from the Cantons of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre* by meanes of ſome Articles, which were confirmed againe vpon this reſtoring or ſurrender. At this day, the counties of *New-caſtle* are particularly allied with the men of *Berne*, or the *Bernians*.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of thoſe people that are gouerned (in common) by the Cantons of the Switzers.

WEe haue appointed for a third part of our Switzers common-wealth, thoſe people that are gouerned (in common) by the Switzers. It is neceſſary then, to ſay ſome-what of the time, and by what title, they became ſubiects to the Switzers. Among them there are ſome Townes, which wee may tearme ſtipendaries: becauſe (at their own proper coſts and charges) they march along in warre with the Switzers. Neuertheleſſe, they gouerne themſelnes by their owne lawes, and make election of their Magiſtrates; & yet the maine ſoueraignty appertaineth to the Switzers, to whoſe Lawes and Edicts, thoſe Townes ſtand bound to obey. Anciently they belonged to the houſe of *Auſtria*, but during the warres againſt that houſe, the Switzers became Maſters of the neighbouring countries, and theſe Townes yeelded thẽſelues to them vpon certaine conditions; to wit, that they ſhould be as well ſubiect to them, as to the houſe of *Auſtria*, their ancient priuiledges ſaued and excepted. Thoſe Towns are *Bada*, *Bremgarten*, *Frauuenfeld*, *Mellingen*, and *Raſperwill*.

The cauſe & reaſon of this inſtant argument.

A good and ſingular kinde of gouernmẽt and well obſerued among them in thoſe parts.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bada.

Bada is a Towne vppon the Riuer *Limagus*, or *Limmathus*, and ſo called, in regard of hot waters, whereof there are many Welles or Fountaines in that place, whereunto men and women vſe to reſort (in great numbers) from diuers countries. For this cauſe ſome haue called it the Towne of Baths, others, the Caſtle. According to cuſtome of our Elders, who called Baths, thoſe places where there were hot Springs and Fountaines: ſo may wee tearme this, the Switzers Baths. As in Italy there are the Baths of Statiell, and others: In France, the Baths of *Aix*, of the *Conuenes*, and of the *Tarbes*. In Germany, the Baths of *Spach* or *Spaw*, and of *Aix*. In like manner, *Bada*, a Towne of the Marquiſate of *Bada*, in a certaine inſcription, is named, *The Bathes*: And in the inſcription of *Wettingen*, they of *Bada* are called, The cittizens of the Baths.

Hot waters or Baths belonging to the Switzers.

Of Baths in diuers countries,

In England likewiſe is a Towne of Baths,

This Towne is one of the moſt ancient of Swetia, by the teſtimony of *Cornelius Tacitus*, who tearmeth it a Towne or Citty, hauing in abundance, and with great pleaſure, very wholeſome waters. The ſame Author ſaith, that the Romans took notice of a Garriſon in the Caſtle of *Eada*, and reputed it ſelfe to be a Garriſon: for the Mountaines which cloſe & ioyne together in that quarter, do locke vp the country. To paſſe out of Germany and Swetia into France, and into Italy, wee muſt goe through *Bada*, then ouer the lands of *Zurich*; from thence into the country of *Ergow*, and thwart ouer Swetia. In ancient times, this Towne had two Caſtles, one ſeated vpon an high Rocke, which is nothing now at this day, but old decayed ruines (being ſpoyled and defaced by the Switzers, as we ſhall declare anon.) And the other at an end of a bridge, where

The teſtimony of Cornelius Tacitus, concerning Bada.

where (in our time) dwelt the Bayliffes or Gouernours, which were ſent thither by the Cantons. *Bada* hath had (in former times) Counts, the race whereof are quite extinct, and their ſucceſſors haue bene the Lords of *Habſpourg*, who ioyned that County to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and diuers other goods. But from the houſe of *Auſtria*, *Bada* came into the Switzers hands, at the time of the Councel of *Conſtance*, in manner following.

Bada ioyned to the houſe of Auſtria, & reuolued to the Switzers.

Fredericke of *Auſtria*, brought Pope *Iohn* the 22. out of the Councell, & maintained him againſt the Emperour and the Councell. For which cauſe, by the Decree of the Councell, he was excommunicated, baniſhed from the Empire, and his goods confiſcated. The Emperour himſelfe, with an aſſembled Army, from the Townes and Citties of *Germanie* and *Suaba*, the Duke of *Bauaria*, and ſome others, made warre vpon him. Alſo commandement was giuen to the Switzers, on behalfe both of the Emperour and the Councell to aſſaile *Frederick* with al their forces. Whereof they made refuſall, alledging that they could not doe it, and their honor ſaued: in regard of the peace formerly made (for fifty yeares following) with them of *Auſtria*; confirmed by Oath and Letters Patents. The Fathers of the Councell made anſwere to this excuſe of the *Switzers*: that *Fredericke* was an enemy to the Church, excommunicated and baniſhed by publike order: This warre concerned the good of ỹ Church, who was offended and iniuried (in her members) by *Frederick*.

By what meanes Bada came into the power of the Switzers.

A Councel of war, & their anſwer returned vnto the Switzers.

Wherefore, if in this cauſe the Switzers vndertooke Armes, according to the command of the Emperour, they ſhould do a good and holy worke. They ſhould alſo well conſider with themſelues, how much it woulde wounde their honour, if (in contrary oppoſition) they continued idle excuſes, which would wrap them vp in the ſame cenſure and condemnation with *Frederick*. Ouer and beſide all this, according to the aduice of the Ambaſſadors of *England*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Bohemia*, *Polonia*, and Princes, Gentlemen, and Lawyers, the Emperour declared, that the Switzers might (vvith a good and ſafe conſcience) make warre vppon *Fredericke*, notwithſtanding the peace made. Becauſe that the Subiects of the Empire, in all actions doe except expreſſely or couertly, the right and Maieſty of the Emperor.

In the ſelfe-ſame councell it was decreed, that men did not ſtande bound to keepe Faith with them that were called heretikes.

The Emperor ſent a copy of this areſt and decree to the *Switzers*, enioyning them againe to make war on *Fredericke*, and by the ſame meanes adiudged to the empire, all that which they of *Auſtria* had engaged to them before. Promiſing alſo, not to make any peace with *Fredericke*, til the *Switzers* were firſt reintegrated into their former agreement. The *Switzers* being then perſwaded with ſuch reaſons, leuied their Armes; but becauſe they were to Warre in the name of the Emperor, and of the Romane Empyre, they demanded wages of the Emperour: declaring, there was no reaſon, that they ſhould furniſh themſelues at theyr owne charge, and the fruite of the victory fall into other mens hands; and that theyr wealth was not ſufficient to furniſh ſuch expences.

A Copy of the Decree ſent by the Emperour to the Switzers

The Switzers demand wages of the Emperor for their ſeruice.

The Emperor thought this demand to be made in equity: neuertheleſſe, becauſe he was ſomewhat empty of money, hee agreed with the Switzers, that all the goodes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which they poſſeſſed already, or could conquer in this warre; they ſhould enioy it in the Empires name, vntil they ſhould be paid their wages, and charges during the war. By eſpeciall Letters, the Emperor exhorted them of Zurich to enter the field, and granted them (in title of Fee) the Countrey which is beyond Mount *Albius*, named the Free Prouince, which they of *Auſtria* held. According heereto, the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, and fifteene, about the fifteenth day of April, the men of Zurich, with their troops well prepared; went to beſiedge a Towne ſeated on the Riuer of *Ruſs*, named *Mellingen* and on the third day tooke it by compoſition. From thence they went to *Bremgarten*, where the Cantons of Suits & Zug ioyned with them. They of *Bremgarten*, (by example of the other) yeelded theſelues to the *Switzers*, vnder protection of the Empire.

The Emperors Letters to them of Zurich.

The Conqueſts of the Switzers.

At the ſame time, the Lucernians tooke a Towne named *Surſey*. The Bernians, aſsiſted by them of *Solleurre*, *Bienna*, the County of *New-caſtle*, and ſome others beſide, got into their power *Zofingen*, *Arberg*, *Arow*, *Lentzbourg* & *Brug*, to-

together with the country of *Ergow*. As for them of Zurich, after they had taken the forenamed Townes, they beſiedged *Bada*. All the other Cantons, except *Bern* ioynd with them, for they of *Auſtria* held no place in *Swetia* of greater ſtrēgth then this: and the Garriſon of *Bada* had much ouer-trauelled the Switzers, eſpecially them of Zurich, and this was the reaſon, that the Cantons reſolued to force both the Towne and Caſtle. As for the towne, after it had beene beaten with the Cannon, for the ſpace of three weekes, without ceaſing, it yeelded. But the ſoldiours ſtill defended themſelues in regard of the fortreſſe, and held out well, after redditi-on of the Towne. The Switzers on the other ſide, hauing receiued ſuccour from them of Berne, did dayly beate the place, and preſſed the Garriſon to yeelde themſelues. At length, the Souldiers hauing no more ſtones, arrowes, darts, nor anie other munition proper for defence, truce being granted for ſome dayes: vpon condition, that if within a limited time *Fredericke* of *Auſtria* did not deliuer thē from this ſiedge, they would quit the place, and deliuer the caſtle into the power of the Switzers.

The towne of Bada is yeelded vp to the Switzers.

The Caſtle of Bada vpon conditions of deliuery.

Subtle deuices, to breake the blowes of the Switzers, and to holde their liberties dayly bridled.

While theſe things were in working; by the interceſſion of the Duke of Bauaria, and the Burggraue of Nuremberg, *Fredericke* was reconciled to the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, who ſent immediately his Ambaſſadours to the campe of the Switzers, to giue them command for the ceaſing of warre. But the Switzers feeling yet the outrages which the Garriſon of Bada had done vnto them, ſo ſoon as the truce time was expired, ſo preſſed them within, that two dayes after Pentecoſt, the caſtle was deliuered to them, which they burned and quite ruined, as ſoone as the enemy had auoided it. On the Morrow, the Count of *Togge*, Ambaſſadour from the Emperor, being arriued at the Switzers campe, to command them agayne, that they ſhould giue ouer armes, found the caſtle to be taken and ſpoyled. This ſtrooke ſomewhat deadly vnto the Noble mens hearts: but they had no occaſion to complaine, becauſe the Switzers had done nothing, but in caſe of open & lawfull warre.

A counterſtratagem of the Switzers.

Then, as the Emperor was ready to go for Spain, to fetch thence *Pierre de Lune*, that he might be Pope, who afterwardes was called *Benet* the eleuenth; beeing in need of money, becauſe his cofers vvere emptied (hauing diſburſed great payes, without any intermiſſion in the precedent warres, and for the affaires of the Councell) he engaged to them of Zurich, Bada, Bremgarten, Mellingen, Surſey, and the Lands to them belonging. Alſo to them of Berne, the country of Ergow, vvhich they had taken, as already hath beene declared: yet paying a great ſum of crowns. At this day, the country of *Ergow* is poſſeſſed by them of Berne onely. The yeare following, they of *Zurich* made a part of that which was ingaged to them, ouer to the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*.

The Emperor engageth lāds to them of Zurich, and of Berne.

From the beginning, the men of *Vri* vvould not haue any part; as thinking, that the detention of theſe places, contradicted the treaty of peace made vvith *Fredericke*. But after they vnderſtood the reaſons of their confederates, who proteſted (in themſelues) the ſame deſire of obſeruing the peace: but that by commaund of the Emperor, and of the Councel, they vndertooke armes. Next, that by the will and conſent of them both, they poſſeſſed now thoſe places for wages, and price of warre-ſeruice, and held them on the faith of the Emperor, the ſoueraigne Lorde; yet for a great ſumme of money, vvhich they had layd out & diſburſed. The men of *Vri* hauing heard theſe Reaſons, and other of the like Nature, entred into part of this engagement. The Bernians alſo vvere receiued in at the length.

Vri ſtood free from all theſe partakings, til further information from their confederates.

Vri and Berne accepted into this combination at laſt.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bremgarten, and Mellingen.

How and in what manner Bremgarten is ſeated.

Bremgarten is a Towne, ſituated on the Riuer of *Ruß*, which encloſeth it in the midſt almoſt, in forme of a demy Iſland, a great Germane mile beneath *Lucerna*. It appeareth by the ancient priuiledges of this Towne, that it was (heretofore) numbred among the Imperials. Neuertheles, it became (afterwards) ſubiect vnto the Counts of *Habſpourg*, then to the Princes of

of *Auſtria* deſcended of them. But it is not well knowne at what time, neyther by what title, they came to make themſelues Lords thereof.

A deſcription of the ſcituation of Mellingen.

Mellingen is a little ſmall Towne vpon the ſelfeſame Riuer, about half a German mile below Bremgarten. It hath alwayes beene vnder the dominion of the Counts of *Habſpourg*. Theſe two Towns were taken (as Bada) in this war which the Switzers made vnder the Empires name, and then afterward, the Emperour *Sigiſmond* pawned it to the Cantons: vpon condition, that all their ancient rightes, priuiledges, and cuſtomes, ſhould remain entire, and the Cittizens to yeelde the ſame dutie to the Cantons, as formerly they had done vnto the Counts of *Habſpourg*, and Princes of *Auſtria* their Lordes. At this very day, both theſe Townes are vnder gouernement of the eight firſt Cantons.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Raſperwill.

The forme & ſcituation of Raſperwill.

AS concerning *Raſperwill*, it is a town on the Lake of Zurich, wherin dwelt (ſometimes the Counts of *Raſperwil*, who had to their ſucceſſours the Countes of *Habſpourg*, that gouernd likewiſe in theſe quarters. In the yeare 1458. the Switzers became maſters thereof. There were then two factions in this town; the one of *Auſtrians*, and the other of Switzers. Duke *Sigiſmond*, tooke ſome of the Switzers partakers, and brought them as priſoners to *Inſpruk*. The reſt amazed at this deede, fled into *Swetia*; but by entermiſe of the Cantons, they all re-entred *Raſperwill* againe. For the Cantons proteſted out alowde, that they would come and aſſault the towne, except the priſoners might be enlarged, and the baniſhed receiued.

Two factions of Auſtrians and Switzers in Raſperwill.

It came to paſſe the yeare following, that the Switzers made warre on them of *Conſtance*, who had done them ſome deſpightfull outrages. Peace being made, as they of *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, and *Glaris* returned homeward to their houſes, they demanded victuals for their troopes, and paſſage thorow *Raſperwil*, which they eaſily obtained by the purſuite of their partakes. But, being entred more ſtrong, and in greater number then the Cittizens (the moſt part whereof were Switzers in affection) they compelled the Cittizens to ſweare fidelity to them. So that from that time, *Raſperwill* remained in the power of thoſe foure Cantons: who (neuertheleſſe) left the citizens to the ſame liberty as they had vnder the Dukes of *Auſtria*.

How Raſperwill became ioyned to the Cantons, and ſo afterward continued.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of Frawenfeld.

How the town came to be taken by the 7. Cantons.

TWo yeares after the taking of *Raſperwill*, the ſeauen Cantons then being in warre againſt *Sigiſmond*, Duke of *Auſtria*, tooke *Frawenfeld*, the chiefeſt town in all the country of *Turgow*. There were reaſons and occaſions enow, whereby this warre was vndertaken and attempted. The Duke had impriſoned Cardinall *Cuſano*, byſhoppe of Breſcia, and becauſe he did not releaſe him, ſo ſoone as Pope *Pius* (who formerly was named *Æneas Syluius*) ſent him command to doe it, hee was therefore excommunicated. But, becauſe this Thunder-bolte did not diſmay him, and he appealed from that ſentence, to the next Councell: the Pope commanded the Switzers to defend the Churches rightes, and to ſet vpon *Sigiſmond*. The Cantons, who had as much credite with the one, as vvith the other, obeyed the Popes command: but there happened other occaſions to induce this warre.

The cauſes that procured this warre.

The Pope commanded the warre.

Small ſparkes can cauſe and kindle a great fire, and triuolous ſuſpition proue to produce great harme.

The towne of *Winterduer*, in the countie of *Kybourg*, appertaining to the Canton of Zurich, was ſubiected to the Duke of *Auſtria*. There is euery yeare in that place a Fayre, on the day of Saint *Gal*, the ſixte of October, whereat the Countrey people round about doe meete in great numbers. They of *Kybourg* being come thither, the gates vver ſhut againſt them, vppon a ſiniſter ſuſpition of the inhabitants, that they of Zurich would ſurprize the Towne, during the Faire time, & had therefore made ſome preparation.

Now, as the Bayliffe eſtabliſhed by the Canton of Zurich in thoſe quarters, required that the Gates might be ſet open, and that they of Kybourg might haue free trading, according to theyr accuſtomd maner, promiſing that the town ſhould

One wrong or iniury draweth on another, and to no meane danger

should receiue no endamagement; notwithstanding all this, no credite would be giuen vnto his words. As a counterchange of this iniury, they of Zurich prohibited their people from bringing either victuals or merchandizes to *Winterduer*. The Duke of *Austria* on the other side, standing vppon his guard, placed a garrison in the towne. These things happned before the excommunication from the Pope.

But yet there was another occasion for the moouing of this warre. There were two brethren, Gentlemen of mark, of the country of *Stiria*, named *Vigilius*, and *Bernard Gradlers*. They of *Austria*, had inforced them from their houses, and despoyled them of all their goods: without excepting so much as the dowrie belonging to *Bernards* wife, who was of the house of *Starckenberg*. After they had sollicited the Duke a long time, to restore theyr goods againe, and neuer could obtain so much, as that hee would admit but vvhat iustice did allow: at length, they withdrew themselues into *Swetia*, and were receyued as Bourgesses into Zurich. Afterward, hauing brought a little town, called *Eglisow*: they made warre on the Duke of *Austria*, assisted by the men of Zurich. The Duke placed a new garrison at *Winterduer*, but after the troopes of Zurich were drawne thence: some difference fel betweene the Garrison, and the inhabitants of *Kybourg*. So that once more they of Zurich (hauing demanded succour of their confederates) went foorth into the fielde, going to besiedge *Winterduer*. At this time then, to wit, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred and sixty, *Diessenhow*, a Towne on the *Rheine*, in the country of *Turgow*, this country also, and *Frawenfeld* were conquered, and reduced vnder the power of the Switzers.

It is now called both Stiria and Austria.

Violence and cruelty is deaf and will not heare any iustice.

A new Garrison is planted at Winterduer, which soon after was besiedged.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the nine Baylywicks, or Gouernments.

The Baylywickes gouerned by the 7. first Cantons, and others with them.

THE common Baylywickes, are gouerned (in part) by the seauen first Cantons, and partly by some other with them. There are nine Baylywicks, or Gouernments in all, to wit; the Countie of Bada, the three Prouinces, *Turgow*, *Sargans*, the *Rheguscos*, that is to say, the valley of *Rheine*, which they call *Rinthall*, *Lugano*, *Locarna*, *Mendrisa*, and the vale *Madia*. The foure last are beyond the Alpes, in Italy, towards the *Millainneses*, & speak Italian; the other the Germane tongue. *Sargans*, and the valley of *Rhinthall*, are on the Frontiers of the *Grisons*: the other 3. are seated within the confines of ancient *Swetia*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Bada and Turgow.

The maner of their Conqueste hath bin already declared.

IN this manner (then) were the Towne and County of *Bada*, *Turgow*, and *Frawenfeld*, by the *Switzers* conquered; at such times, and by those meanes, as formerly hath bene related. The Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, *Vnderualde*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Berne*, commaunded at Bada. They are Lords of *Turgow*, except the Canton of Bern, which hath no part therein. As concerning the taking knowledge of criminall causes, the Emperour *Sigismond* tooke it from *Frederick* of *Austria*, at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, and engaged it to the City of *Constance*, which kepte it till the yeare 1499. when the Emperor *Maximillian* attributed that authority to the *Switzers*, by a treaty of peace which hee made with thē. And therefore the seuen first Cantons aboue named, are Lords of *Turgow*. But concerning the knowledge of crimes, appellations and fines or amercements, which may happen, as oftentimes they doe: that appertaineth to the tenne first Cantons, who made warre agaynst the Emperour *Maximillian*, and the League of *Suaba*.

Criminal causes took away by the Emp. Sigismond.

The authority belonging to the ten first Cantons.

CHAP. 34.

Of the three first Prouinces.

Concerning the scituation and true names of the free Prouinces.

NOW, to speake of the three Prouinces, which are along beyond the Riuer of *Russ* (to distinguish them from the free Prouince, beyond the Mountain *Albius*, which was giuen to them of Zurich, by the Emperor *Sigismond*, as we haue already declared before:) they were taken by the Switzers, at the very same time when

when *Bada* was conquered. Heere let me tell you, that we call certaine Caſtles & Villages, which lye along the Riuer of *Ruſs*, both aboue and below *Bremgarten*, free Prouinces. This name was giuen them (in mine opinion) becauſe that the three villages, to wit, *Meyenberg*, *Richenſee* and *Ergow*, had anciently kept (each one) her iuriſdiction, Magiſtrates, and Officers by themſelues: ſo that they ſeemed as three ſeuerall Prouinces, nowe ioyned all into one. In times paſt, all that quarter was called the Countie of *Rora*, and ſo it was named by *Henry* the 5. Emperour, in a priuiledge of the Abbey of *Muren*. The caſtle belonging vnto the Countes of *Rora*, was in the Towne of *Arow*.

The reaſon why the name was thus giuē them, according to the authors opinion

At ſuch time, as (by command of the Emperor and the Councel of *Conſtance*) the Switzers made warre on *Fredericke* of *Auſtria*, they of *Lucerna* conquered thoſe places, which are along the Riuer of *Ruſs*, and namely that county of *Rora*. After the warre, when they contended vvho ſhould be Lords thereof only: the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* oppoſed againſt them, and in diuers dayes held at *Begkenried*, *Vnderuald*, *Suits*, and in the campe before Bremgarten, they ſhewed, that (from the beginning of the warre) the Cantons had agreed, that they ſhould be Lords (in common) of all places in the countrey of *Ergow*, that ſhould be won in that Warre. Now, although the Lucernians maintained, that they had giuen charge thereof to their Ambaſſadors; yet notwithſtanding, after the teſtimonies were gathered both of the one ſide & other, the Lords of Berne beeing appointed iudges of the variance pronounced, that theſe 5. Cantons had part in all the country.

Some difference among the Cantons, concerning the conqueſt of the free Prouinces.

The Lucernians p'leaded their Title in right of theyr Ambaſſadors.

Tenne yeares after that, by conſent of the ſixe *Cantons*, they of *Vri* were ioyned with them, and hadde a great part alſo in that gouernment. And therfore *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, are Lords thereof at this day. The countrey is not great; and therefore, of what *Canton* ſoeuer the Bayliffe is, hee makes not his reſidence there: but vvhen neceſſity doth ſo require, he comes once a yeare to iudge ſuites in law, and then he is lodged (moſt often) in the Abbey of *Muren*, which is rich enough, and well builded.

Vri ioyned with them ten yeeres after, & had a part in the gouernment.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Sargans.

AMong the Griſons, the *Sarunetes* liued long time ſince; but at this day, both their towne and countrey is vulgarly called *Sargans*, whereof diuers ætymologies are made. But in the auncients Chartes, this Towne is named *Sarunegans*, which is a word deriued from the name of *Sarunetes*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention. Now, becauſe the dwelling of the *Sarunetes* was at the ſpring of the Riuer *Inn*, where now they of *Engadin* and of *Munſtertal* make their abiding; the inhabiting *Sargans* (now in queſtion) it may be, are yſſued from them there: or elſe might take their name of the Riuer called *Sar*, which runneth thorough the Towne.

The ſcituation of the Country and Town of Sargans, and diuerſitie of names therto belonging.

In former times, this countrey belonged to the Counts of *Werdenberg*, who in that reſpect were called Countes of *Sargans*. Afterward they pawned it vnto the *Auſtrian* Princes, and at another time to the *Counts* of *Togge*, but redeemed it againe, and poſſeſſed it til the yeare 1483. And then, *George Count* of *Werdenberg*, ſold it to the ſeuen firſt *Cantons*, who ſent a Bayliffe thither each one by his turne, that commanded the whole country, & kept in the caſtle where the *Countes* were wont to dwell. As for the Towne of *Sargans*, although it is ſubiect vnto the Switzers: yet notwithſtanding, it enioyeth hir priuiledges, and electeth Magiſtrates that adminiſter Iuſtice, and alſo deale in criminall cauſes.

The Counts of Werdenberg. Counts of Sargans.

Sargans ſolde to the Switzers.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Rheguſces: now adayes called Rhinthall.

That is to ſay: *The Valley of Rheine.*

THE *Rheguſces* are of the Griſons countrey, dwelling on the bankes of Rheine, aboue the Lake of *Conſtance*. As for them that dwell beyond the Rheine, where

The ſcituation of Rhinthall, and of the countries on either ſide of Rheine.

where are *Bregents* and *Velcure*: they are yet to this day, subiects to the House of *Austria*. But they on the hither side, as *Rhinek* and *Altstetten*, two little Townes, and the valley tending toward the Count of *Werdemberg*, they are obedient to the Switzers. Heeretofore, all this countrey appertained vnto them of *Austria*, who pawned it to the Lords of *Ion*. But at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, when as *Fredericke* of *Austria* was banished by the Emperour *Sigismond*: the Count of *Togge*, the Emperours adopted sonne, seized on this valley of *Rheine*, and other places belonging vnto the house of *Austria*, by disbursing money for them, to whom they were engaged.

The valley of Rhein seized by the Count of Togge adopted son to the Emperor

Afterwards, this Count pawned this Valley of Rheine, for a great summe of money, to two Gentlemen, *Huldrich* and *Conrad Beierer*, brethren. In the yeare, 1460. *Iaques Beierer*, their Brother and heyre, hauing some variance with them of *Appenzel*, and fearing his vnablenes of keeping this valley against their strength: willingly solde them his rights, and resigned the engagement. After that, this valley remained in the power, and vnder dominion of *Appenzel*, for the space of thirty yeares, or thereabout.

The valley solde to them of Appenzell.

But when it so fell out, that the men of *Appenzel* were troubled in warre, against the Abbot of S. *Gall*, his subiects, and the Cittizens also, and the Abbey of *Rosach* (new built) quite defaced: the Canton'd Switzers, confederates with the Abbot, mustred vp their troops, and called their other allies to them, by whose helpe they maintained the Abbot, and condemned them of *Appenzel* in a great fine. Which made them to require peace, and beside, to offer them the rule of the Valley of Rheine: the possession whereof fell (as a recompence) to the Cantons of Zurich, Lucerna, Suits, and Glaris. After this, they parted with a portion of this Seigneury, to the Cantons of Vri, Vnderuald, and Zug, who had assisted thē: likewise to *Appenzel*, who indeed wer ancient Lords thereof. So that (euen to this day) these eight Cantons, each after other) send a Bayliffe into this valley, who makes his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhinek*, at one end of the valley, somewhat aboue the place, where the Rheine enters into the Lake of *Constance*.

How Rhinthall came to belong to the Switzers.

Bayliffes sent by the eight Cantons to the valley for Rulers there.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Gouernments and baylywikes which are in Italy.

FOure Bailywicks do yet remain, which the Switzers call Baylywicks beyond the Mountaines, because they are quite ouer the Alpes. The first is *Lugano* or *Luca*, a Towne vppon the Lake, which some call the Lake of *Gauna*; others, the Lake of Lugano. This Lake is in the middest of two other Lakes, to wit, that of *Coma* on the left hād, and on the right hande of the Lake *Maior*, whereinto it shutteth vp it selfe.

Baylywickes beyond the mountaines.

Lugano or Luca the first Bayliwicke.

The second Baylywicke, and neerest of all to this former, is *Locarna*: a very pleasant Towne, at the head of the Lake *Maior*, sometimes beautified vvith verie goodly and strong Castles, and accounted the cheefest in Lombardie, next vnto that of Millaine.

Locarna the 2

The Bayliwick of *Mendrisa*, on the left hand of the Lake of *Gauna*, maketh the third.

Mendrisa the third.

And for the last, there is the Vale of *Madia*, which depended heeretofore vpon *Locarno*, as *Mendrisa* on *Lugano*.

The vale Madia the fourth

These foure Baylywickes fell to the Switzers, in the yeare, 1513. by the Donation of *Maximillian Sforza*, Duke of Millaine. For, hee hauing driuen the French out of Italy, by the counsell and authority of Pope *Iulius*, and being holpen therein by the Venetians and Switzers, he made a present of these four Baylywickes (abutting on the Frontiers of their countrey) to the Switzers. He gaue also the Vale of *Tellina* to the Grisons. But three yeares after, King *Frances* hauing vanquished the Switzers at Marignano, expelled the Duke, and re-vnited to his Crowne the Dukedome of Millaine. By an accord made at Fribourg, he confirmed this donation of his owne royal authority, as his successors in the dukedome of Millaine did the like.

How and in what manner these seuerall Baylywickes came to bee commanded by the Switzers.

All the Cantons send their bayliffs thether by turnes, except that of Appenzell, which vvas not in the number of the Cā-

tons, when as these countries were first giuen to the Switzers: but they were receiued in a yeare after onely.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Bellizona.

WE might ranke among these Bayliwickes of *Italy*, the Towne of *Bellizona*, which obeyeth to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. This Towne (in former times) appertained vnto the Countes of *Misauk*, who were reiected by the Dukes of *Millaine*. Afterward, hauing found meanes to enter againe by intelligence; they sold it to them of *Vri* and *Vnderuald*. But the Duke of *Millain* recouered it againe, and tooke it from the Switzers, by the same subtle tricks which the Counts of *Misauk* had vsed to repossesse it. This hapned about the yeare, 1422.

Bellizona in obedience to three of the Cantons, yet recouered by the Dukes of Millaine.

After that time, the *Switzers* made many voyages ouer the Mountaines to recouer *Bellizona*. At length, in the yeare 1500. they got into possession of it agen. For, in regard of continuall warres betweene the *Sforzaes* and the French: the men of Bellizona willing to prouide for their owne safety, yeelded themselues to the Canton of *Vri*. The French, becomming masters of the *Millaineses*, labored often (but all in vain) to regain the town. Finally, at such time as the Dukes of *Millaine* gaue the fore-named foure Baylywickes to the Cantons, they were also confirmed in the possession of Bellizona.

Bellizona yeilded to the Cãton of Vri.

The Switzers in full possession of Bellizona.

The whole country is diuided into 3. Bayliwicks, to witte, *Bellizona*, the vale *Brune*, and *Riuiera*; and in like maner gouerned (turne after turne) by those three Cantons, that they haue a Balywicke belonging to each one. As if *Vri* doe establish a Gouernour or Bayliffe at *Bellizona*: *Suits* placeth one also in the vale *Brune*, and *Vnderuald* one at *Riuiera*. Then beginning againe, *Vri* commends one to *Riuiera*, *Vnderuald* to the vale *Brune*, and *Suits* to *Bellizona*. And becausе that the Baylywick of *Riuiera* is of the least reuennew, most commonly, he that hath bene Bayliffe at *Bellizona*, is established nexte after at *Riuiera*.

Three Baylywickes in Bellizona, & how their gouernment is ordered equally.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Alliances made by the Cantons, with Kings and Princes neere neighbouring to them.

Demosthenes, the most eloquent of all the Græcian Orators, a man woonderfully well acquainted with affayres of State, and (aboue all) a deare Louer of his Countreyes liberty, wrote thus. *Ouergreat familiarity with Tyrants, should be suspitious to ciuill and free Citties: And no trust is to bee reposed in them, especially if they bee neighbours, becausе euery King and Tyrant is an enemy to liberty, and contrary to lawes.* The euent and successe attending on such cases, did well witnesse, that this Learned man had giuen very wholesome counsell to the Athenians, yea, and to all Greece. For *Phillip* the sonne of *Amyntas* (against whom *Demosthenes* made head) and the succeeding Kings of Macedon oppressed the liberty of the Greekes, by a dissembled amity, and working certaine combinations and alliances, deuised onely for their owne aduantage.

The Learned & wise counsel of the Grecian Oratour Demosthenes wel approued and experienced by his own country.

The case standing thus, I thinke, that many stand thus amazed, what shoulde moue the ancient *Switzers* to make such alliances as they haue done with straungers, Kinges and Princes, their Neighbours. But heere is to bee noted and obserued, that all alliances doe not hurt one like another in a Commonwealth. They are to be mistrusted, which do import a league offensiue and defensiue, & ouergreat familiarity. Otherwise, for the benefite of peace, it is needfull sometimes, that Princes and great Lords nere neighbouring, should ally themselues togither, for the better vse of some rightes, and the easier mannaging of their affayres. The ancient *Switzers* made many such alliances of peace and amity. And if at any time they were knit more strictly to some King or Prince, it was not inconsiderately done: but, as appeareth by the tenour of the alliances, the conditions wer such, as their liberties could no waies be easily touched or wronged.

The Switzers haue bin wondred at, for their leagues.

What alliances are said to be dangerous and what are indifferent, & not hurtfull.

The prouidét care of the Switzers, in making their Leagues.

They

Leagues with Popes.

They made diuers alliances, for a certainty of times, with Popes; as *Sixtus*, *Iulius* the second, *Leo* the tenth, & with *Clement* the seauenth. With neighbouring Princes; as the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Sauoye*, of *Millaine*, and of *Wertemberg*. Then, with the Byshoppes of *Constance*, the Citties of *Suaba*, and others on the Lake of *Constance*, and on the Riuer of the *Rheine*. But, without staying our selues at the most part of these alliances, wee will touch those onely, vvhich were hereditary, that continue yet, must longer continue, and are most notable among all the other. As namely, the Alliances with the Dukes of *Millaine*, of *Austria*, of *Bourgongne*, of *Sauoye*, & the most remarkeable and last of all, with the King of France.

With neighbor Princes.

With Bishops and Cities.

Their alliances of most note and obseruation.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Alliance made by the Switzers, with the Dukes of Millaine.

Vncertaintie of the first treaty of alliance.

I Cannot well set downe what treaty or discourse was anciently had, and at the first time, betweene the Duke of Millain, and the Switzers. But in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred sixty and sixe, Duke *Galeazo*, and *Blanche Maria* his wife, made an accord and agreement with eight Cantons, vpon certain conditions: which yet vnto this day, are called, *The Articles or Capitulations of Millaine*. Wherein also, mention is made of other auncient capitulations, which shew and testifie, that long time before, the Switzers, especialy they of Vri, which inhabite at the Alpes, had beene associates with the Lombardes, vnder certaine conditions. But because the auncient Capitulations, are (almost) quite worne out of mens memories: I will propose the Summary of the accord with Duke *Galeazo*, and his wife, the Lady *Blanche Maria*.

Galeazo D. of Millaine, and his Wife Blanche Maria capitulate with eight Cantons

The Articles of Agreement, betweene the Duke of Millaine, and the Switzers.

THE first Article, concerneth them of Vri. The Ordinary of the great church in *Millaine*, intended a Processe against them, concerning the Valley of *Luiner*. By this first Article, the Duke agreeth with them of Vri, to haue free possession of that valley, in the regard of ciuill Iurisdiction: reuouncing his owne rightes, and promising to obtain the same of the Ordinary.

The Ordinary of the great Church of Millaine, against them of Vri, and vpon what occasion

They of Vri, on the other side, shall pay a tribute to the Duke, & euery yeare, in the Moneths of Iune or Iuly, or before midde-August, shall send him foure Hawkes, and a Crosse-bow. As concerning the difference touching the Churches reuennewes, betweene the Ordinary, and them of the Valley, each of the two parties shall nominate two Iudges, and to those foure Iudges, the Duke shal adde one, as an Arbitrator: and of him he must and will make choyse among the Lords of Councell, and in one of the seauen Cantons. These Iudges, must nominate what it is, that the Prince and they of the Valley, should pay vnto the Ordinarie. And if there happen anie variance besides, for matters of Duties not payed: they also are to censure thereupon.

Iudges apointed betweene the Ordinarie and them of Vri.

The second Article is, that the eight Cantons, their subiects, and all they that haue dwelt in their countries, the space of foure yeares, shall enioy the ancient liberty, to wit, that they shal stand exempt from all tributes, impostes, and tolles, throughout Millaine, euen to the ditches of the Towne.

The nature of the 2. Article.

The third Article, concerneth debts, and imprisonments.

The third.

The fourth is for such variances as may happen between the Duke and the Cantons, and of some particulars against the Duke.

The fourth.

The fift, is for processe and suites of particular persons.

The fift.

The sixt; matter of free Trafficke, and that it shall bee lawfull for the Switzers, to go and sell their Wares and Cattle:

The sixte.

The ſeuenth.

tle : and the Duke no way to impeach them in their ſelling, or his Subiectes in their buying.

The ſeuenth importeth, that the duke and the *Switzers* ſhall maintain and preſerue themſelues in good amity: and that neither party ſhall giue paſſage, or allow lodging or harbor to the enemies of neither ſide.

Renewing & reconfirmation of theſe articles.

Now, in regard that after this tranſaction, *Millaine* changed her Lordes oftentimes, theſe Articles haue beene alſo renewed and confirmed from one time to another. And finally, in the yeare, 1552. *Ferdinando Gonzaga*, Gouernour of *Millaine*. in the name of the Emperor *Charles* the fifte, renewed this accord with the *Switzers*, very neere with the ſame conditions.

The Articles of Agreement, betweene Ferdinando Gonzaga, *Gouernor, and the Switzers.*

Freedome from Tolles.

THE firſt Article concerneth benefit of exemption, from Tolles, Taxes, and other charges. Item, it ſhall be lawfull for the Switzers, to buy any kinde of bread corne. But if there be a dearth, and the Market meaſure is ſold for more then thirteene Francks, it is not lawfull to tranſport any. Neuertheleſſe, for our amity with the Switzers, they may carry away two hundred meaſures. The Cantons did make the ſame condition with them of *Millaine*.

For Bread Corne.

A Franke is two ſhillings ſterling.

Selling of ſalt

The ſecond, is for the ſelling and carriage away of ſalt.

Free paſſage and trading.

The third, confirmeth to the Switzers their ancient priuiledges, for going and comming freely, and trafficking through all countries of *Millain*, without any need of ſupport or ſafe conduct; except in the time of peſtilence, and then to bee free from all Tolle, onely the gate of *Millaine* excepted.

To whome theſe priuiledges belongeth

The fourth, declareth who and what they are, that muſt enioy theſe priuiledges; wherein are (by name) excluded all *Millaineſes*, that ſhall retire themſelues into *Swetia*.

For auoyding of fraud and deceit.

The fift ordaineth, to preuent & auoyd all means of fraud, that ſuch as inioy theſe priuiledges, ſhall not keepe companie, or trade in merchandize with them that are vncapable, or may not haue the benefit of them.

Awardes in ſuites.

The ſixt ſpeakes of awards, and deciſion of law ſuites.

Diſobedience in awardes or ſentence.

The ſeuenth willeth, that if criminall parties on either ſide, doe withdraw to anie one of their precincts, after that they or he ſhalbe adiudged culpable, on knowledge of the cauſe: he or they ſhall be ſent backe to their Magiſtrate, who is to chaſtiſe them according to the exigence of the caſe.

Of reuennues goods, &c. on either ſide.

The eight is, that in ſuch reuennews, diſmes, goods mouable and immouable, which the Switzers poſſeſſe in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or which may fal to thē from this time forward: they ſhall haue the ſame rights in them heere, as the *Millainneſes* enioy in Swetia.

For free and friendly paſſage in eithers countries.

The ninth; that paſſe & paſſage may be as free and ſafe in the countries of each other, as formerly it hath bin, & with the like maintenance of amity.

Of other Alliances.

In the tenth, the Switzers make exception of their other alliances, & all precedent inſtruments: to the end that they may not derogate or faile in the fore-named conditions.

The time of this alliance.

In the laſt, the time is agreed on and prefixed, for this combination: which is, to continue for foure years after the death of the Emperor *Charles*.

Of the Switzers alliance yet with Millaine.

Now, although (for diuers reaſons) this agreement hath not beene renewed to this inſtant between the King of *Spain*, Duke of *Millaine*, and the Switzers: yet notwithſtanding, both on his part, and theirs likewiſe, ancient amity hath beene carefully kept; and euen to this day, the Switzers enioy (almoſt) the ſame priuiledges, as in elder times they did among them of *Millaine*.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Switzers Alliances with the Dukes of Auſtria and Burgongne.

A ſtraunge courſe, that much contention ſhould beget as many frendſhips.

LIke as there hath beene no Prince or Princes, that haue made ſo much war vpon the Cantons, as the Dukes of Auſtria: ſo in the ſame manner, the Switzers did neuer make ſo many accords, treaties and alliances, as with thoſe Dukes. At this time, I meane not to make mention of

thoſe

thoſe alliances which haue laſted but for ſome few years, and agreed or combined with one or two Cantons onely; but rather will reſolue my ſelfe on the perpetuall and hereditary alliance of *Sigiſmond*, Duke of *Auſtria* with the Cãtons; which was renewed afterward, by the Emperor *Maximillian*, *Charles* the fifte, and *Ferdinand*.

The Emperor Sigiſmond, firnam'd the Simple, a gret enemy to the Switzers.

This *Sigiſmond*, ſirnamed the Simple, was ſonne vnto *Fredericke*, who brought Pope *Iohn* the 22. out of the Councel of *Conſtance*, whereby he was baniſht from the Empire. *Sigiſmond* was a great Enemy to the Switzers, and had many warres againſt them, wherein he was continually beaten, as at *Winterduer*, *Mulhouſe*, *Waldſhout*, in *Turgow*, and other places, & loſt in theſe warres the countrey of *Turgowe*, which is great, fertile, and well peopled, yet afterward conquered and kept by the Switzers. Seeing by Armes he could not quaile the Switzers, hee withdrewe into Fraunce, and required ſuccour of King *Lewes* the eleuenth, which hee was flatly denyed: becauſe the King would not entangle himſelfe in warre with the Switzers, of whoſe magnanimity he had formerly made good proof, being Dolphin, when the battell was fought againſt them neere to Baſile.

K. Lewes the 11. denied ayd to Sigiſmond againſt the Switzers

Sigiſmond engageth Ferrara to the Duke of Bourgongne.

Hereupon, he made his recourſe to the Duke of Bourgongn, and pawned to him the County of *Ferrara*, and other Seigneuries on the Frontiers of Swetia, for the ſum of fourſcore thouſand crownes: onely that he might finde buſines for the Switzers, by meanes and help of the duke of Bourgongne. *Lazius* writes, that *Sigiſmond* ſold *Swetia* it ſelfe, but therein he abuſeth himſelf. This engagement did not aduance the matter, according vnto *Sigiſmonds* expectation: for *Hagenbach*, gouernor in theſe pawned countries to *Charles* Duke of Bourgongne, began to tyranize vpon all the people, violating women and children, and putting many innocents to death. By which occaſion; *Sigiſmond* being moued to compaſſion, and incited by the continual complaints of his ſubiects; redeemed the pawned countries, & conſigned the mony to be paid at Baſile. But notwithſtanding all this, D. *Charls* would not forſake his poſſeſſion, but ſtroue ſtill to hold the ſame by force. The Switzers (on the other ſide) were but crookedly dealt withall by Duke *Charles*.

The cruel and violent dealing of Hagenbach.

To be plaine, *Sigiſmond* nor the *Switzers* were ſtrong enough to make head againſt the Duke, and therfore ſome men, better ſeene and skild in ſuch buſineſſe, layd downe their opinion; that *Sigiſmond* and the *Switzers* were beſt to agree in vnity, and make war together vppon their common enemy. King *Lewes* the eleuẽth puſht hardly at that point, and followed the matter very hotly: for it was his cuſtome to prepare ſuch diets for the Duke of Bourgongne, and to raiſe him ſo many enemies as might bee. To further theſe practiſes, he ſerued his owne turne with a *Switzer*, namd *Iuſtus de Sillini*, who ſoon after was byſhop of *Sion*, and of *Granoble* alſo. *Sigiſmond* likewiſe fauored him, and gaue him as many good reſpects, as hee could receiue by his byſhopprickes. At length alſo by his meanes, and by authority of the King, an hereditary alliance was made, the ſubſtantiall points wherof follow thus:

Good aduice in caſes of extremity, much auaile.

Iuſtus de Sillini, byſhop of Sion & Granoble.

A breuiate of the Articles of hereditarie Alliance, betweene the Duke of Auſtria, and the Switzers.

FIrſt, They ſhall continue them-ſelues in mutuall peace and amitie, ſo that the Auſtrians in Swetia, and the Switzers in the Countreyes belonging to the Duke of Auſtria: may freely and ſafely Trafficke, and alſo mannage theyr other affayres.

For trading in frendly manner.

If any variance or contention happen betweene them: they ſhall purſue their right in iuſtice, and not by armes.

For differẽces

The Arbitrators to iudge their cauſes ſhall be the Biſhop or Citie of *Conſtance*, and the Byſhop or Seigneury of Baſile. And before they take knowledge of the cauſe, both parties ſhall promiſe to the Iudges, by authenticke Letters vnder their handes: that they wil beare no malice, neyther doe any outrage, what ſentence ſoeuer is giuen vppon their difference.

For Arbitrators to cenſure cauſes.

As for common ſuites, concerning ſucceſſions and debts: the ordinarie Iudges in their Courts of iuſtice, are to take order for them.

For ordinarie Law-ſuites.

If Duke *Sigiſmond* ſtand in need of ſuccor from the Switzers, they ſhal ſend him

Of ſuccour from the Switzers, and from the D.

men: prouided, that it may be done with their honor, and without preiudice vnto their ancient alliances, and they are to receyue as much wages, as the Cantons haue cuſtommarily payed to their Souldiers. The ſame is alſo to bee done by the Duke, if the Switzers deſire any ſuccour from him.

Of Charters, letters, Regiſters, and books of cauſes.

The Cantons ſhall deliuer ſuch Charters, Letters, Regiſters, Bookes of reaſon, and other like inſtructions to the Duke, as are or ſhalbe in their hands, and belong to him; or declare to whom they haue formerly giuen them: onely excepted, ſuch letters and Regiſters, as concerne cities, townes, and caſtles, which nowe are in the power and authority of the Switzers.

For benefit of enioying their owne rightes.

The Duke and the Switzers ſhall remaine Lords of thoſe countries, citties, caſtles, Fortreſſes, Townes, Burroughes, and Villages as they haue taken, and now poſſeſſe; without any ſuite in Law, or any kinde of quarrell to bee offered on eyther ſide for them; neyther ſhall ſuffer anie wrong or iniurie to bee done, neither to the countries, citties, caſtles, &c. of one another.

Of medling with the ſubiects one of another.

Neither ſide ſhall make alliance with the other ſubiectes, nor giue them the right of Bourgeſhip, nor receiue them into protection to eithers damage or preiudice; except any one with al his goods retire into the countrey. And yet with this exception notwithſtanding, that hee ſhall remaine anſwerable to the iuriſdiction of his firſt Lord. But if any ſuch perſon do purſue his intention by violence, they among whom he hath retreated himſelfe, ſhall preſent him immediately in iuſtice. Becauſe neither the Duke, nor the *Cantons* ought to lodge, maintaine, or fauour (in any kinde whatſoeuer) the Enemies of one another.

No enemies of each other to be fauored on either ſide.

The Duke ſhall make ſatisfaction, for the tranſaction of *Waldſhout*; wherein the Switzers ſhall aſſiſt him with al their forces.

The tranſaction of Waldshout.

The one ſhal not greeue or offend the other, by exaction of any new Portages or Tolles.

For portages and tolles.

Such perſonnes as hold any thing by title of fealty of the Duke *Sigiſmond*, ſhall continue his Subiectes: excepting them of conquered countreyes, and of places engaged, and that haue not beene redeemed.

For tenure in caſe of feaky.

This alliance ſhall bee renewed from tenne yeeres to tenne yeers: and if by aduenture it happen to be broken, the party intereſſed ſhall demand Iuſtice, without mouing any warre.

For renouation of this alliance.

All enmities and warres which formerly haue beene betweene Duke *Sigiſmond*, and the Switzers, and their predeceſſors, ſhall bee appeaſed and layde to ſleep, by meanes of this agreement, which is to be inuiolably kept on either ſide.

All former wars and iars, cut off by this peace.

This firſt tranſaction was made before the war of Bourgongne; in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, ſeuentie & foure. In the ſame year, *Sigiſmond* of Auſtria, *René* of Lorraine, the Byſhoppes of *Strasbourg* and *Baſile*, the Cities of *Straſbourg*, *Baſile*, *Colmar*, *Seleſtad*, *Montbeliard*, and ſome others, made alliance with the Switzers for certaine yeares, againſt the violence and tyranny of the Duke of Bourgongne, who being ſlaine 3. yeares after in the battaile of *Nancy*, *Sigiſmond* of *Auſtria* renewed the hereditary Alliance, and this firſt tranſaction made with the Switzers, by the entermiſe of K. *Lewes* the eleuenth. This alliance was confirmed with the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Solleurre*, with liberty to the other *Cantons*, to enter into the ſame alliance if they pleaſed. There was not any new Article added at that time: but onely the forme and meanes of mutuall ſuccour, which was couched in far more cleare and plaine tearmes. Some years after this, Duke *Sigiſmond* not hauing any legittimate children, reſigned his Dukedome to the Emperor *Maximillian*, reſeruing onely to himſelf an annual penſion. *Maximillian* required the Switzers to enter the forenamed alliance with him. But becauſe they had beene at ſome variance with him, and hee with them, and there grew ſome apparance of warre (conſidering it ſeemed euidently, that *Sigiſmond* had thus deſpoyled himſelfe, to iniury the Switzers:) they would not enter into any nouell alliance, eſpecially, becauſe hee meant nothing elſe but fraudes in all this carriage, as the euent plainely declared. For immediately, they of *Auſtria*, and of the league of *Suaba*, moued warre againſt the Switzers and Griſons.

The alliances of many commonwealthes to reſiſt the proud D. of Bourgongne.

D. Sigiſmond, reſigned his Dukedome to the Emperor Maximillian.

Maximillian intended nothing elſe but falſhoode in his dealing.

After peace vvas made, betweene the Emperor *Maximillian* and the Cantons, on

The Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of Austria with the Switzers.

on the twelfth yeare, which was in Anno, 1511. the Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of the houſe of *Auſtria*, with the *Switzers*, and ioyned in one, the houſe of *Bourgongne*, and his Nephew *Charles*, of whom he was tutor. Moreouer, not onely the *Switzers* of the firſt alliance, but the twelue Cantons. Item, they of *Appenzell*, with the Abbot and Towne of S. *Gall*, confirmed this alliance hereditary, with the houſes of *Auſtria* & *Bourgongne*. In this alliance or tranſaction ſo confirmed, made by the meanes of King *Lewes* the eleuenth, is expreſſely ſet downe firſt of all: that therein is comprehended only the county of *Bourgongne*, and the high countries of *Auſtria*, the county of *Tiroll*, and that which is beyond the Mountaine. Item, ſome Townes along the *Rheine*, as *Waldshout*, *Läuffenberg*, *Secon*, *Rhinfeld*, & others that are on this ſide the Mountain. Neuertheleſſe there is added, that order ſhall be giuen, that thoſe other countries not comprized in the alliance, ſhall not enterpriſe any thing by Arms againſt the *Switzers*, nor the *Switzers* againſt them. All outragious words & actions are prohibited, for feare of alienating their harts, as hath happened ſometimes heeretofore thereby.

The contents of the alliance or tranſaction made by the meanes of K. Lewes the 11.

Money giuen by the Emperor in the name of his Nephew Charles.

Moreouer, the Emperor *Maximillian* promiſed, in the name of *Charles* his Nephew, to giue (in preſent) euery yeare in the citty of *Zurich*, to each one of the cantons, two hundred crownes. To the Abbot and citty of S. *Gall*, and the Bourg of *Appenzell*, an hundred crownes to each of them: vntill ſuch time as *Charles* ſhall be growne greater, to gouern theſe countries himſelfe, & then he ſhal ſtand bound to confirm the alliance, which accordingly was done. For in the yeare 1547. by letters which the Emperour *Charles* the fift, ſent to the Cantons, he confirmed the alliance; inſomuch as concerned the houſe and county of *Bourgongne*, for his brother *Ferdinand* was choſen then Duke of *Auſtria*. The conditions and Articles of alliance with *Bourgongne*, are the very ſame as them of *Auſtria*. To wit, that it ſhall be lawfull for eyther ſide, to traffick, and to go and come freely into one anothers countries. Item, that they neyther doe, nor ſuffer any of the countries, to make warre vpon each other. And if (by aduenture) ſome enemy would doe violence to one of the two ſides: the other (being thereto required) ſhall be carefull to preuent it without any delay, for feare, leſte againſt right and equity, it ſhould be oppreſſed.

Charles the fift confirmed the alliance with the Switzers when he came to age.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Alliances betweene Sauoy and the Switzers.

THE Dukes of *Sauoy*, (which part was called by our Ancients, the country of the * *Allobrogians*) long ſince, and for long ſpace of time, helde amity with the Cantons of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*. In the ende, *Charles*, Father to *Philibert*, now Duke of *Sauoy*, made an alliance with all the cantons, for twenty fiue years, in Anno, 1512.

* People of Prouence, containing the Countries of Sauoy and Daulphinie.

The alliance of Duke Charles with the Cantons.

The firſt Article treateth of the amity which is to be maintained on either ſide, without any outrage, or ſeconding an enemy to paſſe among the Allies.

For preſeruation of amity.

The ſecond ruleth the knowledge of Proceſſes and Law-caſes, wherein Iudges of equall number are to bee elected on both ſides, who ſhall call the parties into the Towne of *Bienna*, and there ende the difference. If two ſentences be giuen, hauing as many voyces on the one ſide as other: the Iudges ſhall elect a ſubarbitratour in one of the cantons, that ſhall haue no part of intereſt in the Proceſſe. As for cauſes betweene particular perſons; they are to be decided by Iudges of the places.

For ſuites and law-caſes.

The third ordaineth, that it ſhall be lawfull for the ſubiects of the allies, to goe about their affaires freely, and in all ſafety, in the countries of *Swetia* & *Sauoy*, without being charged with any new impoſts, portages, or tolles.

For freedome of commerce on both ſides.

The fourth auoucheth, that if any man haue a difference againſt the Duke, and would haue it referred to the orders ſpoken in the cantons: if the Duke will not agree thereto, the Switzers doe not ſtand bound (by any alliance) to aſſiſt any ſuch party againſt the Duke.

For any difference againſt the Duke.

The fift ſpeaketh, that if the Switzers are aſſayled and preſſed with warre, the Duke ſhall ſend them (at his own charge) ſixe hundred horſe at the leſte; prouided, that

For mutuall ſuccour in warre on eyther ſide.

that hee haue then no warre in his owne country. In like manner, if the Duke haue any warre in his owne hand, & demandeth succour; the Switzers shall send him sixe thousand foot, or more, to each man wherof, the Duke shall pay *6. Liures Trurnois*, for wages euery Moneth. If (ouer and aboue this number) hee demandeth some other Switzers, that desire to goe to warre vpon their owne good will towards him: hee shall not stand bound to pay them any wages, but what he will do out of his owne liberality.

The Liure Tournois is two shillings sterling.

The Duke may demand no seruice of the Switzers, in any nauall warre, nor cause them to passe the Seas: but onely to defend the countries, which they possesse at the day of making this alliance.

No Nauall war, or passage of the Seas.

To the end that this accord may bee firmely kept, the Duke nor the Switzers shall meddle with any affaires of strangers, to debate any thing to the preiudice of their alliance: neyther shall they giue right of Bourgesship, to any subiects of Swetia or Sauoye, but onely to such, as shall haue their persons and goods transported into eythers countries.

For preseruation of this alliance firmely.

While this alliance endureth, the Duke shall yearely pay in the Citty of *Berne*, to each Canton, the summe of two hundred crownes.

Payment of 200. crowns to each Canton yearely.

Vpon the ending of this alliance, which lasted almost 25. yeares, the King of *France*, *Frances* the first, despoyled Duke *Charles* of the most part of his countries. And in this warre, the *Bernians* taking in hand the cause of their fellow-Bourgesses of *Geneua*, with them of *Fribourg* and *Valois*: tooke all the Dukes places in the countries of *Vaut*, county of *Romont* and *Yuian*. After this time, the Emperour *Charles* the fift (in the protection of whō the Duke of Sauoy was put) was in war continually in *Piedmont* gainst the Frēch: and that was the cause of breaking the renewing of the alliance. At length, *Philebert*, the Sonne of *Charles*, hauing recouered his countries, by the meanes of peace betweene the Kings of Spaine and France: made a new and perpetuall alliance with the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vri*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Solleurre*. It is (almost) the very same as the former: but onely that there is no mention made (to my remembrance) of mutuall succour. Soone after, the other Cantons renewed with him, the very same conditions of ancient amity and alliance.

The men of Berne ioyned with their fellow-Bourgesses of Geneua

A new and perpetuall alliance betweene Philebert and the Cantons.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Alliances betweene the Switzers and the Kings of France.

KIng *Lewes* the 11. was the first King of France, that allied himselfe with the Switzers, and that assigned rewards & pensions annually to all the Cantons. Being as yet Dolphin, hee led a great Army into Germany, conducted by the Count of *Armignac*. This he did in fauor of Pope *Eugenius*, and of the Emperor *Fredericke*, onely to breake the councell of *Basile*, as the Pope desired: and furiously to inuade the Switzers, whom the Emperor hated, and to break off their siedge (in meere despight of them) which they had planted before the citty of *Zurich*, because he was allied with the house of *Austria*. The Switzers had another Army before the castle of *Fransperg*: 1600 men whereof, they sent thence, to succour *Basile* & the Fathers there in the councell.

Rewards and pensions yearly allowed to all the Cantons, by King Lewes the 11.

Being about 2 miles from Basile, they did set vpon the Dolphins troops so stifly, as (although in regard of their enemies multitude, who had enclosed them on all sides) they were euery man (almost) slaine in the field: yet notwithstanding, they so weakened the French Army (for there were slaine about 6000 of them) that the Dolphin standing in feare of a further losse, and of the valour of the Switzers; tooke his way suddenly home to France, leauing the businesse vnexecuted, which he came for. It is reported, that the Dolphin seeing his enemies slaine bodies lying on the ground, saide thus. Sometimes with farre lesse forces, and in the space of three houres; I haue broken an Army of thirteen thousand men, without any such paine or danger as I haue met with heere, labouring a whole day toughly, to ouercome a little handfull of men. Neuer hadde I to deale with more valiant and fast enemies; and therefore I will take order, for euer warring any more against them. Which hee most truely and faithfully performed a long time after, euen

The Switzers set vpon the Dolphins troopes nere to Basile.

The words of the Dolphin vpon the slaughter of his enemies the Switzers.

euen vntill he came to the crowne.

Hee neuer loued *Charles* Duke of *Bourgongne*, and yet durſt not make open warre on him, becauſe hee was not well appointed for it: and therefore he laboured by all meanes, to ſet the Duke a iuſtling with the Switzers. But to compaſſe his intent the more eaſily, and haue the Switzers at his command, when he ſhold ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance: he made an alliance with them for ten yeares, giuing as an annuall penſion to each Canton, the ſumme of ſeuen thouſand *Liures Tournois*. During the warre of the Duke of *Bourgongne* againſt the Switzers, the King furniſhed them with a great ſumme of money: as fearing leaſt (through want of coine) they ſhould giue ouer contending, and talke of truce. The Duke being foyled at Morat; the King gaue publikely great gifts to the Switzers, and in particular to their Captaines and Colonels. Finally, after the death of the Duke, ſlaine in *Lorraine*, to ſet an imbarment, that (by right of warre) the Switzers ſhould not poſſeſſe themſelues of *Bourgongne*, where there were many men that nodded the head at their deuotion; hee bought the country for a goodly ſumme of money. And becauſe he muſt needs make warre, to get into poſſeſſion of the country: hee made vſe of the foote Switzers to ſerue him, giuing to them farre greater wages, then euer any Prince had done before.

King Lewes a great enemy to Charles Duke of Bourgongne, yet durſt not war with him.

Great gifts & preſents to the Switzers for foyling the Duke at Morat.

Charles the eight, ſonne to *Lewes*, in the yeare, one thouſand, foure hundred, fourſcore and three, renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Switzers: and vſed their ſeruice in the warre, whē he ouercame the Duke of *Bretaigne*. But principally in the warre of *Naples*, he diuers wayes made good proofe, that the warlike Switzers, were both loyall and valiant of their perſons. His ſucceſſour, *Lewes* the twelfth, hauing vndertaken the conqueſt of *Millaine*, and very deſirous to turne the Switzers, from the amity they bare to Duke *Lodowick Sforza*; made alliance with them for ten yeares. At the end whereof, he thanked the Switzers, & denyed to pay the rewards and yearely penſions, which he had payed in publike and to particular perſons. Which ſo highly offended this martiall people, as partly of their own inclination, but much more by meanes of the Cardinall of *Sion*, who ſollicited the principals of the cantons; they made a league with Pope *Iulius* the ſecond, in the yeare, one thouſand, fiue hundred and ten. Oftentimes afterward, this King laboured to make a new alliance: but the Switzers beeing ioyned with the Pope, would neuer liſten to it. But in the yeare, one thouſand fiue hundred and twelue, they droue the French out of *Millaine*, and re-eſtabliſhed *Maximillian Sforza* in the Dukedome. Then the yeare following, they ouerthrew the French at *Nouara*, and came with a maine Army along into *Bourgongne*.

King Charles renewed his fathers league with the Switzers.

King Lewes the 12. made alliance with the Switzers for ten years.

The Switzers diſpleaſed with K. Lewes

The Switzers chaſed the French out of Millaine.

Lewes the twelfth, had his Sonne in law *Frances de Valois* for his ſucceſſour: who wonne a memorable battaile againſt the Switzers, when he ouercame them at *Marignano*: Hee brought into France, *Maximillian Sforza*, and made himſelfe Lord of the Dukedome of *Millaine*. After a victory ſo remarkable, knowing well, how bloody it had bin, and at how deare a price the French had bought it: the firſt thing he did, was (to winne the good fauour of the Switzers) a kinde agreement made with them, ioyning them to his crowne, by a firme and durable alliance. The conditions and treaties of this peace and mutual amity, are comprized in theſe thirteene Articles following.

Frances de Valois ſucceſſor to Lewes the twelfth.

The tenour of the peace made betweene King Frances the firſt and the Switzers.

Firſt, all enmities, diſſentions, warres, differences and quarrelles in precedent times, are vtterly brought to nothing: and as for particular variances, which concern nothing in common with the occaſions of warre, they ſhall ſtand vtterly void, by thoſe Articles of agreement, made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons.

Secondly, all priſoners, in what part or place ſoeuer they are deteyned as priſoners, or as ſlaues; they ſhall be releaſed and ſet at liberty, without paying any ranſome.

For free deliuery of priſoners.

Thirdly, if any man at Armes of the Switzers, haue any ſuite againſt the King of France, not for any matter of warre; he may conteſt in iuſtice, according to the Articles following.

For ſuites in law againſt the King.

Fourthly, all ſuch perſons as after the accord made betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons;) were and are allied with them, or receiued into the nūber of their Bourgeſſes: ſhall be comprehended in this treaty, and enioy the benefit

For ſuch as are to enioy the benefit of this peace.

nefit thereof. Onely ſuch excepted, as are out of the limits of *Swetia*, that ſpeake not the Germane tongue, and are not ſubiects to the Cantons.

For priuiledges and franchiſes.

The fift Article, confirmeth to Merchants and ſubiects of *Swetia*, the priuiledges and franchiſes, which the Kings of France haue formerly graunted vnto them.

The kings bounty to the Switzers.

Sixtly, to the end that the *Switzers* may the better vnderſtand the good will and liberality of the King: hee will pay them downe preſently a great ſumme of crownes, for their great charges at the ſiedge of *Dijon*, and afterwards in Italy.

For maintainance of loue and amity.

Seauenthly, that peace may bee the more firmely maintained on eyther ſide, and to continue on this begun amity: if any difference happen to be moued, neither the one party or other ſhall vndertake Armes, in that manner to purſue his right; but according to the order before mentioned, is to demaund reaſon by courſe of iuſtice.

No harboring of enemies on either ſide.

Eightly, neyther ſide ſhall giue paſſage, food or harbour to the others enemies: nor ſuffer their ſubiects to vndergo Armes, for ſuch Princes or common-weales, as are enemies to France, or to the Switzers. Such as do the contrary, ſhall be repealed to their country, and puniſhed according as they haue deſerued.

For free permiſſion of trafficke and paſſage.

Ninthly, permiſſion is granted vnto Merchants, Pilgrims, & Subiects, French or Switzers, to trafficke, voyage, goe and come freely, into France and Swetia; without any outrage, or beeing offended by any new tolles or taxes.

Yearely penſions giuen by the King to the Cantons, &c.

Tenthly, the King giueth yearely to each Canton, the ſum of two thouſand *Liures Tournois*: As much to the *Valaiſians*, and as much to the *Griſons*, as was granted vnto them by king *Lewes* the 12. And moreouer, the ſum of 20000 *Liures Tournois*. Item, to the Abbot of S. *Gall*, to the Subiects, and to them of *Toggenbourg*, the ſum of 600 *Liures Tournois*: To the citty of S. *Gall*, 400: To *Mulhouſe*, 400: And to them of the county of *Gruyere*, 600.

Priuiledges belonging to particular places.

Eleuenthly, the ancient priuiledges and franchiſes, which they haue (till then) enioyed in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, the inhabitants of *Bellizona*, *Lugano*, *Locarna*, and the Vale *Madia*; are to them fully reſerued and confirmed.

A courteſie left by the king to the Switzers choiſe.

Twelftly, the king leaueth it in choiſe to the *Switzers*, to declare within the compaſſe of a yeare, whether they affect or no: to hold the countries and caſtles of *Lugano*, *Locarna*, and of the Vale *Madia*; or elſe to forſake them, for the ſum of thirtie thouſand crownes of the Sunne. And if they take the money: then they of the Vale of *Telina*, and of the county of *Clauenna*, ſhal haue their part in this ſumme, as much as one of the Cantons.

For continuance of this amity.

The laſt Article ordaineth, that this peace and amity betweene the Realme of France and the cantons, ſhal continue inuiolable and perpetuall.

Exception made by the K. of France.

The king excepteth in this peace, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See and Romane Empire, the kings of *Spaine*, of *England*, of *Scotland*, of *Nauarre*, and of *Denmarke*: The Dukes of *Sauoy*, of *Lorraine*, of *Gueldres*: Item, the Duke & common-wealth of *Venice*, *Laurentius de Medicis*, the houſe of *Medicis*, and the common-wealth of *Florence*: The Biſhop of *Liege*, and all the confederates of the king.

Exception made by the Switzers.

The Switzers alſo except on their part, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See of Rome, the Emperour and Romane Empire; the houſe of *Auſtria*; the Dukes of *Sauoye*, and of *Wirtemberg*; the family of *Laurentius de Medicis*; the common-wealth of *Florence*, the Marſhall of *Bourgongne*, their ancient alliances; and all their allies and fellow-Bourgeſſes.

The reaſon of theſe exceptions.

The reaſon for theſe exceptions, is, that if the king of France make warre vpon any one of them aboue named, in his own countries: the Switzers may keepe what promiſe or alliance they haue formerly made or ſworne, to thoſe Princes or common-wealths. But if one or more of thoſe Princes or common-wealths, come to aſſault the king in his owne kingdome: the Cantons ſhall not permit any of their Subiects to goe in warre againſt the king; but ſhall countermaund them, as it is ordayned in the eight Article, and which they are to keepe and obſerue inuiolably.

To theſe conditions is added the forme to be kept, in the deciding of ſtrifes and differences. But it ſeemeth to me, that it would bee great loſſe of time and paper

The Author auoydeth needlesse insertions.

paper to insert it: because it agreeth almost altogether, with the accord of *Millaine*, and other formes of iudgements, whereof we haue spoken heeretofore. All this conference and treaty of peace, was made by the Ambassadours on eyther side, and sette downe in writing in the Towne of *Fribourg*, on S. *Andrews* day, in the Moneth of Nouember, and in the yeare 1516.

The King made a more strict alliance with the Switzers.

The King hauing made pacification with the Switzers, as already hath beene declared: yet hee would needs proceede somewhat farther, and allie them more strictly to his crowne. Which also he obtayned, and that agreement was past at *Lucerna*, fiue yeares after the fore-mentioned peace. Then all the Cantons (except *Zurich*) and all their confederates, allied themselues with the K. of France: and the tenour of that alliance was as followeth,

The Tenure of a more nere agreement, made betweene the King and the Switzers.

Concerning warre in any place belonging to the crowne, and leuye of men.

1. IF any one (whosoeuer it be) make war within the Realme of France, in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or any other country appertaining to the crown, eyther on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the King may make a leuye of Switzers, when and at what time himselfe shall thinke meete, to wit, of sixe thousand men at the least, and seauen thousand at the most, except the Lords of the Leagues will permit more.

For choise of Captains and Colonels out of the cantons

2. Hee may also chuse out of all the Cantons and confederates, such Colonels and Captaines as he shall thinke fit: prouided, that they be men of good fame and credite.

Against hindering of men and delay of time.

3. The Lordes of the Leagues shall giue no hinderance to those Colonels, Captaines, and Soldiers, neither delay time, or put any case in question, to hinder their going: but that within ten daies after that first day, whereon the King required succour, they shall bee permitted to march away.

For continuance in the Kings seruice, except warres be at home in Swetia.

4. They shall continue in the Kings seruice, vntill the end of the warre; if it seeme good to him, and they not recalled home by their Lords: The King shall also pay them (euery one) his accustomed wages. But if there happen warre in Swetia, and that thereby the cantons cannot succour the King, as they otherwise wold: In this case, they shall stand quit of their promise, and they may suddenly countermand home their men; to whom also the King stands bound, to grant their departure immediately.

When the King shall haue occasion to make war.

5 If the King would make warre vpon his enemies: he may make the same leuie of sixe thousand Switzers at the least, and seuen thousand at the most; chusing Colonels and Captaines, men of faire and good fame, which are Switzers, or of their Allies.

An Army of Switzers not to be diuided, &c.

6. The King may not separate an Army of Switzers, or diuide them in troops for Garrisons in diuers places: and they are not to serue at Sea, but on the land.

wages agreed on for the horsemen, & in what manner it is to be paid, vpon the due of three Moneths pay

7. As concerning the wages for the Gendarmery; it is agreed on both sides, that the King shall pay for a Moneth vnto each Switzer Soldier, foure Florius and an halfe, of them that are called *Florius du Rhin*. And their wages shall begin on the day, when they set foorth from their houses: and then shall three Moneths pay be due vnto them, although the King do not vse them in seruice so long. And before they part out of Swetia, they must receiue the first Moneths pay: and the rest for the two other Moneths, at meete places, according as need shall require. If after those three Moneths are past, the King will longer retaine the *Switzers*; hee shal pay them the same wages euery Moneth, vntill such time as they may commodiously returne home to their owne house.

Pay for men of higher rank & place, according to their degrees.

8. The Colonels, Captaines, Ensigns, Ambassadors, & others that haue charge in the troopes; shall bee payed after their accustomed manner, and according as the Predecessours to the Kings of France haue done.

Concerning succour to bee sent the Switzers, whē war is made on them.

9. If any war is made vpon the *Switzers*, the King of France shal stand bound to succour them at his owne cost: sending them two hundred compleat horsemen, and twelue peeces of Artillery, with all their equipage and furniture; to wit, sixe peeces for battery, and sixe Canons. Moreouer, hee shall furnish the *Switzers* (from three Moneths to three Moneths) in the citty of *Lyons*, with certaine sums of

of money, for expences in the warre. And if the *Switzers* affect it rather: instead of two hundred compleate horsemen, the King shall giue them all the three Moneths, the sum of two thousand crownes at the least.

Vpon dearth or necessity of Salt.

10. If it come so to passe, that if (thorough occasion of moued warre heere or there) the *Switzers* cannot haue any Salt: it may be bought for them in France, & so bee conuayed home into their countries.

Against releeuing eyther others enemies.

11. No side or party shall receiue into protection, neyther bestow Bourgeship on any of the others subiects, nor succor, lodge, or defend men banished, or enemies to eyther side: but according to the Articles of peace, shall hinder & expulse them.

The liberality of the King to the Cantons.

12. Finally, the King being willing to make knowne his loue and good will towards the *Switzers*: ouer and beside the twenty thousand Francks, which he promised to pay them by the treaty of peace, further promiseth, to pay yearely to each one of the Cantons (while this alliance shall continue) the summe of a thousand pounds *Tournois*. He will also pay to the confederates, the moity of the pension which they had before.

Exception made on the Kings behalfe

The King excepteth Pope *Leo* the 10. The Romane See and Empire; the kings of *England* and of *Scotland*: the Duke of *Sauoye*, of *Lorraine*, of *Halsatia*, and of *Gueldres*; the common-wealth of *Venice*, and of *Florence*; the house of *Medicis*; the Marquesses of *Brandenbourg* and of *Montferrat*.

Exception also on the cantons behalfe.

The Cantons do likewise except Pope *Leo* the tenth the Romane See and Empire: the common-wealth of *Florence*; the house of *Medicis*; the Duke of *Sauoy*; the house of *Austria*; their alliances, their Bourgesses and confederates; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and *Octauian Maria Sforza*, Bishop of *Lauda*.

A caueat or generall warning.

Neuertheless, if any of these aboue named, make warre on eyther of these parties, in their countries on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the other shall giue succour, without exception of any person, according to the tenour of this alliance, which is to endure while King *Frances* liueth, and three yeares after his death.

This alliance being expired, K. *Henry* the second, Sonne and Successor to king *Frances*, contracted a new alliance with the Cantons, vpon the same conditions before named: and that alliance lasted 5. yeares after his death. Now because the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and some other Prouinces, comprehended in the alliance made with king *Frances*, were dismembred from the crowne, when this newe league was contracted: It is expressely set downe, that the *Switzers* shall not stand obliged, to giue the king any succour, for recouery of those countries. But if he can reconquer them by the ayde of another Army, and he shall bee Lord of them againe, as of other Prouinces belonging to his Kingdome: for the better conseruation of them, the Cantons shall furnish him with men, who shall likewise attend him in warre, for the recouery of *Bullen*, and the county of *Bullenois* in *Picardy*.

King Henry the second succeeded his Father King Frances.

Concerning the losse of the Dukedom of Millaine.

A breuiate of the new adioyned Articles.

If the king will goe in person to some warre, hee may make choise (at his pleasure) of Captaines *Switzers*, and command a leuye of sixe thousand men at the least.

For leuye of men.

He may not disioyne or separate the Switzers Army, when hee is vpon the point of giuing battaile: but out of such occasion, he may plant thē in Garrisons, in Townes and strong places, to defend them.

No sundering of the Switzers army.

As for the wages, rewards, & succors, which the king is to giue vnto the *Switzers*; it beareth the very selfe-same reason as is in the precedent alliance; and the other Articles doe agree with them before mentioned.

For wages & rewards.

And to the ende, that the treaty of peace, made in the yeare 1516. may remaine firme, when wages rest vnpaide, it is thus ordayned. The demander shall acquaint his Magistrate with the matter, to whom, if the cause seeme vpright; he shal goe or send to the kings Ambassadours, which are in Swetia, or if they be absent, the Magistrate shall write to the king, and require satisfaction for the party. If the king yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity; the demander may then call his cause before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the K. yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity, the demāder may then cal his cause be-

When wages remaine vnpayed.

In cases concerning the King and a priuate man.

before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the King will not yeeld to the Iudges his part, the Switzers may passe on to further knowledge of the facte, and what they appoint, shall be allowed for firme and auaileable to eyther party, euen as if the Iudges on eyther side had therein assisted.

For new taxations.

The Merchants both French and Switzers, according to the articles of peace, shall not be greeued with any new taxes, tolles, or imposts.

If any suite be moued betweene parties on eyther side, the demaunder may pleade before the Iudge, in the place where the defender dwelleth.

For suites in law.

This alliance was treated and past at *Solleurre*, in the yeare, 1549. All the Cantons (except *Berne* and *Zurich*) with their confederates, being bound thereto.

When this alliance was made.

Finally, King *Charles* the ninth, Sonne to King *Henry*, renewed this alliance with the Switzers, vpon conditions little differing from the former: and that alliance continueth yet to this day, after the kings death.

King Charles the 9. allied with the Switzers.

THE MANNER OF GOVERNment obserued among the *Switzers*.

The Second Part.

A breefe discourse of the first Bookes Argument.

WEe haue shewne in our first Part, of what parts & parcels, the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is composed; for what causes, & with what conditions these people, dwelling in diuers places, allied themselues together, to make vp one body of a Commonwealth. Also with what industry and trauaile, they haue maintained their liberties; and with what Princes and peoples, they haue associated and leagued themselues. In this second Booke, wee shall declare, how this common-wealth is gouerned. And because the confederates haue (each one) their Magistrates, Lawes, and particular gouernment, and that the cantons do make one common-wealth apart, and yet there is a councell in common to the whole Nation, and lawes and ordinances, to whose obseruation all are obliged: First, I will make mention of the *Switzers* commonwealth in generall; then I will describe the estate and gouernment of the Cantons, seuerally in their places.

A breuiate of this second Bookes Argument.

Three seueral kindes of cómon wealths, & their hurtfull shadowes

They that haue written concerning common-wealths, doe set downe three sorts.

The first, when all the managing and gouernment of the common-wealth, is in the power of one only, who is called a King, if he gouerne iustly, with consent of the people, and according vnto the lawes; for if he do otherwise, he is a Tyrant.

The second, when a small number of principall men, and more people of good behauiour, do gouerne.

The third, when all the people haue the authority in their hands.

Thus there are three kindes of Common-wealths, to wit, Monarchy, Aristocraty, & Democraty: who haue for their vicious shaddowes, Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy.

A forme or shape of the Switzers commonwealth.

We cannot compare or sute the *Switzers* common-wealth, with any of these before named: but as (aunciently) the great Common-wealths of *Rome* and *Carthage*, and (in our time) that of *Venice* may be tearmed mixt and compounded,

becauſe (in ſome matters) they ſhared or tooke part, with all the three kindes of gouernments; ſo in like maner, the commō-welth of the Switzers is mingled or compoſed of a Seigneuriall, Lordly, and Popular gouernment. For among all the people, of whom the whole common-wealth of the Switzers is compounded: there are ſome, whoſe gouernment is meerely democraticall, & where al things (almoſt) are done by the deliberation of the people. As in thoſe Cantons that haue no cities, to wit, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*: yea, euen in *Zug*, although it is a citty. The other are gouerned by Lords, as cities commonly vſe to be, namely *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Baſile*, *Fribourg*, *Solleurre*, and *Schaffouſe*. But becauſe the Soueraignty appertaineth to the people, who doe elect theſe Lords, theſe common-wealths are compounded of two kindes of gouernment: ſo that notwithſtanding, the one is more Ariſtocraticall, and the other more Popular.

A Democraticall kinde of gouernment in ſome of the Cantons.

The other are Ariſtocraticall and Popular.

So then, the common-wealth of the Switzers beeing compounded of people, that haue not al one, and the ſame forme of gouernment: the order and pollicy alſo is very diuers and mixt. For if vpon ſome dayes of audience, ambaſſadors do aduiſe on matters of the whole common-wealth, or end ſome differences: this appeareth to be a gouernment meerely Ariſtocraticall. And yet neuertheleſſe, becauſe they are (for the moſt part) elected by the people, and that in cauſes and affaires of importance, they cannot go beyond their aduice, but deale according to the peoples command, to whom they muſt render an account of their negotiation: it may eaſily bee noted, that ſuch a kinde of gouernment is not altogether Ariſtocraticall.

Affaires of State & differences ended by Ambaſſadors.

Now it plainly appeareth, that the Switzers common-wealth cannot bee better gouerned, for the liberties which they do enioy, was gotten by their anceſtors, not by the induſtry and power of one, or of a ſmall number of particular men: but the people themſelues were imploied therein, and did enfranchize it with the expence of their purſſes, blood, and liues. And therefore it is no more then reaſon, that they ſhould reape ſome fruite of their trauaile. And as concerning, that it ſeemeth incommodious and perillous in a populare eſtate, that all men ſhould deliuer their aduice, but rather, that it ought to be done by them of moſt wiſedome, and men of beſt quality: This danger is not to bee doubted in the Switzers Common-wealth, for they do moſt imploy, and ſend on their dayes of audience, the beſt and wiſeſt perſons of each Canton. And although they haue not power to conclude definitiuely (becauſe it might be a dangerous conſequence, for the peoples liberty) yet notwithſtanding, they are as the cheefeſt councellers, and make a conference of opinions, vpon the State affaires. Afterward, the people giue their conſent, by aſſemblies which they make in Townes and Villages. Now ſuch as are not altogether ſtupid and ill-affected, may know and approue, that which hath bene deliberated in thoſe dayes meetings, for common benefit: conſidering, they giue them plainly to vnderſtand euery thing.

No danger to be feared in the Switzers common-wealth.

The obſeruation among the Switzers.

The common wealth of the Switzers is not otherwiſe to be gouerned then as it is.

CHAP. II.

Of the manner and behauiour of the Switzers, in the times of both peace and warre.

FOraſmuch as the right gouernement of a common-wealth, is beſt diſcerned in affaires and managements of peace and warre: it behooueth vs to ſhew how our predeceſſors haue carried themſelues therein. As concerning exerciſes of war, beſide that which nature hath done, in faſhioning the Switzers fit thereto: neceſſity alſo hath conſtrained them, to apply their paines, and that in good earneſt. The Country is Mountainy, ſharpe, and hard for culture, anciently deſert and ſauage for the moſt part, making the people not onely indurate and hardened for trauaile: but alſo robuſte, ſtiffe, & ſtrong, and ſo (by conſequent) very apt for warre.

The beſt glaſſe to ſhew any common-wealth in his true nature.

The nature & quality of the country.

Now as natuarally the people of *Europe* are more magnanimous and warlike, then they of *Aſia*: ſo the *Europeans* which

The Switzers are naturally men fit for warlike imployments.

which dwell in Mountainous and hard countries, are reputed to be more martially minded then the other. Proofe heereof appeareth, in the histories of the *Goths*, *Vandales*, *Hunnes*, *Lombards*, *Franconians*, and other people, who being bred in the very coldest countries of the North: did yet disperse themselues ouer the fayrest parts of *Europe*, and eyther forraged, or troubled them, treading vnder their feete the power of Rome, sometimes so much renowned through the world. In like manner, as the very coldest countries of the Alpes, do beare the highest and tallest Trees, and haue beasts more fatte and faire then can be desired: so the naturall disposition of the country, and temperature of the ayre, produceth men more robuste and strong then others are. Wherefore, in many Countries, some are men for Armes, others are labourers, and others artezans: but in *Switzerland*, all are Soldiours borne, euen by a meere manner of desire, and there is not a *Switzer*; (prouided that hee haue stature and apt disposition) but in him may bee seene the very liues (to life) of a man of warre.

Concerning those people bred on the Alpes, & nature of the country.

All the Switzers are soldiers borne.

And becawse almost all the neighbors to the Cantons, but especially the Princes of Austria, laboured by continuall warres, to annihilate the liberty of the *Switzers*, and that for the space of two hundred yeares: meere necessity made the *Switzers* martiall, beeing compelled to carry weapons daily in their hands, to maintaine their liberty, bridle the headstrong courses of their enemies, & to preserue their wiues and children. And as it was said of *Agesilaus*, after he was wounded by the *Thebanes* in an encounter, that he receiued worthy wages, for teaching them the arte of warre: euen so Noblemen that enstructed the olde *Switzers*, simple peasants, and shepheards, to handle a Sword, and compelled them to vnderstand the trickes of fencing, receiued (in the end) the recompence for their apprentiship, hauing beene so many times beaten in battailes, and finally driuen out of *Switzerland*.

The Princes of Austria haue most iniuried the Switzers.

A comparison well worth the obseruation.

From hence it ensued, that their lawes & customes were accommodated to the exercises of warre. For whereas in many Countries, the people are forbidden to carry and manage weapons: so on the contrary, there is none so young in *Switzerland*, dwell he in Citty, Town, Village, or Field, be he a peasant, porter, or of the very baseste condition can be deuised; but he is strictly commanded to haue Arms, according to his quality. And becawse that in our time, the Harquebuz or Caliuer was in great vse for warre: there was a prize and reward proposed in publike, for such as would exercise, and could dexteriously handle these fiery weapons. Not only in Citties, as was done in many parts of *Germany*: but also in the most peopled Townes and Villages. Nay, there was a prize and reward appointed for children, that could draw the bow; to the end, that they might afterward be the better fashioned for weapons of more danger: which prooued to such an expert practise, that from their very youth, they accustomed themselues to discharge the Caliuer.

Prizes & rewards proposed onely for encouragement to handle the caliuer

Their other pastimes also sauored all of war. For they neuer vsed to meete together, were it on solemne daies & festiuals, according to the Churches dedications, or at weddings and other such like occasions, but with Drums and Trumpets for war. And it was, (and stil is) a great honor for a Bride-groome, to bee attended on with a great number of Pikes, Halberts, & Shot, who (vnentreated) march before him, or come to honour his feast, in the nature of a muster, marching after the manner of war. Many times also, boyes of 8. or 10. yeares old, and others somewhat more aged, meet together and make musters, with Drums & Ensignes, some bearing Caliuers, others Halberts, & others Pikes: so that to see them march, it might well be said, that they had hearts & hands already, apt to manage those warlike weapons. In this manner, they that neuer vnderstood any thing set downe in the Military precepts of *Vegetius*, nor of any other, inured from their infancy, without any command: but onely of their owne motion, and by a naturall inclination to Armes, can carry and manage themselues with countenances and steppings fit for Soldiors. In many places, euery yeare, or at certaine times of the yeare, the Lords cause general musters in arms to be made for all their followers, as if they were going to war against the enemy. These musters are somtimes performed at the dedication of Temples, somtimes at Fairs; and in some other places, when the

All the exercises and pastimes of the Switzers sauour of war.

The exercises of the Switzers children, that they become soldiors from their Cradles.

Good & vertuous examples are terrible to bad minded men.

It is an especiall command to euery Switzer yong and olde to beare Armes.

Subiects take their oath to a Gouernor, ſent newly to ſome Bayliwicke, for then they all muſter, and ſhew themſelues in Armes.

Other agilities and commendable qualities exerciſed by the Switzers, in ſeueral kinds.

It is altogether needleſſe, that I ſhould make any long diſcourſe of other exerciſes, which do diſpoſe thē to be the more valiant in war: as to runne, leape, throw the ſtone and barre, to wraſtle, to ſhew all kindes of defence fit for Arms; for which there are prizes publikely appointed euery yeare. Moreouer, I am of the minde, that in all chriſtendome, there is not any people, that do exerciſe themſelues more in ſwimming, then the Switzers: who (with much eaſe) can vſe that Arte, ſwimming thorough great Lakes, Riuers, Streames, and very impetuous floods, where-with the country doth greatly abound.

Their ſports and paſtimes after tilling their grounds

When they are at leyſure, and haue done their husbandry in the fields: they daily follow hunting, ſometimes ouer the higheſt Mountaines and Rockes, almoſt inacceſſable, after wilde Goates, Kids, and other beaſts. At other times they purſue Beares, Wolues, Ounces, & wilde Boares, reputing it as an honour to him that can kil one of thoſe ſauage creatures, and faſten his head at the entrance of his doore; yet ſometimes hee makes a preſent of it to the Seigneury. The Grecians had an ancient cuſtome among thē, to giue the heads of wilde Boares, vnto Gentlemen or Gouernours of the country, as an honourable preſent after hunting.

How the ſwitzers do beare themſelues in warre.

Now we are to declare, how the Switzers doe carry themſelues in warre. Firſt then, I will make mention of their Arms: next, how they chuſe and enroule theyr Soldiours: And conſequently, of other things belonging to the acte of warre. Let me then tell you, that (ordinarily) the Switzers Souldiors are well furniſhed with Armes in their houſes: yet (oftentimes) the Cities and Towns do fit them with Armes, which are kept in their publike Arſenalles and Magazines.

What kinde of Armes are moſt in vſe with the Switzers, according to the elder times.

Their Armes are commonly thoſe of the Germane Lance-Knights, to wit: the Harquebuze, or Caliuer, or Musket; the Pike of eighteene foote in length; the Halbert; the Courtlace, and Sword made apt for both hands. They weare alſo a long Sword by their ſides, whereas their anceſtors did weare one farre ſhorter on their thighes, proper to ioyne with the enemy neerer hand, and to giue him the Stoccado.

What they vſe now at this preſent day, in their due order.

Now adayes, ouer and beſide this long Sword, they weare a large Poniard or Dagger, of three or foure fingers bredth, and ſharpe pointed: which the very meaneſt of them do adorne and enrich, with curious workmanſhip of gold and ſiluer. Some weare ſhirtes of Mayle; others Corſelets, or a good Cuirats for the body.

The poorer ſort, and eſpecially the Muskettiers, content themſelues with a Murrian or head-peece. Some, in ſtead of Armes plated with yron or ſteele, make vſe of skinnes of Beares or Buffelles: Others weare doublets of linnen cloth, redoubled in iuſt thickneſſe, and made full of oylet-holes, and theſe doublets thus made, are not eaſily to bee tranſpierced. For the reſt, as *Polybius* writeth, that the braue Parado or Romane Soldiour, vſed to weare a Panache of three plumes, red or blacke, about the length of a foote and an halfe, becauſe this addition to the reſt of his furniture for warre, made the Soldiour ſeeme to be twice greater and higher, then he was indeed, much more comly to looke on, and terrible to the enemy. Euen ſo the *Switzers* Soldiours, who couet to appeare ſightly among all other, do weare on their heads a Plume of Feathers, one part white, and the other anſwerable to the Enſigne, or Colours of their diſtinct Cantons.

The braue Parado, or Soldiour of Rome in his gallantry of Plumes.

The Impreſſe or ſignall on the Armes of the Switzers purpoſed for warre.

They beare euery man vpon his Arms, a white croſſe, plaine and right, which is the *Switzers* Enſigne of war: Each man yeelds himſelfe vnder the Standard of his Canton. They ſerue their turne with Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets: yet in ſuch ſort, notwithſtanding, that the Drums of the *Switzers* are eaſily diſcerned frō them of the *Allemanes* or *Germanes*, becauſe the ſound of the *Switzers* Drum is weighty and deepe, and the other more bluſtring. Particularly, they of *Vri* vſe in warre, a Cornet made of a wilde Bulles horne. They of *Vnderuald* do the like. The *Lucernians* often-times vſe a Cornet of Braſſe, which they ſay was giuen them by *Charlemaigne*.

Now as concerning the enrollement of their Soldiours, it is done in manner following.

If

How and in what manner they vſe to enroule theyr men for war. If warre be made on them at home.

If warre be made vpon the *Switzers*, and that they are aſſailed in their owne country; as no perſon was excuſed at Rome, when *Hannibal* was at the gates of the Citty; euen ſo (without the leaſt delay) all ſuch as are able to carry Armes, they lay command on, to run with ſpeedy ſuccour, as to a ſudden and dangerous fire, which euery hand ought helpe to quench. Yet in all this, they proceede by good order; for in the time of peace, each Canton hath certaine Captaines, Enſignes, and choſen men, that ought ſtill to be ready vpon any warning. But becauſe it cometh to paſſe more often, that they muſt leade their troops out of their countrie, and all are not meete for marching, neither ought to be drawne abroad, for feare the country ſhould be left naked of men of warre, and ſo remaine as a prey to the enemy: Then one neighbour makes choiſe of another for his companion, and according to the aduice of *Xenophon*, the very ſtrongeſt Army that can bee imagined, is that which is compounded of friends and companions.

When they march foorth abroad to war

The ancient *Switzers* well knowing this, tooke eſpeciall care, that in their enrolement, friends, and ſuch as knew one another, might be ranked together. And heereupon they ordained, that in warre, *Switzers* ſhould aide each other, & loue together like brethren, throwing of all particular hatreds, which they could formerly pretend one againſt another. The other *Allemaigne* Soldiours had a cuſtom to call one another brother: in regard whereof, ſome haue thought, that our ancients named them *Germanes*, which is as much to ſay, as brethren. Yet notwithſtanding, they were all (almoſt) at the Swords point one againſt another, & (very often) the furious Lance-knights, who by their hackt and ſlaſht faces, ſeeme to breathe no other word but warre: haue receiued more cuts and gaſhes by their friends and companions, then from their enemies.

The care of the old Switzers in their enrolement.

A reaſon concerning the name of Germanes, and how it came vp at firſt.

On the contrary, ordinarily in the *Switzers* Campe, there is a very great tranquility, & one louing another (thogh otherwiſe they know not at all) euen as if they were brethren. And when they are the very greateſt enemies in the world: yet notwithſtanding, for the good and quietnes of their country, they renounce all ſpleene & particular quarrels. Whereof I will declare a memorable example, which oftentimes (in my youth) I heard reported by my anceſtors.

A great happineſſe to be among ſuch men, and in ſuch a campe.

Two *Switzers* being deadly enemies, to wit, *Arnould* of *Vnderuald*, who afterward was a great Captaine, and *Zerchintes* of *Zurich*, both of them very valiant men, and meete for war. It came to paſſe, that during the warre of *Suaba*, they were both at one time in the Camp: when the cheefe Leaders (knowing their enmity) commanded them to be friends, and (as then) to forget their ancient quarrels. It happened in a certaine encounter, that *Arnould* was round engirt with his enemies: which *Zerchintes* perceiuing, came with his companions to releeue him, and did ſet him free from the danger wherein he was. In the euening, being returned to the Campe, *Arnould* went to the Tent of *Zerchintes*, and called to him by his name. His fellowes and followers, beeing ignorant of that which had happened, were perſwaded by their owne opinion, that he came to challenge combate with the other. Wherefore they ſtept betweene them, & admoniſhed *Arnould*, to remember the command giuen by the Captains, and to take heede of moouing any trouble in the Campe. He anſwered, that he came with a quite contrary diſpoſition, and ſo acquainted them with all the aduenture. And inſtantly preſented to *Zerchintes* a very goodly horſe, fit for warre ſeruice, which he had wonne in that daies trauaile. From that time forward, euen to the houre of death, they were very louing and intimate friends.

A very memorable example of great vertue in the Switzers, appearing by two mortall enemies.

As the ancient *Switzers* ſhewed themſelues brethren, in ſuccouring and aſſiſting their companions, doing as they wold be done to themſelues: ſo did they obſerue the ſame forme, in ſharing and diuiding a gotten booty. For firſt of al, they gaue prohibition on paine of death, that no man of theirs, ſhould bee ſo hardy or bold, as to forſake his ranck & the troops, vntill ſuch time as the enemy ſhould bee driuen in route. Afterward, when the Captaines had giuen licence to rifle and ranſacke; all the booty was brought in common, & diſtributed by the poll. And becauſe the cantons are publikely vnited; euen ſo the publike booty, as Artillery, Caſtles, conquered Countries, Tolles,

How the ancient Switzers vſed to diuide ſuch booties as they won in the warre.

Distribution by equality of portions.

and other reuennues, are parted among them by equall portion. Albeit there are some of the Cantons, that doe furnish out twice, thrice, and some whiles fiue times more Soldiours, then others doe. Neuertheless, extraordinarily and particularly, recompence is giuen, and gifts bestowed vpon Soldiers, that haue borne themselues valiantly, & performed some braue exploit in the warre, beyond the fortune of their companions: and also to those Cantons in like manner, that haue beene more imployed and charged, then the other.

They that deserue best ought to haue best.

Forasmuch also, as victuals and other munitions, are in warre to bee especially considered: the ancient Switzers ordained, that such as brought victuals, Arms, or other necessary things, and came to sell them in the Switzers campe, they should be fauoured & maintained, in all respects as if they were Switzers. There is also a perpetuall law, and established by length of time, that in warre, Temples and other places destined for the exercise of Religion, should be left intire and vntoucht. And that no outrage should be offered to maids nor women: but onely to such, as shall giue Armes to enemies, or acte the parts of Soldiors, by hurling stones, or hurting in some other manner.

The ancient Switzers order for victuals, Arms, munitions, &c.

Prohibition for violating of Churches, maids, and women.

As concerning the manner of camping, and raunging themselues in battaile; it is needlesse for me to shew heere, that which the Switzers do in particular, or in common with the other Germans. Only I will say, that in our time, and by the memory of our aunceſtors; among all Infantery, the battalion of the Switzers hath alwayes beene highly esteemed. For being composed of Pikes crossed, it resembleth a Porcupine, so that such as vnderstand the affaires of warre, doe iudge, and experience hath approoued it, that this battailion may beare head against the horsemen. In the battaile of *Nouara*, the Infantery of the Switzers beeing not couered with any horse: foiled and droue in route, the French Infantery and Horsemen. Afterward, on the day at *Marignano*, hauing had battaile against king *Frances*, two seuerall dayes, which they lost, by reason of the thundring Artillery, and multitude of their enemies: Neuertheless, though vanquished, yet they returned to *Millaine*, ranged in battaile, so that their retreat seemed nothing like a flight; and yet the French (for all their victory) durst not follow them. It is not long since, when on the day at *Dreux*, in the first Troubles, the *Reistres* & the French Caualery, liuely charged the battailion of the Switzers, and slew the most part of their Captaines: yet notwithstanding, the Switzers rallied themselues three times, and kept their rankes so well, that euen in that battaile, their enemies confessed themselues, that they were very valiant & warlike men.

Of the maner of the Switzers battalion

Example of the battaile of Nouara.

Example of the two dayes at Marignano

Example of the day at Dreux.

But let vs leaue such discourse to men of warre, and shew you, how the Switzers busie themselues in the times of peace, & how they are ordered from their infancy. First, as concerning letters and learning, which holds the first ranke: I freely confesse, that the ancient Switzers were not very carefull thereof. But rather they imitated the Romans therein, when they were in warres continually, against the *Aequi*, *Volscians*, *Veientes*, and other neighbouring people. And as they then, with rusticall songs celebrated the valiancy of their ancestors: so in the same manner, the olde Switzers had vulgar songs, to remember the victories which they had obtained in warre. The Song wherein the day of *Sempach* is aptly described, when as Duke *Leopold* was slaine, is very common in Switzerland. As for knowledge of Artes, and of the Latine tongue, men of warre, bruske and vnapt to handle Bookes, rather thought, that such matters belonged to Churchmen. But in our dayes, there are to be found in all the cantons of Switzers, men learned both in the Tongues and Sciences. And as for many that vnderstand not the Latine tongue: yet they forbeare not to reade Histories of all kindes, either concerning gouernment of life, or affaires of State, or of Religion: And there are Libraries, well furnished with Bookes, written in the vulgar tongue.

How the Switzers carry themselues in times of peace and are trained vp from their childehood.

Letters or learning little regarded among the ancient Switzers.

Many in the Cantons learned in tongs and sciences.

Now, as concerning Schooles, it is a very long time since, that the Colledges of the Abbey of S. *Gall*, and of *Coire* among the *Grisons*, were renowned, as wee haue already shewne else-where. But within some certaine yeares after, letters and learning became quite banished. The Pope *Pius*, formerly named *Aeneas Syluius*, prouided an Vniuersity at *Basile*, frō whence

Of Schooles for the furthering and maintenance of learning.

Pope Pius erected a Vniuersity at Basile.

whence haue come many learned and excellent men: whom it is needles to name, becauſe they are ſufficiently famous, and knowne by their writings. There are alſo diuers notable and publike Schooles at *Zurich*, at *Berne*, and one eſtabliſhed at *Lauſanna*, by the Lords of *Berne*. Nor muſt I let ſleepe in ſilence, the goodly Printing-houſes at *Baſile*, *Zurich*, and *Geneua*, renowned among them all that are in *Germany*.

Goodly Printing-houſes.

Beſide the ſtudy of good letters, whereof I haue made mention, there is loue of all vertue, and eſpecially of Iuſtice, which appertaineth alſo to the maintenance of peace. For it is a matter moſt certaine, that the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is grounded vpon moſt great equity, and hath euermore beene famous, in regard of her iuſtice: as appeareth by the lawes, alliances, cuſtomes, and manner of life among the ancient *Switzers*, and by many examples, and particular actions. I need not make mention of their lawes, becauſe they agree with thoſe of other common-wealths, that are ruled by good lawes: where crimes and miſdeeds are ſeuerely puniſhed, without any exception of perſons.

Loue of vertue & iuſtice among the Switzers.

The Lawes of the Switzers.

As for their alliances, the Articles of them, reported in the firſt Booke: do declare, with what vprightneſſe, diligence, & faithfulneſſe they are made. The ends of them are, that euery man may enioy his owne peaceably, and that (by a common conſent) all violence may be expulſt and baniſhed. For the better gouerning of this caſe, it is expreſſely forbidden, to goe and aſſault, and make warre one vpon another, eyther raſhly, or without iuſt cauſe. And therefore alſo, before Armes may be vndertaken, the wiſeſt and moſt diſcreete perſons in all the nation: in a publike aſſembly, muſt examine the cauſes of the warre, and vnderſtand them to be iuſt and lawfull. Then afterward, when queſtion is vrged of repulſing an enemy, it is moſt ſtrictly prohibited to the confederates, that ought to giue aſſiſtance; to vſe therein no fraud nor cunning. But if they be called by letters, or by meſſages, or, admit they could not bee called, the paſſages being fore-cloſed by the enemy: yet notwithſtanding, they are commanded to go and giue ſuccour, euen to their vtmoſt power.

The alliances of the Switzers.

Of vndertaking Armes or going to warre.

In the caſe of mutuall aide and aſsiſtance

Moreouer, becauſe it many times happens, that the recouery of debts and borrowed money, do beget great debates, ſo that ſuch differences betweene particular perſons, doe ſometimes ſet the Cantons at variance one with another: the Articles of the alliances do euery where make mention, what courſe is to bee obſerued in the recouery of ſuch debts, and for taking pawns, to cut off the ouer great licence of lenders, and to ſhunne the fraudulency of borrowers. Whoſoeuer hath beene but a meane reader of Hiſtories, knowes very wel, what troubles haue happned in Rome, in the caſe of debts, at all times, and whenſoeuer the people are oppreſſed by the violence of vſurers, & taxed in great ſummes: then they would mutiny, and demaund, that the vſurers contracts might be torne in peeces, & other made of more honeſt nature. But the prouidence and vprightneſſe of the auncient Switzers, made ſuch an imbarment, that neuer was the abolition of Obligations vrged in Switzerland; although the country is not very great, nor rich, and hath beene troubled with warres continually.

Concerning debts & borrowed monies.

Great troubles in Rome about caſes of debts.

Great care & prouidence in the Switzers.

Becauſe alſo, that men of warre are prompt and ready, to lay hand on their weapons, and (oftentimes) fight vnder a falſe and dangerous pretence, they being men rather quarrellous, ſturdy & outragious, then valiant, yet taking a delight in this forwardneſſe of enduring nothing, as thinking it makes men magnanimous and inuincible: the auncient Switzers laboured to remedy this euill, firſt by impoſition of great fines, on ſuch as began the ſtirre, and to outrage their aſſociates. But becauſe choller is a furious beaſt, and very difficult to be brideled: to hinder him from taking carriere, and obuiate murders; they added another remedy, to wit, that ſuch as were found preſent at thoſe quarrels and debates, if they did not pacifie and hinder their proceeding, and impoſe on them the penalties appointed by the lawes: then themſelues ſhould bee greeuouſly puniſhed by the Magiſtrate. For they would not permit, that men ſhould be ſo ouerſwaied and maſtered by choller, and their lawes (in the meane while) loſe their power and authority. If any man committed a murder, and eſcaped from the hand of iuſtice: hee could not be receiued into any of the Cantons.

An eſpeciall care againſt quarrels and frayes of particular perſons.

A good law to be vſed in other places.

Againſt ſuch as committed murder.

If

If any man were baniſhed, for offending any one of the Cantons, or killing a man: he was to ſtand excluded from all the reſt, except hee could proue by ſufficient witneſſes, that he ſlew his enemy in the mere defence of his owne body.

The Swizzers are protectors of the oppreſſed.

Such hath beene, and ſtill is, the equity of the *Switzers* in doing iuſtice, & puniſhing the faulty from time to time: that many ſtrãgers haue made their recourſe to them, and haue accepted them for Arbitrators in their differences. For they do ſhew themſelues protectors of all ſuch as haue any wrong done to them, and vpon this their comming to them; they haue ſent Ambaſſadours, nay, haue vndertaken Armes, to re-eſtabliſh in their goods and poſſeſſions, ſome that haue bene deſpoyled of them by very powerful Lords.

Examples of diuers protected & holpen to their rights by the Switzers.

The Cantons (in this cauſe) made war on the Princes of *Auſtria*, to maintaine the right of the *Fulachs*, Cittizens of *Schaffouſe*. And for certaine Gentlemen of *Stiria*, named the *Gradlers*: & conſtrained the Duke of *Auſtria*, to reſtore ſuch goods as he deteyned from them. In the like caſe, but of much greater importance they gaue battaile vnto Duke *Charles* of *Bourgongne*; to maintaine *Renè*, Duke of *Lorraine*, whom *Charles* had diſpoſſed of the moſt part of his countries. In like manner alſo, many times haue they made warre on certaine theeues, who couering themſelues with the title of Noblemen; robbed and ſpoyled Merchants. To foile theſe theeues, they haue bin faine to make out vpon them, not onely in their owne country of *Switzerland*; but alſo in countries further off, allying themſelues (to effect ſo good a worke) with thoſe farre off townes. By which meanes, the wayes of *Switzerland* haue beene made very ſecure: ſo that Merchants, charged with neuer ſo great ſummes of money, goe and come in al ſafety, tranſporting their Merchandizes whether they pleaſe, without any need of company or tranſport. And a pleaſant Prouerbe grew thereon, that if any man carried his purſſe full of gold or ſiluer on his ſtaffes end; hee might ſafely paſſe through *Switzerland*, and care not how many looked on him.

The Switzers haue made warre vpon theeues that robbed and ſpoiled paſſengers.

Good actions are euermore worthy to bee commended.

Iuſtice ſildome walkes without her companion Liberality, vnder which epithite wee will comprehend hoſpitality, which alwayes hath made the people of *Switzerland* to bee highly commended. They haue not the delicates of the *Italian* and *French*, but they offer liberally thoſe preſents which the earth yeeldes them, as namely, Milke, Butter, & Hony. And who would bee aſhamed, or can deſpiſe this liberality; ſeeing the great Patriark *Abraham*, entertained Angels with ſuch viands, when they came to ſee him? And yet the country is not without good ſtore of wilde Beaſts and Fowles, with diuers kindes of Fiſhes, both in Lakes & Riuers. And as great men in times paſt, (ſo ſweetly ſung of by learned Poets) honoured men of worth, by giuing them fleſh for their food: euen ſo oftentimes in *Switzerland*, preſents are giuen to ſtrãgers, and them of the ſame country alſo, paſſing from one place to another, of good and delicate fleſh, namely Veniſon, and alſo of very dainty Fiſh. But principally, the *Switzers* are liberall and charitable to the poore, in lodging, feeding, & furniſhing them with other needefull things: ſo that there are very few countries, wherein ſo many poore beggers are to be ſeene, as in *Switzerland*. I do not heere diſpute, whether the Magiſtrate doth well, or no, in ſuffering or ſupporting them: onely I was deſirous to ſhew heerein, the great humanity of the *Switzers* towards the poore, which reſort thether from all parts.

The bounty and hoſpitality of the Switzers.

The people of *Switzerland* (among all other) take pleaſure in Feaſts and publike Banquets. In Citties and Townes, they of one trade, or of one band, haue certaine houſes ordained to aſſemble themſelues in. Euery Village (almoſt) hath a houſe by it ſelfe, which they cal the houſe of good company: becauſe they there meete, onely to maintaine loue and amity. The men doe meete there often, and ſometimes the women are inuited thether, to ſitte and banquet with their huſbands. They do not vſe any ſumptuous diſhes or delicates, but moſt often content themſelues with one or two kindes of meates. Many times euery neighbour bringeth his diſh, and there feed friendly together, on that which was prouided for their owne priuate houſes. And as among the *Lacedemonians* it was ordained, that aged men and Magiſtrates ſhould be preſent at banquets, to the ende, that euery man ſhould carry himſelfe honeſtly: the very

It is no ſhame to follow vertuous & good examples.

The Switzers are greatly charitable to the poore.

The Switzers delight in feaſting & banquetting, only for the maintaining of louing neighbourhood.

Aged men & Magiſtrates allowed by the Lacedemonians to be at Feaſts and Banquets.

very same is practised in *Switzerland*, so that all of one Trade, or of one Brotherhood, haue their distinct places, and the Magistrate, with the most auncient men, haue the higher ende of the Table allowed to them.

The Switzers delight not in Musicke at their meetings

They do not much delight in Musicke at such Banquets, because they conceiue more pleasure in conferring together: either of particular affaires, or (oftentimes) of publike businesse. Aboue all, when one of the most aged begins to discourse on some notable matters, which happened in his youth, or that himselfe had learned from his predecessors; euery one is very attentiue, without the least interruption. And many times, he that hath a good & pleasing tongue, will speake loud enough on the faire deseruings of his Ancestors. The ancient *Switzers* were very sober & modest in all things, especially at publike Feasts and Banquets: so that it is a matter rare & most ignominious, if any man should be drunke in such an assembly.

The Author greeued to write that which the peoples folly compels him to do.

But I am enforced to write, and to my great greefe, that although there is more moderation in the *Switzers* Banquets, euen at this day, then in many other people of *Germany:* yet notwithstanding, drunkennesse will not be banished, nor so vilely thought on, as in elder times it hath beene. And as *Xenophon* saide of the *Lacedemonians* (whose common-wealth hee had most highly commended) that hee durst not maintaine now in his time, that the lawes of *Lycurgus* were in full force, because in former times, sober and moderate people, affected rather to liue among them in great continence, then to be Lords in other Cities, where they might possesse worlds of riches: So now in the time of *Xenophon*, the *Lacedemonians*, yea, them of greatest power among them, contended to haue the gouernment of cities, as fearing they should be compeld to liue in their owne particular condition, glorifying themselues openly, of their wealth and riches. And whereas their Ancestors were studious, to make themselues become honourable, & worthy of giuing command to others: these men coueted after dignities onely. So that whereas the *Grecians* (on their owne meere motion) made request to the *Lacedemonians*, that they would accept of the gouernment: matters became so contrarily changed, that the *Grecians* prayed & exhorted one another, to resist against the *Lacedemonians*, yea, and to expulse thē vtterly, fearing leste they should vsurpe vpon the gouernment.

The words of Xenophon concerning the Lacedemonians.

A strange alteration in so rare a gouernment.

It appeareth now to me, that euen as much may be said of the *Switzers*: for I must needs confesse, that the frugality & temperance of our auncients, in eating, drinking, cloathing, and in the whole course of life, is dead, or as if it had neuer beene at all. The *Switzers* are not now so continent and spare in liuing, as heeretofore, when they maintained their liues with the labour both of their mindes and hands, without taking wages of Kings & Princes, strangers to them. And therfore I am much affraid, leste we lose that wholy too, which yet remaineth, namely, valiancy and strength in warre, humanity, debonarity, iustice, and vprightnesse. So that one day, they who (heretofore) haue so carefully compassed amity & alliance with the *Switzers*: it is to bee doubted, may change their mindes, and study how they shall best subdue them. I desire of God, that he will turne from my country so deadly a danger; and I desire also, and exhort all them that ought to think theron, to striue to bring in vse againe those honest ancient manners, that frugality, continence, equity, humanity, loyalty, & constancy of the olde *Switzers* in al their actions.

The Switzers are greatly altered from their famous progenitors.

The Authors especiall care of his countries honour, and of his countrymen.

CHAP. III.

Of publike assemblies and meetings, or rather of the Councell and Senate of the Switzers.

IN all Commonwealths, three things are especially to be cōsidered, to wit, the Councell or Senate, the Magistrate, and Iustice; for the Common-wealth of the *Switzers* hath no common Magistrates: except wee may place in that ranke, the Bayliffes and Gouernors, which are sent heere and there, not by the councell of the Common-wealth, but by each one of the Cantons in it selfe. For the rest, the coun-

The three ornaments of any common-wealth.

The councell of the Switzers not equal alwayes.

councell of *Switzerland* is not alwayes equall in number; for sometimes, ouer & beside the Cantons, the other allies and confederates, especially the Ambassadors of S. *Gall*, of the *Grisons*, and of *Mulhouse*, do meete together. And then this is the very greatest councell, which doe assemble but rarely, and to conferre on peace or warre, or of other affayres, which appertaine equally to all the confederates.

The Ambassadors of the 13 cantons meet oftnest together, but not vpon all occasions.

Ofteneſt of all other, there do none but the Ambassadors of the thirteen cantons meete together, to consult and aduise on matters of the Common-wealth. Euery man of them hath a deliberate voyce, as well as the other, and therefore, though one Canton do send two Ambassadors: yet they shall haue but one voyce, & one aduice, becauſe the aduice is collected according to the number of the Cantons, and not to the number of Ambassadors. Neuertheleſſe, all the Cantons doe not send their Ambassadors at all daies meetings; as when there is queſtion of the Bayliwicks, gouerned by the seauen or eight first Cantons, or of other things on them depending: then seuen or eight ambassadors onely meete together, & haue their deliberatiue voyces. But if there be any speech concerning the Bayliwicks of Italy, belonging to the twelue first Cantons: then those twelue ambassadors doe assemble. And as for that which concerneth the good of the whole Common-wealth: the ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons, do then make a perfect & compleate body of councell.

The Ambassadors haue their assemblies according to their causes.

In our times, since *Switzerland* became diuided into factions, by reason of differences happening in Religion, they likewise instituted particular assemblies: so that the fiue Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, and *Zug*, that make expresse profession of the Religion and Ceremonies of the Romane Church, & are very strictly vnited together, by especiall amity (I know not whether it bee by league or alliance) they meete together more often then the other cantons, and are (as it were) a councell apart. And therefore, when speech is made of the fiue small Cantons, they before named are vnderstood, and not the fiue first in alliance. As also in making mention of three, of seuen, or of eight Cantons: it must be considered according to the time and order, when they were entred into league; as thus. *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Lucerna* and *Zurich*, shall be the fiue Cantons. Sometimes they of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, assemble themselues with the fiue forenamed, and call themselues the seuen catholike Cantons. Now, although any in the cantons of *Glaris* and *Appenzell*, doe belong to the catholike Church, & Masse is sung in their cheefeſt Villages: yet notwithstanding, they are not rancked among the catholikes, becauſe (for the moſt part) their people walke with them that are of the new Religion. Finally, the foure Citties, to wit, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*, haue likewise (sometimes) their assembly apart; but yet it is not so often as the other.

Factions among the Switzers, about matter of religion.

Lucerna, Vri, Suits, Vnderuald and Zug, are the fiue small cantons.

The seuen Catholike Cantons, that will be so distinguished by themselues.

Moreouer, it is very vneasie to discipher particularly, all those things whereon the councell of *Switzers* do deliberate: neuertheleſſe, I will touch some of the principall articles. The first and cheefeſt, is concerning war and peace, as likewise mention is made in moſt part of the alliances, that if a great wrong is done to one of the cantons, and it thinketh good to haue reason by armes: it muſt first bee referred to the councell of the leagues, to the end that the ambassadors may regard together, whether the cause of warre bee iuſt, or no, leſte warre should bee lightly moued, and vpon triuiall occasions. Then afterward, if it appeare to bee expedient to begin warre, and for the safety of the common-wealth, the meanes muſt next be consulted on.

Of what matters the councell of the Switzers vse to take knowledge.

War is not to be moued on sleight occasions.

It chanced (in my time) that *Christopher Landberg*, being leagued with many Gentlemen, furiously to inuade them of *Rotuille*, allied to the Cantons: many said, that such succour ought to be sent to *Rotuille*, as the inhabitants desired. But the greater part of the Senatours, and Deputies to the councell of *Switzerland*, hauing vnderstood the causes of the variance; hindred any such proceeding. For they saw plainely, that the whole State would ouerthrow it selfe into very great perill, and vpon silly occasion: becauſe there was pregnant apparance, that by inuading *Landberg*, they muſt therby meddle with the Duke of *Wirtemberg* his neighbour, to whom the Switzers hadde beene good friends a long time. Nor could they come so neere him, without irrita-

An example of Rotuille allied to the Cantons, threatened with danger.

irritating (by the ſame meanes) many other Princes, that wer his kindred, friends, and confederates. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe they of *Rotuille* ſhould not complaine, that they were forſaken in ſuch a neceſſity: fifty Soldiors of each Canton were ſent as a Garriſon to their Towne, but they ſtayed at *Schaffouſe*, and (ſoone after) the difference was pacified by Iudges, choſen for eyther ſide. And as the councell deliberated on the matter of warre, and whether it ſhould be begun, or no: peace alſo was treated on by the ſame councell, and not by the Cantons in particular.

Example of the warre at Suaba, when peace was made at Fribourg.

According heereto, in the warre of *Suaba*, all the Cantons together ſent their ambaſſadors to *Baſile*, where they made peace with the Emperor *Maximillian*. So the councell of *Switzerland*, aſſembling at *Fribourg*; made perpetuall peace with the King, and all the Realme of France, in the yeare, 1516. The negotiation of alliances, is ioyned with that of peace: for very often in the dayes of our anceſtors, and in ours alſo, the Cantons (by aduice of their councell) haue made alliances with neighbouring Kings and Princes. Wherin this order is kept ſtill to this day,

No Canton can be compeld to make alliance with a ſtrange Prince.

that no one of the Cantons can bee conſtrained to make alliance with a ſtrange Prince, but is to remaine at his owne liberty. As in the yeare, 1519. when all the cantons allied themſelues with king *Frá-ces*; they of *Zurich* refuſed to be bound, and afterward, they of *Berne* renounced this alliance. In like manner, when *Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, obtained to enter league and amity with the Switzers: firſt the fiue ſmall cantons began, and then *Solleurre* ioyned with them afterward.

For the eſtabliſhment of lawes and ordinances.

The ſecond Article, of ſuch things as the councell of *Switzerland* do ordaine, concerneth lawes and ordinances. Each Canton hath his lawes and cuſtomes by himſelfe, which remaine firme and inuiolable: neuertheleſſe, by a common conſent, our anceſtors deuiſed and eſtabliſhed many publike Edicts and Ordinances. Among which number, are the fore-mentioned lawes of warre: wherewith alſo may the accord at *Stantz* bee rancked, paſſed betweene the eight firſt Cantons, and whereof we haue ſpoken in the firſt book. Alſo, becauſe Prieſts abuſed their immunities and priuiledges; they were reproo-

Gainſt Prieſts that abuſed their immunities & priuiledges.

ued by a publike Edict, containing this in effect. Whoſoeuer of the cittizens or inhabitants of the cantons, be hee Prieſt or no, be he a Counceller, Vaſſaile, or bound to the Princes of *Auſtria*: he ſhall ſtand bound neuertheles, and promiſe by oath to his canton, to procure & aduance the profite therof, and of all the confederats, and diſcouer ſpeedily and in good conſcience, all that may bring them any damage. This oath ſhall precede all other, and no obligation, how expreſſe ſoeuer it be, ſhall excuſe them, if they go aginſt this oath.

No Prieſt may commence law-ſuites out of the Country, but with exception,

Such Prieſts as dwell in *Switzerland*, and are not of the country, may draw no man into ciuill or eccleſiaſticall iuſtice, out of the country; except in matrimoniall and eccleſiaſticall cauſes. If any one dare do otherwiſe, the Magiſtrates of the canton wherein he dwelleth, ſhall prohibite all men, not to harbour, lodge, or friend him, nor to frequent his company: none ſhall preſume to protect him, vntill ſuch time as hee hath renounced all forraigne iuſtice, and payed the charges of the party, that receiued endamagement by ſuch iuſtice. Whoſoeuer ſhall doe wrong to his neighbour, eyther in taking pawnes againſt order of right, or by any other meanes: he ſhall be puniſhable in body and goods, vntill hee haue ſatisfied the party. He that is not of the Church, and yet hath ſummond his aduerſary, eyther before a Iudge of the Church, or ſeculer, and out of the country: he ſhall pay all the charges endured in that cauſe, in regard hee ought to pleade in the ſame place, where the party dwelleth. No man ſhall aſſigne ouer his action to another, by which meanes he may the eaſier afflict the contrary party.

For puniſhing of wrong done to neighbors.

No ſuite to be pleaded out of the country

If any man ſhall renounce his Bourgeſhip, and therby do wrong to another, by drawing him into ſtrange iuſtice: hee ſhall neuer bee receiued againe into the number of the cittizens, till firſt hee haue made ſatisfaction to the party. All the cantons ſhall take order, that the waies be ſure and ſafe, becauſe both Switzers & ſtrangers may paſſe ſecurely, conuaying their Merchandizes through the country, without any manner of violence done to them: whoſoeuer ſhall attempt otherwiſe, by common conſent of all, and our helpe to the vttermoſt, hee ſhall be compelled

No colour admitted to wrong another.

For ſecure & ſafe paſſage on the high-wayes.

No pawne to be taken but by the Magistrates consent.

pelled to make satisfaction, answerable to the faculties and riches as the party hath lost. No man in any Canton whatsoeuer, shall receiue pawne or pledge of any other, without consent of the Magistrate: neyther shall do, or procure any iniury to be done to his neighbour; but hee that doth the contrary, shall be compelled by them of his Canton, to satisfie the other to the vttermost damage.

An Edict against Brokers for Benefices.

All these things before recited, were agreed on, and ordained by the sixe cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, and *Zug*. There was another Edict also published, against many Brokers of Benefices, for in regard that such fellowes did oftentimes cause much trouble vnto Priests, made by the Ordinaries of the places, and (vnder colour of some purchased Bulles) were so put in possession of vacant Benefices: It was concluded by common consent of all the thirteen cantons, in the yeare, 1520. that if such people pursued to maintaine the right of such Bulles, they should be imprisoned, where if they did not renounce those Bulles, they should be drowned. I could set downe many other examples, of Edicts & publike lawes, but I thinke it needlesse: and these formerly rehearsed, are to no other end, but to let the Reader perceiue, that the ancient *Switzers*, who were deuoutly affected to their Religion, and euermore gaue great honor to men of the church, did neuer yet (for all that) leaue the bridle so freely to them, or admit them any such licence, as was contrary to publike liberty and tranquility.

The Authors reason for the Lawes & Edicts alledged

Concerning Embassages sent foorth of the country, or imploym&t at home on serious affairs.

If any Embassages were to bee sent out of *Switzerland*, for the appointing of some difference, contracting of alliance, gratifying some Prince, or exhorting some one to this or that, or else to command or declare some matters of import, or to denounce warre: Say also, that it were in *Switzerland*, to negotiate with some Canton, Citty, Towne, &c: The councell consults and determines what is to be done in this case: as whether it is necessary to send ambassadours of all the Cantons, or of some few onely.

When Alliances are to be contracted.

When there is a question in hand, for contracting alliances or leagues, all the Cantons do then send ambassadors: As when the alliance was made and signed with King *Henry*, not onely the Cantons, but also the confederates sent their ambassadors to the King. But in many other affaires, they name but foure or fiue Cantons, who send Embassages in the name of all. As the ambassadors of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Glaris* went to the day at *Ansbourg*, & obtained of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, confirmation of the priuiledges for their owne cantons, and for all the rest likewise. Moreouer, this councell hath charge, with reference to the Lords that assist them, to aduise on what is to bee negotiated, or answering ambassadors of Kings and Princes strangers, and also of other common-wealths, as they are oftentimes met withall, in the publike assemblies of the Switzers.

In other occasions.

Aduice for negotiations, & answering Ambassadors.

Finally, the councell aduiseth to prouide for the Prouinces, which do belong to the Cantons, to the end, they may bee gouerned as best beseemeth. First of all, because that some estates are of great profit, as of Secretaries, Commissaries, Officers, Interpreters, *Landmans*, & *Landweibell* in the country of *Turgow* (wherof the first, to wit, the *Landman* is Iudge criminall, in name of the ten first Cantons, and the other is as ordinary Proctor or Atturney) the councell commits these estates to certaine men, who cannot (in meane while) chuse Officers vnder them, answerable to their appetite. Moreouer, if some difficult processe or suite happen in a Prouince, and the Gouernors or Bayliffes will not iudge according to their aduice: the whole busines is referred ouer to the councel, where if the sentence of the Bayliffes seeme to bee vniust to eyther of the parties, they may appeale to the maine Senate or Councel of the Switzers.

For prouision & gouerning of the Bayliwicks and Prouinces.

Landmans & Landweibell.

When difficult cases happen in any Prouince.

As for causes in the Bayliwicks and Gouernments beyond the Mountaines; the ambassadors (which are yearely sent thither in the Moneth of Iune) doe take knowledge of them, and end them. But for other suites on this side the Mountaines, the councell of *Bada* doth iudge them: And appeale also may bee made from the sentence of the ambassadours that haue giuen iudgement beyond the Mountaines, to the councell of *Bada*; because that authority is greater, and their power more ample. Yet some say no, and that the appeale is to be addressed to the Cantons: that each of them may vnder-

Order for causes on eyther side the Mountaines.

The councel of Bada.

stand

Distribution of annuall reuennues.

stand the matter, and by them the difference to be decided. Also the Gouernors and Bayliffes, are to render an account to the councell, of the tolles, reuennues, and fines: the annuall reuennues are distributed by equall portion among the Cantons, to whom the Bayliwicks do appertaine. There is the like also of the Abbeyes in those Bayliwicks, the protection and gouernment whereof (in temporall occasions) do belong to the Cantons. In briefe, the councell doth know all things, which concerne the administration of the Prouinces appertaining to the Cantons; they cause the Gouernors to render their accounts; they giue audience to whosoeuer can accuse them, and they punish them, if they haue deserued it; eyther by depriuing them of their dignities, or returning them to the Cantons that established them, to haue some other sent in their stead. To speake all in one word, the councell takes knowledge of all matters that concerne the good and tranquility of the common-wealth: as well in the Gouernments and Bayliwicks, as also in the Cantons themselues.

The capacity and power of the councell, in all matters whatsoeuer that concerne the common-wealths welfare.

To whom the calling & the assembling of the councell appertaineth.

Now concerning the authority of calling, and assembling the councell, for the demanding of their aduice: it hath belonged (of ancient time) to the Canton of *Zurich*; which by a very authenticall priuiledge, holds the cheefest ranke among all the Cantons. Whensoeuer then there is question made, to hold a generall councell of the nation: the Lords of *Zurich* make knowne by their Letters to each of the Cantons, both the time & the place where they are to meete together. If any one, or more of the cantons, do thinke it necessary, that the councell publike and general should be assembled; first they giue aduertisement to the canton of *Zurich*, and require by their letters, that the Ambassadours of the other cantons may meet together. But if the affairs are pressiue, and require speedy deliberation, then each canton must aduertise his confederates, to be in readinesse for aduising (altogether) on that which is to bee done.

The order & obseruation for calling the generall assembly.

Of Ambassadors from Kings and Princes.

Likewise the Ambassadours from Kings and Princes strangers, do demand leaue of the cantons, to present thēselues at those dayes of meetings: & somtimes they make request, that one day (extraordinary) may be held for them. But on the dayes of particular meetings, they proceed otherwise, because *Zurich* signifies the same to foure Townes: and when to fiue or seuen catholike cantons; they of *Lucerna* do assemble them. There are also daies of and for particular meeting of the cantons allied to the K. of France: whose Ambassador residing at *Solleurre*, calleth the cantons at the Kings charge. I thinke there is permission also, for the ambassadors of the Pope, and of other kings, friends, and allies to the *Switzers*, to demand their dayes: prouided, they are at their Masters expences.

Dayes of particular assemblies, according to their order, and for whom they are called.

In what place the councell did assemble on their daies of meeting.

The ancient *Switzers* had no perpetuall or certaine place, for holding their daies of generall councell: for I am perswaded, there is no one of the first eight cantons, but they made an assembly at some times, though most often it was done at *Lucerna*, at *Zurich*, *Bremgarten*, and at *Bada*. In our time, the custome hath beene (not by any law or ordinance purposely made for it) that the *Switzers* kept their dayes at *Bada*, in the Towne-house: and so much the rather, because the Towne hath many commodities for such assemblies. First, the place is beautified with goodly buildings, and very apt Innes or houses of lodging. The scituation of the place is pleasant and healthfull, and the neerenesse of the Bathes yeelde wonderfull pleasure, drawing thether great resort of people from farre remote countries. By meanes whereof, the neighbouring people to *Bada*, (feeling the gaines sweetnesse) bring thether all kindes of victuals in great aboundance, which causeth the Towne to be well furnished with all good prouision, and at all needfull seasons.

The commodious scituation of the Towne of Bada.

Next, it is seated (almost) in the midst of *Switzerland*, so that the cantons furthest off, may appeare there (by neerenesse of wayes) all at one and at the same time. Also it appertaineth to the eight first cantons, & (by that meanes) the most part of the cantons are Lords therof, and haue equall authority in the place. Beside, the particular assemblies of the foure Townes, is oftenest kept in the Towne of *Arow*, appertaining vnto the canton of *Berne*; howbeit (sometimes) it hath bin of *Basile*, when question was made of entring accord with *Luther*, & that for the cause

Bada belongeth to the 8. first cantons.

The meeting of the Catholike Cantons.

of *Strasbourg*, that then ſent their Ambaſſadors thether. The catholike Cantons do oftentimes aſſemble at *Lucerna*, ſometimes at *Beckenried*, in the territory of *Vri*, or at *Brunen*, which belongeth to them of *Suits*. But when the Ambaſſador of France demandeth (in his Kings name) a leuye of men of the *Switzers*: the day is ofteneſt held at *Solleurre*, where he entreateth the Cantons to be preſent: and ſometimes alſo it is at *Lucerna*.

At what times the dayes of audience for ſuites are held.

The cuſtome is, that (euery yeare) dayes of meeting are held at *Bada*, about mid-Iune. Then the Bayliffes or Gouernors appertaining to the Cantons, yeeld a reaſon of their ſeuerall charges before the councell, and attend to the ending of ſuites concerning the Prouinces. At the ſame time, the Ambaſſadors of the twelue firſt Cantons, do meete at *Lugano*, & take an account of the foure Bayliffes for the Prouinces of *Italy*, and iudge the cauſes of appeale: but yet in ſuch ſort as a man may appeale from them, to the Councell or Parliament of *Bada*, it being of farre greater authority. The councell ſo aſſembled, they ſit by ordination of the Cantons, to ende ſuch controuerſiall caſes, as were not concluded on at the precedent meeting: for oftentimes cauſes of importance are not ended at the firſt Seſſion, either becauſe they appeare not of ſufficient merit, or want due power of proofe. In regard whereof, they are referred ouer to a further day, and in the meane while, the Ambaſſadors craue aduice of the Lords of their ſeuerall Cantons, to know how they ſhall carry themſelues therein. Sometimes alſo, in an vnexpected accident, or ſome other ſuch caſe of conſequence: the Canton of *Zurich*, or ſome other, will aſſigne the day, eſpecially, if it be a matter concerning the common-wealth. Now, although the Councell are aſſembled only for publike affaires; yet notwitſtanding, after they haue taken order for them, if any particulars of the Prouinces come, and would haue their cauſes pleaded, they giue them audience. But the particular dayes of the Cantons, and thoſe that the Ambaſſador of France cauſeth to bee held; haue no certainty of time, but according as occaſions offer themſelues, & as it is pleaſing to them that haue power to aſſemble the councell.

The reaſon of the councels ſitting and meeting.

Concerning ſudden & vnexpected accidents, and ſuites of particular perſons, from the generall buſines.

Particular dayes for the Cantons.

Of the order and manner of proceeding on the dayes of meeting.

The manner of proceeding on theſe daies of meeting, is thus. At the day aſſigned by the ordinary councell, or commanded to be kept: the day before, the Ambaſſador for the canton of *Zurich*, ſends the Lieutenant of *Bada* to all the Innes and houſes of receit, to know what Ambaſſadors are come, to whom the Lieutenant giueth kinde welcome, and receiueth them honourably, in name of the whole *Switzers* common-wealth, and the morrow after, he calleth thē to come to the Townhouſe. If the Ambaſſadors of all the cantons are come, they are called, and then they treate on affaires concerning all the Cantons together. But if vpon the day named, they for the new Cantons, as for *Baſile*, *Schaffouſe*, *Solleurre*, and *Fribourg*, are not as yet arriued, as oftentimes it comes ſo to paſſe: then ſeuen or eight Cantons do aſſemble, and diſcourſe on matters only concerning themſelues.

In what manner the Ambaſſadors do ſit in councell according to their degree.

The Ambaſſadors are ſeated in councell, according to the order & number of the Cantons, ſo that he of *Zurich* ſits in the higheſt and moſt eminent place; he of *Berne* next; then he of *Lucerna*, & ſo conſequently the other, according to the order of the Cantons. Being ſeated, the ambaſſador of *Zurich* ſaluteth them all, and hauing made ſome breefe preface & excuſe, according to cuſtome; he declareth ẏ which the Ambaſſadours had in charge on the laſt dayes meeting, and referred them to the next dayes deliberation, as oftentimes they are aſſembled to that effect, and if any thing hath hapned ſince then, he propoundeth it alſo. Then he addeth that which his Lords haue giuē him in charge, touching the Article whereon he is to deliberate: the other ambaſſadors do the like in their ranke, & declare whatſoeuer their Lords commanded them. After that euery one hath made knowne that which they haue in charge to ſay: the Bayliffe or Gouernor of *Bada* (of whatſoeuer Canton it is) demandeth orderly of each counceller, his aduice concerning the matter that hath bin in queſtion. Thē he of *Zurich* ſpeaketh firſt, and the reſt after, according to their ranke. Hauing all ſpoken, the Bayliffe counteth the voyces, according to the number of the Cantons and not of the councellers: for ſometimes one Canton ſends two ambaſſadors, who may well aſſiſt in councell, yet they haue but

Each man maketh his commiſsiō known in councell.

but one voyce,as of one man onely.

Particular causes haue the same order of proceeding,as them in generall.

Thus you see how they proceed in deciding those things, which concerne the publike good: In particular causes also, they follow the same order, giue their aduice,and collect the voyces. But such as haue any causes to pleade on these daies, demand audience first of the Ambassador for *Zurich*,who assigned their day, & put their names vpon the Role. When they appeare before the councell, sometimes the parties themselues will pleade their owne causes: or haue Aduocates, Procters,or speakers, which they bring with them,or chuse among such as they finde in *Bada*. For at all times,and whensoeuer these dayes are appointed,there will meet there a great number of such mẽ,belonging to the neighbouring Townes & Burroughs,pentioners of the Switzers.Causes are there debated, not according to the ciuill Law,nor by the aduice of Lawyers; but with equity, and according to the lawes & customes of the people,long time obserued among them.

After what manner their causes are debated.

I know, that many will account this forme of pleading,to be barbarous, especially such as would haue men follow the Romanes order of pleading, for the ending of suites: without which (they say) the very wisest men do wrong themselues often,in the deciding of difficult causes, and matters of importance. As for my selfe,I thinke well of the Romanes lawes, written by men very wise and skilfull in affaires, and I will not infrindge their authority in any manner whatsoeuer. But yet I say,that the proceeding obserued by the *Switzers*, for ending controuersiall cases,is to be preferred before that which is vsed among other Iudges, that giue sẽtence according to the Romane lawes. And I am well assured,that mine opinion cannot be reiected, but by ill-disposed & wrangling spirits. For it cannot be denied,that many Aduocates and Atturnies, are much more carefull for maintaining the ciuill law,then eyther equity or right: considering, they do nothing else many times, but tye themselues to sillables, words,and termes of the law, which they expound according to their owne fancy, labouring to circumuent a party, and to take him by the nose,as we vse to say. And surely,they do nothing but for the benefit of their owne purses, troubling thẽselues ouermuch,to obscure and muffle vp matters; by which meanes, suites are made immortall,to the inuitable detriment & ruine of both parties, being brought (by them) to extreme pouerty and misery.

The Romans order for pleding law-cases, not so cõuenient as that of the Switzers.

The negligence of many Aduocates & Atturnies do oftentimes preiudice very iust causes.

Lawyers make suites to seem immortall.

In which respect, they gaue no very euill language, that tearmed such practitioners and brablers, blood-suckers of the people: for they empty their purses,yea, and sucke them to the bare bones. And if among the Iustices of *Switzerland*, an error happen to be committed, in the decision of difficult causes,which commeth very sildome to passe: yet notwithstanding,it causeth no such harme,as doth the length and immortalizing of suites. So I may well say,that the manner of proceeding among the *Switzers*,doth lessen expences,ease the people,cuts vp the rootes of lingring suites and differences:because the sentence doth sooner resolue both the parties, and brings them to agreement: whereas in other places,we see suites encrease day by day, and from one case vndecided,growes a great number of nouel variances.

Errour sildom committed among the Switzers in law-causes, because the suites are quickly ended

CHAP. IIII.

Concerning Sentences and Iudgements, in publike and peculiar differences.

HAuing thus made mention of the councell, and daies of audience among the *Switzers*; we are now to speake, concerning such sentences and iudgements as they vse to giue. If any suite doth happen betweene particular persons in the Bayliwicks: the Bayliffs or Gouernors are Iudges in those places,or else the Canton (from whence the appellation ariseth) taketh knoledge, and iudgeth thereof. But the Iustices of euery Canton do iudge (each one within his iurisdiction) in the causes & differences of the Subiects. Beside this,there is iustice for publike suites, which are variances,happening betweene two or more Cantons,or betweene some particulars against a Canton: and such condition as the Cantons haue, the same also their confederates haue.

Concerning suites of particular persons in the Bayliwicks.

Publike variances betweene Cantons.

Two Iudges chosen for either side.

Thus then, for the deciding of such differences, each of the parties doe chuse two Iudges for either side, who are absolued of the oath which they haue taken to their Canton: and promise to iudge according to right and equity, and labour that the suite may bee louingly and very speedily accorded, or iudicially ended.

Places apointed for the ending of suites & differences according to ancient custome.

By the ancient alliances, there were certaine places appointed, for the ending of such suites. The seuen first Cantons sent their ambassadors and arbitrators to the Abbey of the Hermitage, to end ther such suites as happened among them. By an article of very ancient alliance with them of *Glaris*, it is expressely said: that if they had any suite with them of *Vri*, the assembly should be at *Merch*. If against the canton of *Suits*; the arbitrators shold meete at *Bergeraz*: and at *Brunen*, if against them of *Vnderuald*. And then the other Cantons, hauing had knowledge of the cause, pronounced the sentence. The *Bernians*, and the three Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*, assembled at a place named *Daskienholtz*. They of *Zurich* and *Berne*, at *Zofinge*. The *Fribourgers* & they of *Solleurre*, hauing a suite against the eight first Cantons, or some of them, sent their Iudges to *Zofinge*; and if they were defendants, to *Willisow*. As for the causes of them of *Basile*, *Schaffouse*, and *Appenzell*, they pleaded them at *Bada*, together with them of these Cantons, allied with them of *Rotuille* and of *Mulhouse*. But the differences of them of S. *Gall*, were determined in the Abbey of the Hermitage: and them of the *Grisons*, at *Wallenstad*, which is a Towne at the ende of the Lake of *Rine*, in the Bayliwick of *Sargans*.

They that met at one place, went not to another except by especiall appointment.

Whē matters cannot be louingly ended, what course they take then

When then some difference happeneth, which cannot bee kindly accorded, and that the entreaty of the Cantons serueth to no purpose: the arbitrators and ambassadours of the Cantons that are in suite, do meete at the place appointed, & (with them) the ambassadors of the other Cantons confederates, who come thether to attone the parties, and to make some amiable composition. The Iudges and Arbitrators beeing assembled, after that the parties haue pleaded their causes: if the Iudges take resolution, & giue sentence, the parties must (of necessity) be contented. But if they be of diuers opinions (as many times it happeneth) and that there are as many voyces on the one side, as on the other; then a fift Iudge or arbitrator is chosen, whom they call **Ein obmann**, or, **Ein gmeinen mann**. He giueth no sentence at all, but onely approueth one of those, which the arbitratours haue pronounced. Sometimes the Iudges themselues do chuse the odde arbitrator: yet in such sort notwithstanding, that he is a man of one of the Cantons, no medler with eyther party, nor hauing any interest in the cause.

When voyces are alike on either side: then a fift Arbitrator is chosen.

The alliance of the seuen first Cantons, makes mention of this election and choise: as that of *Fribourg*, that of *Solleurre*, that of *Appenzell*, and them of S. *Gall* and of *Mulhouse*. It is added to the articles of the alliance of *Schaffouse*, that if the Iudges cannot accord, by choise of another arbitrator, taken from one of the Cantons; they shall then take one of the Lords of the councell of S. *Gall*. And in the alliance of *Rotuille*, command is giuen to the Iudges, to chuse for an odde arbitrator, one of the Lords of the councell of S. *Gall* or of *Mulhouse*. Sometimes also the complainant chuseth. As if the *Bernians* haue a suite against the three first Cantons, or any one of them; the Cantons shal name sixteen men, out of which number, the *Bernians* are to chuse a sub-arbitrator. But if they bee defendants, the Cantons will then (for sub-arbitrator) chuse one of the Lords of the lesser councell of *Berne*. If some difference fall betweene them of *Zurich*, and of *Berne*; the complainants chuse for an odde arbitratour, one of the defendants Lords of the councell. The same is obserued in suites for them of *Basile*, against the other cantons; and so in the *Grisons* causes.

The addition to the Articles of Schaffouse

The complainant is allowed sometime to chuse the odde Arbitratour.

Thus you see how the *Switzers* gouerne themselues, in the deciding of controuersiall suites betweene the commonwealths. I know very well, that some may dispute subtilly, both for, and against this order there obserued: but I will leaue that discourse to the Readers. For mine owne part, I admire the simplicity and integrity of our ancestors, who by such manner of proceeding, haue often brought to end very great variances, and carefully conserued publike peace and concord. But they did not regard their owne particular profite, neither desired any thing more

There is nothing so well becomming one place, but it may seeme vnfit for another.

Their ends & ours are quite contrary.

more, then to see their country peaceable and flourishing. If now each man had no other meaning, but would aime at that marke: so many suites would not be seene, and easily might those be appeased, that are the hottest attempted.

CHAP. V.

Of those Common-wealths, which are in each of the seuerall Cantons.

And first, of the Common-wealths of Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse.

HAuing shewne already, how the whol Commonwealth of the *Switzers* is gouerned in common: it behoueth now to make mention, of the Common-wealth in each distinct Canton. Now it seemeth to me, that the common-wealths of the thirteene Cantons, may bee referred to three formes. For as there are three names of soueraign Magistrates and Cantons, so haue they likewise as many formes of common-wealths; differing not onely in name, but also in the things themselues.

All the common-wealths of the Cantons referred to three forms

In some certaine Cantons, the cheefe Commanders or Heads of the councell, are called *Ammans*. This is obserued in the Cantons that haue no Cities or Townes, but Villages onely, hauing a popular estate, and the soueraignty appertaining to the people; by whose aduice, the very greatest affaires of importance are decided. Of this number are *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*.

The cheefe men of some councell called Ammans, in an Estate meerely popular.

The other Cantons haue their cities and townes, which haue the soueraignty: yet in such manner, as there are two formes of common-wealths. For the cities and townes, especially such as haue bene built by some Princes, or sometimes haue beene subiected to them: are gouerned by an *Auoyer*, whom they call, **Schultheiz**, (who is cheefe of the councell) and by some number of councellers chosen by free election, from and by the whole number of cittizens. The forme of this common-wealth is *Aristocraticall* among all the other: and in this manner are gouerned the common-wealths of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*.

In townes or cities, the cheefe man is called the Auoyer, the cheefe man of the councell.

There are other cities and townes diuided by certaine companies, by each whereof, and by voyce of such men as are in euery of them, the Lords of the councell are elected, and the soueraigne Magistrate or cheefe of the councell, who by them is tearmed **Burgermeister**, that is to say, Master of the Bourgesses, which we in a shorter word cal *Bourgmaster*. Such are the common-wealths of *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*. Now we are to speake of these diuers formes of common-wealths in order, beginning with the last, first.

Election of the Lords of the councell and the supreame Magistrate, called a Burgermeister.

First then, all the people of these Townes free and Imperiall, were diuided into two rankes: the one of Noblemen, the other of Yeomen. The Noblemen had a Society by themselues, apart, which the *Allemaignes* or *Germans* did call, **Ein Geselschafft**, and they of *Zurich*, **Ein Constaffell**.

Townes diuided into two rankes, Noble men and Yeomen.

In elder times, in the citty of *Basile*, which is very spacious, and for the multitude of Noblemen, they were diuided into two societies, bandes, or companies of Noblemen. Oftentimes they were in quarrels, and had the soueraignty: so that out of the one cõpany they chose the Consull, and out of the other, the Tribune or Captaine of the citty, which is the estate of greatest authority, next vnto that of Consull or Bourgmaster.

Two bands of Noblemen in Basile. The Consull and the Tribune or Captaine of the City, the two cheefe offices

Neuertheless, afterward the Noblemen lost this soueraignty, or else forsook their right voluntarily. For at the time of the councell of *Basile*, when *Lewes*, then Dolphin of France, brought (very neere to *Basile*) an Army of *Armignacks*, in fauour of Pope *Eugenius*, and the Duke of *Austria*; many Gentlemen of *Basile*, went and ioyned with that Army, in regard whereof, they were all banished, and their posterity depriued & excluded from all publike honours.

The Noblemen banished and their posterity depriued.

Afterward, when the Burgesse (by common consent) made alliance with the ten Cantons of the Switzers, in the yeare, 1501. the most part of the Noble-men, who hated the Switzers: dislodged from the citty, and withdrew themselues to Castles heere and there, so that their authority diminished greatly then, and all the rest was lost in the yeare, 1529. For by the Sermons & exhortations of *Oecolampadius*, the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church were reformed, by order sent from the councell, against which, many Noblemen opposed themselues. And althogh they could not hinder the change of Religion, yet they abandoned and left the citty, and would not abide in it.

Oecolampadius his preaching & the alteration of Religion.

After which time, the two companies whereof we spake, entred in againe, and got possession of some priuate houses, & as yet they keepe those houses to themselues, and they belong to the whole body of the Nobility. And those houses are called in their language, **Zum ſunfftz en vnd zum brunnen**, but yet none of thē is of the councell. For although the councell do meete together (almost) euery day, and the Gentlemen (hauing forsaken the citty) dwelt most part of the time in their Castles: by common aduice of the Burgesses, they were excluded frō gouerning in the common-wealth, which they had renounced voluntarily. Nethertheless, some noble Families that dwell in the citty, & haue had care of the common-wealth with the other Bourgesses, are in ranke of the foure first companies or supporters of the citty, and (in them) are chosen to be of the councell. And therefore, to do them honour, in regard of their condition; these Tribes or companies are called **Herrenzunfft**, that is to say, the companies of Lords.

Some of the Noblemen got entrance again into the Citty, but wer excluded from gouerning in the State.

The companies of Lords so called to do them honour.

Therefore, there are no more companies of these Noblemen in *Basile*, but those that are distinguished with the other Bourgesses. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouse*, the Noblemē haue their companies apart by themselues. And they of *Zurich* haue this priuiledge beside, aboue the tribes and companies of Tradesmen, to take the moity, that is, the most part of the Lords of the councell, from foorth the company of these Noblemen: so that they are as a counterpoise to the other companies. Notwithstanding, there is some difference among these Noblemen, for the Families of race, that are very noble and ancient: they do make a band by themselues, and they are called **Die Stubler**, by reason of the place where they assemble apart by themselues, by right & especiall priuiledge. To the whole body of these tribes or companies, are ioyned many cittizens, which are not of any trade nor traffick: in which respect, they may haue place in one company, rather then in another. Porters, Labourers, Burden-bearers, and other such like manner of people, who when warre hapneth, are held and reputed to be of this body of companies, which they call **Ein Constaffell**, and receiue wages: they haue a voyce in electing the Master of the whole body of companies, and he is of the Seigneuries councell, in regard of his place.

The priuiledg of them of Zurich in chusing their Lords of councell.

Porters, Labourers, and toyling men are of the body politique.

Beside the Society and Company of Noblemen, the people of those cities & townes there, are parted into certaine tribes or companies, which the Germans call **Zunfft**. The word (it may be) taketh name or originall, of **Zamenkunfft**, which signifieth to meete and assemble themselues in company. Some interpret them to be Tribes, others, Courts, and others, Colledges or Abbeyes: but wee will call them Tribes or Companies. The number of them is not equall in the forenamed Cities and Townes. For there are fifteene at *Basile*: whereof the foure first are esteemed more noble then the other, and are called the companies of Lords, as already hath beene said. The first tribe or companie, is that of Merchants. The second of Gold-smiths, Goldfiners, Founders, and Pewterers. The third is of Merchants dealing onely in wines: with whom the Notaries, Masters of Hospitals, Spittles, and other such like communities are ioyned. The fourth is of Merchants dealing in Silkes, and of Factors for all States: This company is the very greatest of them all. The other eleuen, are of all sorts of trades and handy-crafts men.

Of other Tribes and Companies beside the Noblemen.

Fifteene compatties at Basile, and how they are distinguished from the Noblemen.

Now there is a dozen or twelue tribes or companies at *Zurich*: heeretofore they were thirteene in number, when many Drapers & workers in wooll dwelt there: for that was one company by it selfe. But now adaies, the weauers of woollen cloth and other things, are ioyned into one cō-

Twelue tribes or companies are at Zurich.

pany

Eleuen tribes or companies are at Schaffouse.

pany with the Fullers and Diars. At *Schaffouse* there are eleuen companies onely: neuertheleſſe, it falleth out many times, that diuers trades are ioyned together in one company. They haue their meetings by themſelues: as at *Zurich*, the Millers and Bakers, the Barbers and Chirurgions, the Smiths and Mettall men. So at *Basile*, the Fiſhermen and Marriners or Barquers, the Cordwainers and Curriers, the Taylors & Skinners. Theſe companies are diuided, and they are called **Gſpaltne Zunfft.** For when there is queſtion of cheefe Trades, and eſpecially workmen in them, their houſes of meetings and aſſemblies are by themſelues. But in things that concern the common-wealth, and when, and where all ought to be preſent, to elect Lords of the councell, or the **Zunfft**-Maſters, who muſt be alſo in the councell; euery man ſpeaks his minde, and giues his voyce.

Chiefe trades and artezans are diſtinguiſhed by themſelues.

Concerning the election of the councell.

Out of each of theſe companies, ſome men are choſen, as many of one company as of another, to be Lords of councell. In euery city there are two publike councels, which haue the principall authority: as namely, the great councell, when as a good number of councellers meete together, in name of all the people: as is vſed in the affaires of greateſt importance, and which do appertaine to the whole common-wealth.

The great councell.

Next, the leſſer councell, who meete together euery day, about the common-wealths buſineſſe, and take knowledge of differences happening among the cittizens.

The leſſer councell.

The great councell of *Zurich*, conſiſteth of two hundred mẽ: That of *Basile*, is of two hundred forty foure: and that of *Schaffouſe*, is of foure-ſcore and ſixe.

The great councels of Zurich, Basile, & Schaffouſe.

As concerning the leſſer councell of *Zurich*, it is of fifty: that of *Basile* hath threeſcore and foure: and that of *Schaffouſe*, hath but twenty ſixe. For out of each tribe or company, twelue are taken for the great councell: except at *Zurich*, where they elect eighteene of the Nobility. At *Zurich* alſo each company giueth three men for the leſſer councell: at *Basile*, foure; at *Schaffouſe*, two.

Of the leſſer councels ſeuerally.

Next, in euery of theſe citties, there are two Conſuls or Bourgmaſters, who are the cheefe and Preſidents of councell. Ouer and beſide theſe two, at *Basile* there are two Tribunes, who are cheefe in councell with the Bourgmaſters.

Of Conſulles and Bourgmaſters in each Citty.

Moreouer, at *Zurich* the Noblemen ſend ſixe from among them, to the leſſer councell: the other companies doe ſend each one but three. By the plurality of voyces, choiſe is made of ſixe other men, out of ſuch companies as the councell do propoſe, to fill vp the number.

How many are ſent from each company

As concerning the election of councellers (for ſo will wee heereafter call the Lords of the leſſer councell) it is done in manner following. Euery yeare, about mid-Iune, and mid-December, all the cittizens of *Zurich* aſſemble themſelues together, euery man in his tribe and company: and thẽ elelect a chiefe man, whom they call, **Zunfftmeiſter**, that is to ſay, Maſter of the tribe or company. The cuſtome of theſe three citties, is, that the companies haue two Maſters: but one of them is in eſtate but ſixe Moneths, at the end whereof, the other ſucceedeth him. Neuertheleſſe, it often comes to paſſe, that hee who was **Zunfftmeiſter** the halfe yeare before, is choſen againe. By this meanes, the leſſer councell is diuided in two parts, to wit, the old & new. Such as haue beene in charge the firſt ſixe Moneths, we tearme them of the olde councell; for although they be called whẽ the councell is helde, yet notwitſtanding, it is not alwayes ſo done, and there are many matters which paſſe in the new councell onely.

The election of councellers for the leſſer councell; and after what order they elect the Zunfftmeiſter.

Of the old & new councels.

The great councell of *Basile* is diuided in the ſame manner, and of twelue which is taken from each company, there are ſixe of the new councell, and ſixe of the olde. Beſide the **Zunfftmeiſters**, the leſſer councell of *Zurich* chuſeth one counceller from each of the companies: but the leſſer councell of *Basile* chuſeth two. Theſe councellers thus elected, with the other which we haue ſaid to bee choſen extraordinarily at *Zurich*, are diuided into two bands: whereof the one is the old councel, and the other the new. Theſe two councels are changed euerie ſixe Moneths at *Zurich*; ſo that at their ending, the olde councell electeth the new. At *Basile*, and at *Schaffouſe*, they continue in the eſtate a whole yeare together.

The great councell of Basile diuided in like maner.

The changing of the old and new councels.

The election of the councell at *Schaffouſe*, is made on the morrow after Pentecoſte: and that of *Basile*, on Satterday be-

The times of theſe elections, & their approbation.

before the foure and twentieth day of Iune. At *Zurich*, the **Zunfftmeisters** are elected by thecompanies in their houses of meeting: then the councell of two hundred confirmeth this election; but at *Basile* this confirmation belongeth to the olde councell. The voyce is giuen openly at *Zurich*, and secretly at *Schaffouse*. For in each tribe or company, charge is giuen to particular persons, to collect the voice, whereupon they all come to them in order, and tell them closely in the eare, for whom they giue voyce to be **Zunfftmeister**. The lesser councell assemble at the oftenest, three times euery weeke, and some whiles (vpon earnest occasion) four times. The old and new councellers of *Zurich*, are seated one by another, & somtimes one among another: but at *Basile*, the old councellers are aboue the younger. They haue also this custome, to withdraw often into another Hall, to consult together. After resolution is taken, a counceller of the first company, reporteth the aduice to the new councell: and they call the reporter **Den Offner**.

Of giuing the voyce it is not in all places alike.

The sitting of the olde and new councellers.

The Bourgmaster, whom they call **Burgermeister**, as much to say, as Master of the Bourgesses, is President of the old and new councels. The great councel electeth him by open voyce at *Zurich*; at *Schaffouse* by secret voyce: and at *Basile*, the olde councell first electeth the Bourgmaster, and the new councell the yeare following. The Bourgmaster is in state at Zurich, sixe Moneths: but at Basile and Schaffouse, a whole yeare together, and turne by turne, the Bourgmasters and Councellers olde and new are changed. They whom at Basile they terme **Zunfftmeisters**, and **Oberstenmeisters** at *Zurich* (as much to say, as Masters of companies and communities) doe second the Bourgmasters in their authority.

Of the Bourgmasters or Consuls, the manner of their election.

Masters of companies & communities, Tribunes of the people.

At Zurich there are three, and at Basile two, who with the two Bourgmasters are called the foure chiefe & principal Lords of the city. Nine other Lords of the lesser councel at Basile, are ioyned to these four in cheefe, and by reason of the number, they are called the councell of thirteene. They heare the causes of very greatest importance, and deliberate on them first, bebefore they propound any thing to the lesser councell: and therefore they may be called Preconsulters, or first councellers. Moreouer, there is a particular councell at Zurich, whom wee may name the Chamber of accounts, for it manageth publike affaires: and is composed of eight councellers, and haue the Bourgmaster of the olde councell for their President. Then is there two Purse-bearers or Tresurers, and the Superintendents for Ecclesiastical goods do assist them, together with foure other councellers, two of the olde, and two of the new councell. They take knowledge not onely of monies employed for the common-wealth: but oftentimes also, the younger councell demandeth their aduice in cases of importance, whereon they consult a while, and then giue their report to the yonger coũcell.

The councel of thirteene men.

The chamber of accounts, & the officers thereof.

To these publike councels, there are alwayes two Secretaries assisting, with their committees, when necessity requireth. The first and chiefest is cald **Stattschryber**, that is to say, Secretary of the citty. At Zurich, the other is called **Anderschryber**, that is to say, sub-Secretary: but they of Basile call him **Raatschryber**, that is, Secretary to the councell. There is a particular Secretary for the Chamber of Accounts; whom they of Zurich call **Rechenschryber**. The estate of Secretary in these citties is honorable, and of great gaine. In regard whereof, the Gentlemen striue to keepe it in their owne power, as sildome is it giuen to any other. These men are they (among all other) that know the lawes, customes, priuiledges, and all the secrets of the common-wealth.

Two Secretaries assisting to the councellers.

The office of Secretary, honorable.

Next to the councels publike, are Iustices of the citty. There are two at Zurich, one for ciuill causes, **Das Stattgricht**, which was in ancient times vnder power of the Nunnes, and the Abbesse elected the Lieutenant, or cheefe man in that kinde of iustice, whom they called **Den Schultheissen**, and his assessors or assistants: but now the election belongeth to the lesser or yonger councell. Their number is of eight, and they haue their Lieutenant, Secondary, and Serieant. To them appertaineth the knowledge of ciuill causes, Debtes, Hires, Lendings, Borrowings, Sales, and as the *Switzers* vse to say, they iudge **Umb erb vnd eigen**. There is no appeale from their sentence: but if there happen any difficult

A Iustice for dealing in ciuill causes.

What causes they take knowledge of.

No appeale from the Iustices sentẽce.

difficult cauſe, they ſend it to the Councell.

The office & authority of the other Iuſtice.

The other Iuſtice, whom they call **Das Zinſsgricht**, is a Iudgement of proceſſe and ſuites, which happen for rents and yearely reuennues. The Secretary of the other Iuſtice, and two Lords of the younger councell, it ſeemes doe daily aſſiſt for the ending of all ſuch differences. In the bigger *Baſile* there are two ſuch kindes of Iuſtices, and a third in the leſſer *Baſile*.

The Iuſtice of greateſt power and authority.

That Law or Iuſtice of greateſt authority, which they tearme alſo **Das Stattgricht**, is compoſed of ten Iudges; one part whereof is of the councell, and the other, ſuch as the people do name. They take knowledge of all cauſes, ciuill and criminall: but when there is queſtion of teſtaments, wils, contracts, monies borrowed, and other ſuch like things: the Prouoſt or Lieutenant of the citty ſitteth in iudgement. As for cauſes criminall, the Prouoſt of the Empire iudgeth them. And there are three Lords of the councell, who do purſue criminall cauſes, by the ſollicitation of one, who is an ordinary Atturney, named by them, **Oberſtenknecht**, and keepeth company with the Iudges, hauing an aduocate waiting on him.

Law and Iuſtice for criminall cauſes.

Criminall Iudgements are openly performed.

Theſe iudgements are done publikely, and haue eight open audiences, whereby all are permitted to be there preſent, to heare and ſee whatſoeuer is done. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouſe*, the new councell doth iudge the criminall cauſes. Neuertheleſſe, the Bourgmaſter doth not then ſit: but it is the Prouoſt of the Empire, whom **Rychſuogt**, or, **Blutrichter**, who preſideth and collecteth the voices. Euery yeare the councell chuſeth ſome one of that body, to exerciſe that charge. Proceſſe and ſuites criminall are handled at *Zurich*, with the doores faſt ſhut: but at *Schaffouſe* in open Court, ſo that all men may vnderſtand the accuſations and defences. But the councell commandeth all to bee abſent, when there is queſtion of pronouncing ſentence.

Criminall caſes at Zurich not openly heard.

The other orders of iuſtice in great and leſſer Baſile.

The ſecond order of Iuſtice at great *Baſile*, iudgeth not but in caſes of ſmall importance, which hardly exceedeth the ſumme of ten pounds. But the Iuſtice of ſmaller *Baſile*, hath a Iudge apart, & taketh knowledge of all cauſes, except of criminall.

There are two Courts, or kindes of Iuſtices at *Schaffouſe*. The one which they call **Das Schuldgricht**, is law or iuſtice for debts: for therein onely is ended differences of contracts, debts, and ſuch like things. And if the ſumme whereof queſtion is made, doe amount aboue an hundred crownes, the councell then takes knowledge of it. In this Court are twenty aſſeſſors or aſſiſtants, to wit, one of each Tribe: moreouer, eight other perſons, choſen by the councell. The other order of Iuſtice is named **Vogtgricht**, or, **Buſſengricht**, that is to ſay, Iuſtice for fines and amercements: becauſe the Prouoſt of the empire, or Iudge in cauſes criminall, preſideth there, and condemneth all ſuch forfeitures & fines. There are twelue aſſeſſours out of the twelue Tribes, and who are of the great councell. Cauſes criminall of leſſer importance, are debated and ended in this Iuſtice there; as light iniuries, vulgar outrages, and ſuch like. But when wordes do wound honour, and the wrong is not eaſie to bee diſſembled or digeſted; the knowledge of ſuch caſes appertaineth to the leſſer councell.

Two kindes of Iuſtice at Schaffouſe.

The ſecond kinde of Iuſtice at Schaffouſe.

Criminall offences of ſlender importance.

Beſide what hath beene ſaide, theſe three citties haue each one their particular councell, which they tearme **Ein Chorgricht**, or, **Eegricht**, where they diſcourſe on cauſes of matrimony. For after that the religion was changed, the councels of the three citties eſtabliſhed one councell: wherein were a certaine number of aſſiſtants, elected by buplike ſuffrages, and taken out of the olde and new councels, and among whom were ſome Diuines or Theologians as they cal them. Neuertheleſſe, at *Schaffouſe* none of the Miniſters were aſſiſtants, but onely ſome learned men admitted to councell, who had each one as his adiunct, ſome Doctour of the Law. Theſe Iudges take knowledge of all matrimoniall cauſes: puniſh whoredomes and adulteries, and haue charge to obſerue the liues & manners of euery one.

The three citties haue peculiar councels beſide the other.

Diuines admitted to be of the councell.

Beſide, in theſe common-wealths, baſtards are depriued of all honours and dignity: nor is it lawfull for them to bee ſeene at the councell, nor in the Courts of Iuſtice. True it is, they are not guilty of that ſtaine to their birth, neither can it bee denied, but that (oftentimes) baſtards haue wonne more commendations for

Of ſuch as are exempted & prohibited, not to be ſeen in the councell, or in any Court of iuſtice.

for their vertues, then euer could their legitimate brethren: as we haue an example of *Iephta*, a Iudge of Gods owne people. But to bridle the leud concupiſcences of many, and to conſerue the dignity of ſacred marriage: Baſtards ſtand as branded with infamy, and yrkeſome eye-ſores to well ordered common-wealths.

For time of dwelling.

Next, hee that hath not dwelt tenne yeares within the citty of *Zurich*, cannot be choſen to be one of the publike councell.

For men born out of Switzerland.

Such as are borne out of *Switzerland* cannot be of the leſſer councell at *Schaffouſe*: But if they be Bourgeſſes of twenty yeares ſtanding, they may be brought into the great councell, & into the number of the Iudges.

Againſt ſtrangers not natiues.

I will not tell you that ſtrangers are vnworthy of theſe honors: but it is requiſite firſt of all, that hee who ought to haue charge in a common-wealth, ſhould be particularly affectioned and obliged thereto, and afterward be well skilde and ſeene, in the lawes and cuſtomes of the country.

For natiues.

And me-thinks, cittizens, and ſuch as (from their youth) haue beene bred in a common-wealth; ſhould haue more aduantage therein, then ſtrangers.

Againſt aduancement of ſtrangers and vnworthy perſons.

Moreouer, there is nothing more pernitious to common-wealths, then enuies and deſpights, proceeding from ſuch aduancements to high degrees: as draw on partialities and factions, the danger whereof cannot be auoyded, when naturall borne ſubiects are left deſpiſed, and ancient Families contemned, and charge of publike Officers giuen to ſtrangers, & men of no merit.

Adulterers, murderers, & infamous perſons.

Beſide baſtards and ſtrangers, adulterers, murderers, and men made infamous for any crime: are (by a common law) excluded from councell in theſe common-wealths.

Of publike offices and eſtates.

Publike eſtates and conditions are of diuers kindes in theſe common-wealths, and in great number, according as the citties are peopled: we will make mention of the principals onely.

Treaſurers of the publike monies, & of Cuſtomes and Impoſts.

The higheſt degree, next after the Bourg-maſters and **Zunfft**-Maſters, are ſuch as haue charge of the publike monies: who are called in many places of *Switzerland*, **Seckelmeiſter**, as much to ſay, as Treaſurers or Purſſe-bearers. At *Baſile* there are three, named **Dryerherren**, that haue the keeping of the citties treaſures. Beſides them, there are three other, named **Ladenherren**, who manage the monies of the Impoſts, Cuſtomes, and yearely reuennues of the common-wealth: They alſo purſue criminall cauſes, making themſelues parties, by meanes of the ordinary Atturney. At *Zurich* there are men (almoſt) in the ſelfe-ſame charge, whom they call **Die Umbgelter**; who manageth the tolle-monies of Corne and Wine, which they cauſe to be gathered by their committees. This tolle or taxation is not but on the Wine publikely ſold, and on the Corne brought in from abroad: but for the wine & corne which the Bourgeſſes eate and drinke in their houſes, they pay not any thing.

The order at Zurich.

Tolle or taxe for corne and wine.

Beſide theſe two Treaſurers of the common-wealth, there is a third at *Zurich*, for the reuennues of the Church, & he is called **Der Kloeſteren obman**: he gathereth certaine reuennues of the Abbeyes; wherewith the Miniſters wages are payed, the Churches maintained, and the poore cheriſhed or releeued, and the ouerplus remaining, is reſerued to eaſe the people in times of publike neceſſities. Some yeares paſt, the country of *Zurich* hauing beene afflicted with an extreme dearth of victuals: the receiuer ſold corne at a meane price to them of the citty, and to moſt part of the Villages round about, bought with the reſerued mony at the beſt rate, and thereby the Subiects of the Seigneury were greatly releeued.

The Treaſurer of churches reuenues.

A great dearth in the country of Zurich.

Next to theſe, there are other Officers, as they that take care of publike buildings, whom the French call *Voyers*, the Germans **Bawherren**, and they of *Baſile*, **Lonherren**, becauſe they pay the works & workmen that ſerue in publike. Theſe Suruayers haue charge of the waies, Gates, Towers, Rampiers, Bridges, Couduits, and other publike Edifices: taking order that they ſhall bee maintained and kept in their beſt ability. Moreouer, they iudge with three Lords of the councell (who are their adiuncts) ſuch differences as happen for the confines, Gutters, Channels, Windowes, Walles, and ſuch like things, & wherin the neighbours are to be guided by their direction in their building. At *Baſile* there are fiue Seigneurs, that take knowledge of theſe matters. There

Suruayers of publike buildings & their further charge.

They ioyne in iudgement with the coũcell on eſpeciall occaſions.

Diuers Officers appointed to take charge of victuals.

There is another degree of them that take charge of victuals. Of this number are the visiters for Bread, to consider if the Loafe carry his full weight, or no. Others view the Flesh in the Butchery, and aduisedly obserue, that they kill not any Beast, the flesh whereof is bad, and dangerous to be eaten; they also set a price vpon the pound, to sell it by. Then there are some that take charge of Fish, and heedfully foresee, that none be taken whē they are spawny, and haue an eye beside to the goodnesse of all other Fish in the Market. Others looke to salt Fish, and to the Market of Butter and Cheese, how it is reasonably sold. There are some other Officers, whose names are sufficient to be noted: as the Patrons of Widdowes and Orphanes, **Schirmuogt**, and at *Basile*, **Weissenherren**: The Almoners; Visiters for weights and measures; Deputies for questioning of matters; Comptrolers of Ecclesiasticall goods; and Visiters of Schooles.

For bread.

For flesh.

For fish.

For butter & cheese.

Other Officers noted by their names.

Moreouer, in these citties there are Schooles very well ordered. At *Basile* is an Vniuersity greatly renowned, established by *Aeneas Syluius*, afterward Pope, named *Pius* the second, who gaue it all the same priuiledges, rights, and immunities, which the Vniuersities of *Boulogne*, *Colongne*, *Heidelberg*, *Erdford*, *Lipsa* & *Vienne* haue. *Aeneas Syluius* was lodged at *Basile*, during the time as the councell was kept there. He found the citty so pleasant, the ayre so sweete, with such commodity and abundance of all things; that hee reputed the place apt and worthy to haue an Vniuersity founded in it. In the times of our ancestors, and our owne also, this Vniuersity hath yeelded many wise men, professors of the tongues, in Philosophy and all Sciences, who are needlesse heere to be named. Neuertheless, considering the greatnesse of the citty, and the fame of the Doctours there abiding, there are but few Schollers. *Beatus Rhenanus* rendreth the reason, and saith; It is occasioned by the smalnesse of reuennues belonging to this Vniuersity, and to many Schooles in Germany. As thinking, that if there were fewer Schooles and Vniuersities, they would bee much more frequented then they are. There is not any Vniuersity at *Zurich*; notwithstanding, euen to this present day, the tongues haue beene so faithfully taught there, and all good Sciences and Diuinity, that it is very famous, and highly esteemed among all them that study Diuinity.

Of Schooles & vniuersities

The Vniuersity at Basile, founded by Aeneas Syluius, who was after Pope, called Pius 2.

The reason why so few Schollers are in the Vniuersity of Basile.

Finally, these three citties whereof we speake, haue power to stampe and coyne monie: and therefore there are fordging Mints, and Masters of the monies, whose charge is to take order that the money coyned with the stamp of the citty, shold beare full weight, and be of a good allay. Each of these citties hath her mony apart by her selfe. They of *Basile* do coyne the same mony with them of *Halsatia* and of *Bourgongne*, and call it a **Rappenmuntz**, in regard of a Rauen, which serueth for Armes to many peeces of their mony. Fiue & twenty Sols of this mony, makes a Florin of gold, which is thought to value threescore crutzers. At *Schaffouse* the mony is of the same allay & price, as that of the Empire. They of *Zurich* do coyne Dallers, and halfe Dallers, of equall price with them of the Empire: but they haue a kinde of mony, which is their owne in particular, whereof forty Sols makes a Florin of gold. They stampe also another sort of mony, which they cal *Baches*, whereof sixteene makes a Florin.

Mints for the coyning of mony in these three citties.

The mony of Basile.

The monie of Schaffouse.

The monie of Zurich.

In ranke of these publike charges and offices, we may set downe the Watch, & such as take care for prouision against the accidents of fire. There are two sortes of watch, besides the Sentinels in the clock-houses, and the Porters. First the perpetuall guardes at the citties cost, who keepe watch euery night, and diligently search through all parts of the citty, crying at all houres of the night. Ouer and beside these, out of each company are taken a certaine number of Bourgesses, who likewise watch (according to their turnes) with their Armes. This double-guard is not done for any feare they haue of enemies: but to auoid the inconueniences of fire, and to take order also, that (during the time of night) al maters may be peaceable and quiet.

The watch may not be forgot among other officers in publike, & tending to the generall good

They that are Committees, to take care of dangers concerning fire, when any such happeneth in the citty, may command the Carpenters, and other men of like quality, to runne for quenching the fire, taking order that all may bee done without confusion, and for the best safety of them that haue the mis-fortune of the fire.

The office of them that are guards for accidents of fire

What the order is in times of fire.

fire. Moreouer, they carry an eye ouer the watch at the Gates, and on the wals; leste any tumult should happen in the citty. For it is ordained, that when the fire is in any one place, a certaine number of the Bourgesses (chosen out of each company) make their sudden appearance at the Gates or Ports, and vpon the walles in Armes. Moreouer, the whole citty is distributed into certaine bandes, euery one of them hauing his Captaine & Ensigne to it selfe, vnder whom they go marching in excellent order. The Bourgmaster betakes himselfe to the Town-house, with some of the principall councellers and officers of the Seigneury, to aduise on what is good for the weale publike. And not onely Carpenters, Masons, and their seruants, but likewise most of the Bourgesses meete together, all labouring industriously to quench the fire: and oftentimes the women shew themselues of no meane courage, in bringing and casting on the water. Beside, if the fire happen in some Village out of the citty, the lustiest disposed of euery Tribe (whereof election is made for the purpose) do meete, and issue foorth together, to quench the fire. They are conducted by one of the councell Seigneurs, who is sent to helpe and aduise what is meetest to bee done, but most especially, to comfort them that haue the losse.

The citty distinguished into diuers bands in martiall order.

When fire taketh a village ont of the citty.

We haue already told you, that the *Switzers* take great care for the poore. At *Zurich*, and in some other Townes, there is a daily distribution of almes to all the poore there, as of Bread and Pulse-pottage. There are a great number of poore Schollers in *Zurich*, sometimes forty, otherwhiles fourescore, that are thus releeued; some bestowing garments, and other needfull things on them also, vsing the poore in no worse manner, then they of the Abbeyes and Couents in the Seigneury of *Zurich* are. Vpon the Sundayes and festiuall dayes, an almes collection is made of the people: which Monethly, or at euery two Moneths, by men chosen & deputed to the office, is distributed equally to the poore in the citty, and such as liue abroad in the fields. Beside, in the Cities there are great Hospitals, wherin needy cittizens, aged, impotent, sicke persons, orphanes, and many other are releeued. The Seigneury appointeth diuers honest people, to haue care of the poores necessities: such as are the Master of Hospitals, Procters, Receiuers, & their Committees and Comptrollers.

What care the Switzers haue of the poore.

A collection of charitable almes for the poore.

Hitherto wee haue shewne you the forme and state gouernment obserued in the citties: but ouer and beside these, they haue authority in the neighboring countries, and (among the rest) the canton of *Zurich* hath more country iurisdiction, and larger Bayliwicks, then eyther *Basile* or *Schaffouse*. But in all the Lands and Seigneuries belonging vnto these three cantons, there is one and the selfe-same order of gouernment. For certaine Bayliwicks are gouerned by the councell of the citty, in such manner, as the Bayliffes dwell in the citty, and are councellers of the common-wealth, and yet go to keepe Courts in the Villages. And if there happen any criminall suite, and whereof there is desert of punishment capitall, the councell taketh knowledge thereof. There are other Bayliwicks of farre larger extent, and thether Bayliffes are sent with ample power: so that they iudge not only in ciuill causes, but oftentimes in criminall occasions, and chastise malefactors, according to the greatnesse of the delicts. These Bayliwicks haue their priuiledges and ancient customes: some also haue law and iustice apart by themselues, and are administred by Iudges chosen out of the same places.

The citties extent in gouernment abroad, foorth of the citties limits.

All the Bayliwicks are not alike in their extendure & authority.

The Bayliffes make no change or alteration (of any thing) in these places; but they leaue to the inhabitants, all their rights safe and sound: contenting themselues onely to preside in iustice, and giue sentence according to the lawes and customes of each Bayliwicke. The canton of *Zurich* hath nine great Bayliwicks, to wit, the county of *Kybourg*, the Bailiwicks of *Groningen*, *Andelfingen*, *Grifensee*, *Eglisow*, the free Prouince, *Regenspourg*, *Vadeuille*, and *Laufen*, neere to the fall of *Rhein*. There are two and twenty small Bayliwicks or Castle-ships beside: in some of which, there is as large extent of ground, and as great number of men, as in some of the greater Bayliwicks. Moreouer, beside these Bayliwickes, two pleasant Townes, namely *Winterdner* and *Stein*, are vnder the protection of *Zurichs* canton. The Officers of iustice are in the same Townes; but the inhabitants are tyed

No change of lawes, priuiledges, or customes, by the Bayliffes in any of their iurisdictions.

What Bayliwicks do belong to Zurich, & other Townes beside.

ed in obedience to the Seigneury of *Zurich*, to obey their lawes, and to go to war for that Canton; in which respect, the two Townes haue their seuerall Ensignes by themselues.

The Bayliwicks belonging to Basile.

The Bayliwicks belonging to the Canton of *Basile*, are the Castle of *Farnsperg*, seated on the top of a Mountaine aboue *Rhinfeld*; *Walbourg*, a small towne on the Mount *Iura*, which they tearme Dit Howenstein, in regard of the Rock there cut in sunder; *Hombourg*, *Munchenstein*, and *Ramstein*.

Schaffouse hath the most part of the country of *Cletgoew*, all about *Basile*, and sendeth Bayliffes and Chastellaines into the Bourroghs and Villages on it depending.

CHAP. VI.

Of the publike estate and gouernment, of the Townes of Berne, Lucerna, Fribourg, and Solleurre: which are not diuided into Tribes and Companies, as Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse are.

Of the second kinde of gouernment without tribes or companies.

WEe haue already said, that the second kinde of publike gouernment, is considered in such Townes, as are not distributed into certaine Tribes or Companies, out of which are equally chosen, the Lord & Seigneurs appointed for Councell and Iustice. In these towns they that are soueraigne Magistrates, or Heads of publike councell, are called Ein Schuldtheissen. The old *Alleman* word is found in the Lawes of the *Lombardes*, where it is written, *Schuldahis*. It seemeth that the word came of debt, which the *Switzers* tearme *Schuld*, and of commanding: as much to say, that the *Schuldahis* commands the debters to satisfie them of whom they borrowed. And in this sence it is found written in the *Lombards* lawes, vnder the title of debts and wages, in these words.

Schuldtheiss. The deriuatiō of the word.

The words as they are written in the Lōbards lawes.

If a free man who is a debter, hath nothing else wherewith to make satisfaction, but his owne priuate Cattell, as Horses and Oxen for labour, or Kine to the paile: then he that challengeth or demandeth the debt, shall go to the Schuldahis, and intimate the cause, giuing him to vnderstand, that his debter hath nothing else to make repaiment withall, but the matters aboue rehearsed. Then the Schuldahis is to make seizure on the said Cattell, &c.

The words out of King Luitprandes lawes to the same effect.

The same word is found also in the twentieth title of King *Luitprands* lawes. in significant tearmes, as followeth. *If any man haue a cause or suite, and do appeare before his Schuldahis to demāde iustice: if in case that the Schuldahis do him not iustice within foure houres after following (if both the parties stand bound to answer before him) himselfe shall pay to the demander sixe Sols, and to his Iudge sixe Sols.*

A Iudge that sentenced cases of debts onely.

We may perceiue heereby, that the word *Schuldahis* signified (among our graue Ancients) a Iudge, that gaue sentence vpon differences concerning debts, made leuey on the debters goods, and compelled them to pay their creditors. Neuertheless, there was no iustice so high, but hee stood in subiection to the county. At this day, the name is in frequent vse among the Princes of *Germany*: so that the Iudges of Townes and Villages haue no other name. Among the *Switzers* it is more honourable, for in the forenamed townes, the *Schuldahis* is lord ouer all. The soueraigne Magistrates of Townes among the *Switzers*, some haue thought were called Consuls, in imitation of the Romans: others hold opinion, that Bourgmasters and *Schuldahis* ought to be called Prestors. For mine owne part, I call them Consuls, that are Presidents in publike councel. The French call him an *Auoyer*, whom we tearme *Schuldtheiss*.

The cheefe Magistrate of any Towne among the Switzers.

No Trades or companies in these Townes after such māner as at Zurich.

Now as concerning the Towns whereof we speak, they are not diuided by companies and trades, because there are lawes which prohibite them from so doing. But although the forme of the Commonwelths of *Zurich* and *Berne* are different: yet the one stands bound to succour the other reciprocally, to maintaine and conserue the estate, such as is established in eythers common-wealth. In the meane while, the trades that are at *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue houses established for meeting, for knowledge of the best and cheefest workmen, but not for the election of Magistrates. They tearme those Officers by the name of Gsellschafften, and not Zunfften.

Two publike councels in those Towns: the great and the lesser.

In these Townes there are two publike councels, as at *Zurich*, *Basile*, & *Schaffouse*; to wit, the great and the lesser. The great councell of *Berne*, is of two hundred men, as at *Zurich*, although it hath more then two hundred councellers. The lesser councell of *Berne*, is of sixe and twenty. At *Lucerna*, eighteen councellers do gouerne the estate, during the space of sixe Moneths, and eighteene other sixe Moneths, or the rest of the yeare. To elect the councell of *Berne*, the proceeding is in this manner.

Banderet is the Captaine of a quarter in any good Towne.

The third Feries before Easter day, the foure Banderets of the Towne, doe chuse, and take with them sixteene Bourgesses, the worthiest and best esteemed men of all: then these twenty, with the *Auoyer*, do elect the great councell, wherfore we may well call them Electors. First of all, they consider and examine exactly, the liues and manners of all them that are to be of the councell of two hundred: and if any one of them hath soyled his dignity and reputation, with any bad or villainous acte; they depose him, and in the place, as wel of the deposed, as of the ded, they chuse another, whom they do better like and allow of. In meane while, their election remaineth secret, vntill the euening of the day before Easter, & then the Officers goe, and signifie to all them that are elected for the great and lesser councels: that they are to meete on the morrow morning in the Towne-house.

The manner of electing the councell of two hundred.

The first Feries after Easter, the Seigneurs of the councell do assemble in their houses of meeting, and afterward they conduct them to the Towne-house, that are newly set downe, to be in number of the two hundred, and then all the Magistrates are elected. The election ended, the Bourgesses go to feast in their houses, and after dinner, walke foorth into the fields: exercising themselues there in leaping, running, throwing the Barre, Stone, and other pastimes. But the *Auoyer* goes againe to the towne-house, accompanied with the twenty Electors; and there they elect the councellers, that are to be of the lesser councell. On the morrow, they are named to the councell of two hundred, and after that their election is approued, they goe and sitte downe in their places. Now in regard that the councell of *Lucerna* doth command no longer time then sixe Moneths onely: the election of the Seigneurs both for the lesse and greater councell, is made twice yearely, if there be any vacant places, and that is done about mid-Iune, and mid-December. The new councellers are taken from the lesser councell, that gouerned during the sixe precedent Moneths.

The Seigneurs of the great councel meete in the Towne-house

The election of the lesser councell.

The councell of Lucerna chosen twice yearely.

The *Auoyers* or Consuls, who are aboue the other Seigneurs, are elected by the lesse and greater councels, & by common voyces. The authority of the *Auoyer* at *Lucerna*, lasteth but a yeare, and 2. years at *Berne*: but yet in such manner, that the voyces are yearely taken for him, and hee againe elected. Next to the *Auoyers* of *Berne*, the principall men in the commonwealth, are the foure Banderets, chosen out of foure companies of trades-men onely, or men of handy-crafts, to wit, Carpenters, Curryers, or Leather-dressers (who are distributed in three parts) Bakers, and Butchers.

The election of the Auoyers or Consuls.

The Towne of *Berne* is diuided into foure parts, which are committed (each one of them) to these foure Banderets: who view and ouer-see the Armes of all the Bourgesses, and prouide for the affairs of warre. They continue in their charge the space of foure yeares: but euery yeare on the same day as the *Auoyer* is elected, they resigne their estates, and deliuer into the hands of the cheese Vsher of the Seigneury, their Ensignes, and all the other markes of their dignity, which are laide on a Table before the *Auoyer* and the councell: and then the great and lesser councell giues their voyces, concerning the Banderets. If one of them haue continued in his charge fully foure years, or is preuented by death, another is planted in his place: but yet it is thus conditionally done, that if the dead did not finish his foure yeares, his successour must accomplish them in the nature of a substitute, and afterward, execute the same charge foure other yeares.

The chusing of the foure Banderets out of foure companies.

The diuision of Berne to the foure Banderets.

The time of the Banderets continuing in their office.

In all the Townes of the *Switzers*, the dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers is great. Some whiles, the time of their charge is not limitted at all; but they continue in that estate, so long as pleaseth the councell, and themselues also. There are two of them at *Berne*, the one receiueth the reuennues of the Towne, and of the *Allemaigne* country: the

The dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers.

Two Treasurers at Berne, and their charge.

the other is for the Romane country, because hee receiueth the reuennues which the Seigneury deriueth from the countries of *Vant*, and of *Sauoye*. Those men which we haue so lately named *Auoyers*, Banderets, and Treasurers, with one counceller of the two hundred, are called at *Berne*, **Die heimlichen Rath**, which is as much to say, as the secret or priuy councell. For to them (before all other) matters of most secrecy, of consequence, and which concerne the whole Common-wealth, are reported and trusted.

Concerning the election of other publike Officers.

After that the abouenamed Magistrates haue beene elected, and confirmed by the lesse and greater councels; aduice is vsed, concerning other publike Offices, which is done in some of those Townes the very same day, and on the morrow in others.

The election of conncellers at Berne for the lesser councell.

As for those estates that haue not any dignity, as Serieants, Executers of iustice, Messengers, Watches, and other such like charges: ordinarily, the lesser councell bestowes them of such, as they know meetest for them.

Election of them for the great councel

The Bernians hold this properly to themselues, as concerning election of their councellers, that they will not receiue any person into the lesser councell, if he be not borne within the Towne. In elder times, if the sonnes of councellers were borne out of the Towne, they could not attaine to the fathers dignity. Now adayes, when some councellers are absent, about occasions of the weale-publike, and for the gouerning of some Bayliwicke: if they happen to haue any children, they are reputed as borne in the Towne. For the great councell, they may bee elected that are borne out of Berne: prouided that they be Bourgesses, haue houses in the Towne, and are issued of the *Switzens* country, or of the confederates of the Cantons. For no man is receiued into the councell of the two hundred, if he be borne out of *Switzerland*: and the same is in practise at *Zurich*, as we haue already declared. In like manner, bastards, and people of infamous note, are quite excluded from coũcell.

The ordinary manner of Iustice at Berne.

There are three Courts or Benches of iustice at Berne, all the Iudges whereof, are elected by the Banderets & Treasurers, and are confirmed by the lesser councell.

The first Court of Iustice, how and what causes are therein determined.

The first Court of iustice is called, **Das Ussergricht**. The *Auoyer* presideth there, but the cheefe Vsher, whom they call **Der grosz Weibell**, doth (almost) daily keepe the place, and hath 12. Assistants, to wit, the last man elected of the foure Banderets, one of the Seigneurs of the lesser councell, and tenne of the great, with one Secretary, and two Officers. They take knowledge of debts, iniuries & outrages of slender consequence, as if one man giue another a box on the eare, or giues some words to his disgrace. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser councell, and from them, to the sixty men, which is a councell composed of Seigneurs of the lesser councel, and of sixe and thirty councellers of the great councell. From the sixty, appeale may bee made vnto the generall. The Iudges doe assemble euery day to conclude causes, onely Tuesday excepted, which is the Market day.

The second Court is called the Court of appellations, or appeales.

The second Court of iustice, iudgeth the appellations of the country of *Sauoy*: and therefore it is commonly called, the Court for strange Appellations; **Das welsch Appellatz gricht.** The Pursse-bearer or Treasurer of the country, sitteth in iudgement there, & hath ten assistants, to wit, two Seigneurs of the lesser councell, and eight of the great, with one Secretarie and an Officer. They end all the appeales for the country of *Sauoye*, and giue audience to parties at all times, and as oftẽ as they desire it. Notwithstanding, their ordinary vse is to meete after the day of S. *Martin* in Nouember, vntill the Moneth of December. All they of *Sauoye* come thether to the appellations, they onely of *Lausanna* excepted: but at euery two yeares, the Treasurer commeth to *Lausanna* with some assistants, and there decideth the causes of appeale.

The ordinary meeting of the Court.

The third Court, the Consistory for mariage-matters.

The third Court or Iurisdiction, takes knowledge of matrimoniall causes. It is the Consistory, where there are eight Iudges; two of the lesser councell, who preside or giue sentence there (turne by turne) from two Moneths to two Moneths; two Ministers of the Church; foure of the great councell, and they haue a Secretary or Clearke, and an Officer. They assemble three times in the weeke,

namely, on Monday, Wensday, and Friday, then they consider not onely on matrimoniall causes, but also censure such as giue scandales, and put in practise the discipline of the Church. Moreouer, these men and the Iudges of the first court of iustice, doe hold in estate but halfe the yeare, and are changed about Easter, and likewise about the end of September.

The limitation of their authority.

They of *Lucerna* haue two courts of iustice, the one they call **Das wuchengricht**, because the Iudges do meete euery weeke, and decide al suites proceeding of debts and contracts. The other is called **Das nuer gricht**, the iustice of nine: for nine Iudges take knowledge of iniuries and outrages, and accordingly inflict punishment. There is not any Consistory at *Lucerna*, neither at *Fribourg*, or *Solleurre*: because they are Catholiques, and subiected to the iurisdiction of Bishops, by whose Officials the causes concerning matrimony are debated.

Two Courts of iustice at Lucerna, and what causes are censured in them.

As for criminall matters capitall, there are not any particular Iudges thereto appointed, neyther at *Berne*, nor *Lucerna*. But when question is made concerning any ones life, the great and smaller councels take knowledge thereof, and iudge it. The *Auoyers* sit in cheefest authority, and censure on the matters. After sentence is resolued on at *Berne*, the *Auoyer* goes and sits in a seate of iustice, appointed in some eminent part of the Towne, enuironed with Officers of the Seigneury. Then the Clearke or Secretary readeth out aloud the confession of the offender, & the sentence giuen against him. Afterward the *Auoyer* enioyneth the hangman to execute the sentence, and commandeth the condemned person to bee deliuered to him. At *Lucerna*, the councell do iudge in criminall causes, of all the Bayliwicks, and all the Malefactors are punished within the Towne.

Criminall causes concerning life and death.

How they proceed in cases of death.

But in all the Bayliwicks of *Berne*, there is iustice apart by it selfe, which they call **Landtgricht**, and thether the Iudges of all the Bayliwicks are called, and giue their aduice in presence of the Bayliwicks, who presideth: and yet in such sort, as the councell of *Berne* may approue, or change the sentence, if they thinke good.

In the Bayliwicks of Bern

The *Bernians* haue many Bayliwicks, & are the most powerfull Seigneurs of the Leagues. In some they speak the *Alleman* or *Germane* tongue; in other the *Romane* or *Sauoyan*. Among the *Alleman* Bayliwicks, there are foure depending on the Towne, and are euen as Subburbs thereto: whereof the foure Banderets are Bayliffes, and if they were to go to war, those Bayliwicks march vnder the Ensignes of the foure Banderets. Moreouer, there are seuen and twenty other beside, to wit, the vale of *Hasell*, which hath an *Amman*, out of the body of the inhabitants, but hee is elected by the councell of *Berne*, & there rendreth an account of his charge. *Vndersée* is a Towne so named, because it is at the end of a Lake: thether is an *Auoyer* sent, but he is of the Towne of *Berne*. The vale of *Simma*, both high and low, do call their Bayliffes **Schachtlandt**, that is to say, Castilians. *Frutingen*, *Sane* and *Aelen*, do name their Bayliffe, Gouernour. *Laupen* and *Thun* are in the same condition as *Vndersée*.

The Amman of the Vale of Hasell.

The Auoyer of Vnderiée.

Next to these, are *Signow*, *Trachselwald*, and the Riuers of the vale of *Emme*. *Brandis*, that receiues her Bayliffe from the Lord of the place: but he is numbred among the Bourgesses of *Berne*. *Sumiswald*, where the Masters of the * *Teutonicke* Order established a Bayliffe. *Burgdorff* and *Pyrnestic* are gouerned all alike, as *Vndersée*, *Landhoutt*, *Arberg*, *Nidow*, *Erlach*, *Bippiũ*, *Wange*, *Arwange*, *Arbourg*, *Biberstain*, *Schenkenberg*, and *Lentzbourg*. Moreouer, there are three free Townes in the country of *Ergow*, vnder the Seigneury of *Berne*, to wit, *Zofinge*, *Arow*, and *Brug*. There are eight Roman Bayliwicks, as namely, *Auanches*, *Modon*, *Yuerdun*, *Lausanna*, *Morges*, *Nyon*, *Orbe*, *Aille* and *Veuay*. Beside, they of *Berne* and of *Fribourg* haue foure Bayliwickes in common; as *Mort*, *Schuartzenbourg*, *Granson*, & *Chalanse*, whether they send a Bayliffe successiuely at euery 5. yeares end: so that if the Bayliffe be of *Berne*, his causes of appeale goe to *Fribourg*, where the reasons of the Bayliffe are examined. There are Prouosts beside, for the gouernment of Abbeyes. The *Bernians* had nine in the *Allemane* country, sixe wherof held iurisdiction, and three in the *Romane* country.

The Bayliffe of the Vale of Emme.

*The company of the Hanse-Merchants.

Eight Roman Bayliwicks.

Foure Bayliwicks in common.

Of the Bayliwicks belonging to them of Berne.

They of *Lucerna* haue onely two out of the Towne, as at *Wiken*, and at *Sempach*: but hee of *Sempach* hath no other authority in the place, but only the superintendency of the Lake, and of the Fish.

Of the Bayliwicks that belong to Lucerna.

As

As for their other Bayliwicks, they are gouerned by some of the Seigneurs of the councell. Those Bayliwickes are *Willison*, the Vale of *Entlibuch*, *Rotenbourg*, *Habspourg*, *Berone*, and the neighbouring countrie, which they call, *Chelampt*: *Merisuande*, that hath this priuiledge, to chuse for Bayliffe, one of the Seigneurs of councell in *Lucerna*, euen whom they list, except the *Auoyer*: *Weggiss*, *Ebicon*, *Horbe* and *Krientz*. Moreouer, the two Townes of *Sursey* and *Sempach*, are in the protection of the *Lucernians*: Neuertheless, they haue their councell apart by themselues, who iudge in causes both ciuill and criminall. But the *Auoyer* of *Sursey*, giueth his oath to them of *Lucerna*. He of *Sempach* is elected by the councell at *Lucerna*: but he is in number among the cittizens of *Sempach*.

The priuiledg of Merisuande, and of other places beside.

The law of likenesse or equality, which the Latines tearmed *Lex Talionis*, is as yet vsed (in some sort) at *Lucerna*. For if any man kil a citizen of the place, althogh he did it vpon iust occasion, hauing beene prouoked thereto by the other, and in defence of his owne body: yet if hee be taken, they smite off his head; or if he flye, he is banished for euer. But if he make satisfaction to the children or kindred of the dead, and cause them to giue ouer all pursuite: hee may obtaine leaue of the councell to come againe into the towne.

Lex Talionis is as yet in some vse at Lucerna.

Among all the *Switzers*, there is not any but them of *Lucerna*, that make vse of Brasse Cornets, instead of Trumpets. The crooked Cornets, which they cal **Harschhoener**, giues a frightfull sound. The *Romanes* also made vse of Cornets in warre: and thereupon, they that sounded or winded those Cornets, were called **Cornicines**. The men of *Lucerna* say, that *Charlemaigne* gaue those Cornets to thē; becaus they carried themselues valiantly in a warre which he had against the *Sarrazins*, and that *Rowland*, a Lord very highly beloued of *Charlemaigne* in those times, serued himselfe with those kindes of Cornets long before.

Corners of Brasse vsed in stead of trumpets at Lucerna.

Cornicines.

Rowland whō the Italians call Orlando.

These forenamed Townes do coyne monies, but *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue one particular kind of coyne: whereof two and forty Sols, and two thirds of a Sol, makes a Florin of *Rheine*. Moreouer, they stampe another more great sort of money, which the *Switzers* call **Ein Dickenpfenning**, and the French a *Teston*. These *Testones* are minted at *Solleurre* for the most part; and yet notwithstanding, are counted of lesse value, by a tenth part, then them of *France*. They of *Berne* coyned first certaine money, which the *Switzers* termed *Baches*: in regard of the figure of a Beare, which was stamped on the one side, for they called a Beare **Baeren** and **Baetzen**. Afterward, the other Cities and Townes of *Switzerland* and of *Suaba*, coyned the same money: sixteene peeces whereof, valued a Florin of gold. The mony of *Lucerna* commeth not neere to the value and price of that of *Basile*, which is more hard and strong: for the Sol of *Lucerna* valueth but the moity of that of *Basile*, and fifty Sols of *Lucerna*, will make one Florin.

Monies coyned by all these townes.

Worth eighteene pence sterling.

Mony with a Beare stamped on it.

The valuation of the coines.

Now we come to speake of *Fribourg*, which is diuided into foure parts, like vnto *Berne*: the first is called the Borrough; the second, the Island, or the Medow; the third, the new Towne; and the fourth, the Hospitall. The councellers of the common-wealth are chosen out of these quarters. As in the other Townes, so in this there are two publike councels; to wit, the great councell, consisting of 2. hundred, and the lesser of foure and twenty. The election is made on the Sunday before S. *Iohn Baptist* day. The lesser councell manageth the affaires of the Towne, deciding the causes of appeales: except of the Bayliwicks of *Sauoye*, conquered in warre. As for the matters which concerne the whole State, and are of maine importance, the councell of two hundred takes knowledge of them. The *Auoyer*, who presideth both in the lesser & great councels, is elected on S. *Iohns* day by all the people, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeares.

The estate & condition of Fribourg, and how it is diuided into foure parts.

The two coūcels.

The office of the lesser coūcell and of the greater.

The Auoyer in his place of charge.

Next vnto the *Auoyer*, are the foure Banderets, who are Captaines of seuerall quarters in the citty or towne, & althogh they are not of the ordinary number of Seigneurs of the lesser councell: yet notwithstanding, they assist there in name of all the people, and deliuer their aduice, except in appellations. If some thing be propounded which seemeth to belong to the councell of two hundred; they may ther make their report of it. Furthermore they remaine in authority, three yeares:

The foure Banderets next to the Auoyer.

and are choſen by the great & leſſe councels, as many other Officers are. Then followeth the office of the Treaſurer, who manageth the monies, and all the reuennues of the Towne: he hath (as his coadiuter) the Secretary or Clearke of the Towne, or his Committees, who regiſter downe all thoſe ſummes, which the Treaſurer receiueth, or imployeth. His charge alſo is, to haue an eye on all the publike buildings. Twice euery yeare he renders an account to the leſſer councell, and remaineth in his charge, the ſpace of three yeares.

The office of the Treaſurer.

In *Fribourg* there are foure principall Secretaries: the firſt is called Secretary of the Towne; the ſecond, Secretary of the councell; the third, Secretary of the country; and the fourth, Secretary of law or iuſtice. In like manner, the eſtate of *Saultier*, or cheefe Vſher, is honoureble both in *Berne* and *Fribourg*, where it is named, **Groſzweibels.** He is very often neere to the *Auoyer*, and when the Seigneurs are ſet in councel, he is at the door, counteth voyces, calleth the parties, and takes care of priſoners. His charge continueth three yeares.

Foure principall Secretaries in Fribourg.

The Saultier or chiefe Vſher.

As concerning Law and Iuſtice at *Fribourg*, they are eſtabliſhed in manner following. Firſt, the Court of Iuſtice belonging to the Towne, called, **Das Stattgricht**, is a particular aſſembly of certaine Iudges, to know and decide differences among the Bourgeſſes. And if there be any criminall proceſſe or ſuite; their charge is to interrogate the priſonners, to preſent & deliuer the caſe in queſtion, and then to relate all to the leſſer councell. The other aſſembly of Iudges, is tearmed **Das Landtgricht**, iudging the cauſes of dwellers in the country. In each of theſe iuriſdictions, there are two Seigneurs of the leſſer councell, and two of the great, and they meet three times euery week. Appeale may be made from their ſentence, to the leſſer councel. Moreouer, there are twelue Iudges, choſen out of the great and leſſer councels, for the appellations of the Bayliwickes, conquered in the laſt warre againſt the Duke of *Sauoye*. They meete together once in euery Moneth, and there is no appealing from their ſentence.

The Courts of law and iuſtice at Fribourg.

The firſt Court or aſſembly.

The other Court of iuſtice.

Twelue Iudges for the conquered Bayliwicks.

At *Fribourg* there are two kindes of Bayliwicks, as in the other Townes: the one of Bayliwicks neigh bouring to the Towne, which are gouerned by certaine Seigneurs of the councell, who dwell in the Towne, and come dayly to councell, and of ſuch Bayliwicks there are fiue. The other is, when the Bayliffes are ſent to dwell on diſtinct places with ample authority: and they of *Fribourg* haue fourteene ſuch Bayliwicks, and foure in common with the *Bernians*. The Bayliffes are elected by the great and leſſer councels, the morrow after S. *Iohn Baptiſts* day, and hold in office the ſpace of fiue yeares: but euery yeare they render an account of their charge, before the leſſer councell. They enſtruct alſo, and deale in criminall ſuites: but them they ſend to the leſſer councell with their ſentence, which the councell hath power to approue, change, or moderate.

Two kindes of Bayliwicks belonging to Fribourg.

Foure Bayliwicks in common with the of Berne.

Dealing in criminall occaſions.

That which at *Fribourg* is called **Troſtungen**, and in the vulgar, **Leiſtungen**, is carefully maintained at *Fribourg*. By theſe words is vnderſtood a remiſe or tariance for certaine time, and the charges to be on his owne head; when the debter doth not pay his debt, at or on the day of aſſignement, as in this manner. When the debter maketh not ſatisfaction, on the day appointed for repayment, the creditor ſendeth one, two, three, or more ſeruants (on horſe-backe) to an Inne or Hoſtery, whoſe expences there the debter is conſtrained to pay (tarry they there neuer ſo long) vntill hee hath made ſatisfaction to the creditor. Some ſay, that the Duke of *Zeringen* eſtabliſhed this Law. Such as infringe or breake it, are puniſhed by impriſonment, baniſhment, or by the purſſe. And there is a certaine Iudge, whō they call Bourgmaſter, that holdeth a ſtrict hand in this caſe. Moreouer, if action or ſuite is moued, and a man demand the **Troſtung** three times, if it is not grāted to the demander, it is preſent baniſhment. Such as breake the peace, wherein they are enioyned to liue one with another, are baniſhed likewiſe: and they that (without iuſt cauſe) will meddle, or take part on eyther ſide, when a cauſe is in pleading.

A ſtay or forbearing of a debt at the coſt & charge of the debter.

A law made by the Duke of Zeringen, for payment of debts.

Baniſhment for the breach of peace.

Finally, the *Fribourgers* make feaſting yearely, with ſolemne proceſſion of all eſtates through the Towne, on the ſecond day of March, and on the eight and twentieth day of Iune; which are dayes of battailes

Dayes of ſolemn feaſting for victories obtained.

tailes giuen, and victories wonne by the *Switzers*, against the Duke of *Bourgongne*, at *Granson*, and at *Morat*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Commonwealth of those Cantons that haue neither Cities nor Towns, but dwell onely in Villages.

The author distinguisheth the Cantons according to their qualities of gouernmēt & scituation.

HItherto we haue discoursed on two formes of Commion-wealths, concerned in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, that haue Cities and Townes. There remaineth now a third, which is of those Cantons that haue no Townes, but make their abode in Villages, and for that cause are called, **Die Laender.** There are sixe of them, to wit, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*. *Zug* indeede is a towne, & hath her Officers in the towne, but the soueraignty of the Canton appertaineth to them that dwell in the lands of the Canton, with them of the towne, and are Lords as well the one as other. In all these Cantons, the cheefe of the publike councell, is tearmed **Amman**, which signifieth a man in office and authority, and that name is attributed to all publike Officers. So that Abbots, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, do call their Iudges, Receiuers, and other such like Officers, **Ammans.**

Amman is held as a Maior or Bourgomaster among the Switzers.

As the Townes are diuided or parted, by Companies and Colledges of Artezans, or Tradesmen; so the Cantons are distributed into certaine parts and portions.

CHAP. VIII.

Of all the sixe Cantons forenamed, which in this ensuing Chapter we will handle together, according to their seuerall rights & iurisdictions.

The Cantons diuided into certaine portions.

THE whole country of *Vri* is diuided into ten parts, which by them are called **Gnoszaminen**, as if a man would say, Participations. It may be in this respect, because they are all partakers in pasturages, goods, honours, and publike charges, and that from those ten parts onely, they are summoned and called, to be present at those assemblies which are yearely made.

The diuision of Suits.

The Country of *Suits* is diuided into sixe parts, which they call quarters. Because the country (heeretofore) was distributed into foure portions: but the people coming to encrease greatly, they made a new partage into sixe portions, which neuertheless do reteine the ancient name.

Vnderuald diuided in the midst.

As for the Country of *Vnderuald*, there is a Forest that diuideth it in the middest: and therfore the diuision is thus made to them that dwell aboue and beneathe the Forest. The whole Country taketh name of that part which is beneath the Forest: for **Underualden** is as much to say, as beneathe or vnder the wood. In elder times, *Stants*, a principall Village beneathe the Forest, and neere to the Lake, was the prime and cheefe place of the country, and the people were called, inhabitants of the Valley of *Stants*. But now adayes, because the word *Vnderuald* is taken for the whole country, the *Switzers* haue added these words, aboue and beneathe the wood, **Underualden ob vnd nidt dem kernwald.**

Of the name.

Stants a principall village.

The partition of Zug, the Towne & the Villages.

Now as concerning them of *Zug*, we haue said already, that they are diuided in two parts; the one is the Towne it selfe, the other the Villages round about, comprehended vnder three assemblies, to wit, the Mountaine, the Vale *Egeria*, and *Bara*, a Parish very neere to the Towne.

The diuision of Glaris.

Glaris is diuided into fifteene parts, which they tearme **Tagwan.** The word signifieth the work of a day, and as much distance or spaciousnesse of ground, as a man can plow in a day. It may be, that these parts were called Iournals, or day-labours: because euery one prepareth & ordereth the way in his quarter, and each one knoweth where he is to labour.

The orders or proportions belonging to Appenzell.

The country of *Appenzell* is parted into twelue orders or portions, which they call **Raden**, whereof those sixe conioyned to the Village of *Appenzell*, they name them the orders within, and anciently were subiects to the Abbot of S. *Gall*. The other sixe are called the orders without: to wit; out of the Abbots Seigneury,

Election of the councell.

Seigneury; heeretofore partly free, and partly in the iuriſdiction of Gentlemen. Out of theſe parts (by equall number) are choſen certaine men, for the councell of the Canton: in many of them there are threeſcore councellers, beſide ſuch as (hauing beene in office) continue perpetuall councellers. At *Zug* there are fiue and forty councellers, nine of each aſſembly, for the Towne is counted for two.

The generall councell of Appenzell.

The councell generall of *Appenzell*, conſiſteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelue of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to aſſemble the councell of all the people: then they will double or treble the councell in this manner. Each of the councellers takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a coũcell of three times as many perſons, as ordinarily they vſe to do: and one of the councellers, on Sunday, in the Church after Seruice is done, hath a cuſtome to ſignifie, that on ſuch a day as he nameth, all the councellers are to meete in the Towne-houſe of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him ſuch a one, as he holdeth to bee an honeſt and wiſe man, who ſhall alſo bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obliged to the common-wealth. Beſide, no man is elected to be a counceller, neither can he aſſiſt in the generall councell, if he be not borne in the country, **Ein Landman**: And it is much more eaſie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeſhippe, in the Townes of the *Switzers*, then in theſe Villages. Which proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great ſtore of ſtrangers among them, towards whom they ſhew themſelues very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduiſed iudgement, and according to the cuſtome of their predeceſſors: being neuer willing to mingle new commers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to preuent charges, and to preſerue the common-wealth (the more eaſily) in one and the ſame eſtate and condition.

Publication of a councell to be holden on a day appointed.

None but natiues can be councelers

The Switzers louing and kinde to ſtrãgers liuing among them.

The councel generall of all the people, & their appointed places of meeting.

The ſoueraignty in theſe ſixe Cantons, belongeth to the aſſembly of all the people. All they of the country, from the age of fourteene, or ſixteene, or vpwards, do meete eyther at the principall Village of the Canton, or elſe at ſome other place in the midſt of the country. As they of *Vri* meete at *Betzelinge*, diſtant halfe a dayes iourney from *Altorff*, the cheefeſt Village of that Canton. The people of *Glaris* meete at *Suanda*. The ordinary and annuall aſſemblies of theſe Cantons, is made euery yeare about the beginning of May. They of *Suits*, of *Vnderuald* vnder the wood, of *Glaris* and of *Appenzell*, do meete the laſt Sunday of Aprill. They of *Vri* and of *Zug*, the firſt Sunday of May. In elder times, they of *Zug* held their generall councel the 24. day of Iune, being S. *Iohn Baptiſts* day. They of *Vnderuald* aboue the wood, meete the firſt day of May.

The yearely aſſembling of theſe cantons.

In theſe aſſemblies, firſt of all he is elected whom they call the **Amman**, in which office hee continueth the ſpace of two yeares. Heeretofore there was no terme of time aſſigned, but (oftentimes) the ſame **Amman** gouerned for many yeares together. He is permitted to be choſen among all the people, as a man that (for his vertue and wiſedome) ſhall be thought moſt worthy of that dignity and charge, without regard at all, in what place or Village of the Canton hee dwelleth. Notwithſtanding, in certaine Cantons, as at *Appenzell*, while the **Amman** is in his office of authority, hee goeth to remaine in the principall Village, where the publike councell keepeth moſt.

The Amman is the firſt Officer choſen in the aſſembly.

At *Zug* there are three aſſembles of them without the Towne. Next, the Towne hath the power of two aſſemblies and the **ammans** are choſen by order of each aſſembly. They thar are elected of the aſſemblies without, doe dwell in the Towne, during the two yeares that they are **ammans**. In the ſame aſſembly wher the **amman** is elected, his Lieutenant alſo is choſen, whom they tearme **Statthalter**: and ſo are the Treaſurers or Purſſe-bearers, called by them **Seckelmeiſters**. Next, the Secretaries and Bayliffes which gouerne the Bayliwickes of the Canton: or thoſe which the Canton holds apart with other Cantons. Moreouer, Edicts are there read & confirmed, or abrogated yearely, by the voyces of all the people: ſo likewiſe ſports, and playing at cardes, dice, dancing, exceſſiue drinking, fore-ſtalling Markets of victuals, and ſuch like things.

Of the aſſemblies that are at Zug, both without and within.

The election of the Lieutenant.

Secretaries & Bayliffes.

When the councell is thus held yeare by yeare, councellers are elected and confirmed:

The electing and confirming of councellers.

firmed: but yet this is not done by euery assembly, but each of them ordered by the subiects of the Canton, and by the companies among whom they dwell. Finally, if at some other times of the yeare, there happen affaires that concerne the estate of the common-wealth, an extraordinary councell is held. As if need require, to send Ambassadors to the dayes at *Bada*, or to some other Kings and Princes; or if there be question of making aliances, be they eyther for peace or warre, &c.

An extraordinary councell holden.

Councell more secret and priuate.

Beside the lesser councell and the generall, composed of all the people; some of the cantons haue a councell more strict and priuate, and courses of iustice for diuision of suites. In the Canton of *Suits*, which is diuided in sixe parts, the principall counceller of each part is taken: and these sixe, with the Amman, make the councell of seuen, called secret. These seuen do manage and order all the reuennues of the country, and furnish all that is laid out for publike expences. Moreouer, there are two Courts of iustice, the one being called the order of nine, in regard of the number of Iudges, and there the *Amman* sits as President. In this Court are decided the causes of greatest importance: as of inheritances, outrages, and terrible iniuries, hard to be endured.

The councel of seuen at Suits.

The 2 Courts of iustice. The first of nine.

The second of seuen.

The Court of seuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the *Amman* sits as President: and those seuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of *Vri* haue (almost) the same gouernment: for there the Court of seuen, with the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threescore pounds. There is another iudiciall Court of fifteene, where the *Amman* sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.

The order at Vri.

The Court of fifteene there.

Two Courts of law & iustice at Vnderuald.

At *Vnderuald* also there are 2. Courts of iustice, the one at *Stants* vnder the wood, and the other at *Sarna* aboue the wood, and each of them hath an *Amman*. It is saide, that the country was parted, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred and fifty; when some debate fell among them for paying of a certaine tribute. And whereas before that time, they had but one councell, and one Standard, bearing a double key for the whole country: this partition caused each of the sides to take one key onely, and they that were aboue the wood, retained still their olde Standard, white and redde, because they were the greater part of the Canton. Then they vnder or beneathe the wood, receiued from Popes another Ensigne, which had two keyes in it: for in regard that *Stants* (long before) had beene the principall Village of the Canton, they therefore kept still the Ensigne, which in those times they had at *Stants*.

But one councell and one Standard till the diuision.

The Popes gaue them another Ensigne.

The Towne of *Zug*, beside the councell generall of the whole country, hath a councell apart, order of iustice, Magistrates, a Lieutenant to the *Amman*, Treasurer, Voyer, &c. who iudge the causes of the Bourgesses, and manage all the publike affaires.

The obseruation at Zug.

At *Glaris* there are two Courts of iustice, one of nine, the other of fiue Iudges, which the councell generall of the Canton do elect euery yeare. They decide law-suites in the Moneths of May, and of December onely. The nine take knowledge of differences concerning inheritances, and dangerous iniuries. The fiue do censure suites of debts and payments, after that the nine (who keepe Court the space of sixe dayes) haue ended.

Two Courts of iustice at Glaris, and their seuerall authorities.

They of *Appenzell* haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a publike place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it Das gassen-gricht. Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Visher of the canton, Der Landtweibell, and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemne men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called Das geschwoꝛen-gricht, iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreouer, from each order of the canton, a counceller is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake publike ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the councell generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and tearmed cheefest councellers: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,

The Courts of iustice at Appenzell.

The first Court.

The second Court.

Another order of councellers, and their power.

Of the catholike Cantons.

ton Landthelick.

Suits, *Vri*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzel*, are Catholicke, and vnder the Dioceſſe of *Conſtance*. And if there happen any difference concerning mariages, they goe to the Officialtie of the ſayde place, but they of the other opinion goe to *Zurich*.

Puniſhment for adultery.

As for adulteries, they are chaſtiſed in each Canton: ſome, by confiſcation of goods; others (ſometime by the fine of ten Dallers. I haue heard likewiſe, that (diuers times) the councell general of the whole Canton, doeth decide ſome differences concerning marriages.

Iuſtice in criminall cauſes.

Iuſtice in cauſes criminall, is adminiſtred (almoſt in all the Cantons) by the publike councell, and oftentimes doubled or multiplied by the ordinary councellers; the Amman ſitting Preſident, or his Lieutenant. At *Zug*, in criminal matters, other aſsiſtants are ioyned with the councell or Iudges, choſen out of each diuiſion or aſſembly of the Canton. Suites of Law are diſcuſt in an open publique place, where all may heare that which is ſaid, and know the merite of the ſentence giuen by the Iudges.

The order & diſpoſition of the Baylywicks in theſe Cantons.

Now to ſpeake of the Baylywickes or Gouernements appertaining vnto theſe Cantons, they are carried and diſpoſed in manner following. They of *Vri* ſend a Bayliffe into the valley of *Liuiner* beyond the Mountaines: who hath one of the ſame valley for his Lieutenant and Aſſiſtants alſo; with whom he iudgeth cauſes both ciuill and criminall, and continueth in his charge the ſpace of three yeeres. Beyond the ſame Mountaines, they ſend Bayliffes alſo to *Bellizona*, and to two other places. They of *Bellizona* haue three Bayliwickes, to wit, *Bellizona*, the Vale *Brune*, and *Riuiera*, where the three Cantons do command in ſuch manner, that each of them hath alwaies a Bayliwicke. Moreouer, the inhabitants of Mount S. *Godardo*, are ſubiectes to the Canton of *Vri*; neuertheleſſe, they haue their Councell and their *Amman*, who are confirmed by them of *Vri*, & when there are criminal ſuites, two of the councell of *Vri* do meet there. They haue their Standard likewiſe: but when they of *Vri* do diſplay that belonging to the Canton, the other hold vp theirs.

Bellizona hath 3. Baylywicks belonging to it.

They of *Suites* haue ſometimes hadde foure Bayliwickes, to wit, the *Marche*, the *Hermitage*, *Cuſnach*, and certaine ſmall Villages or great Farmes, neer to the lake of *Zurich*: but the two former haue obtained municipall right, and doe elect a councell and triall of ſuites in their owne bodye. Notwithſtanding, euery yeare, when a councell generall is held at *Suits*, ordinarily they ſend their Ambaſſadors thether, and require, that they may haue leaue to elect their Magiſtrates; which is granted them, as in verie great fauour, with this exception, that they are to bee modeſt and obedient, for otherwiſe it remaineth in the peoples power of *Suits*, to ſend a Gouernour thether, whenſoeuer they thinke meet.

Foure Baylywickes heeretofore belonging to Suits, but two of them altered.

What priuiledges belonged to Cuſnach, but loſt through their owne neglect

Cuſnach hath the ſame condition, but becauſe, within ſome few yeares certaine ſtraungers (cuſtomers for carriage of ſalt and other thinges that way) made their complaint, that they of *Cuſnach* did them wrong, and vſed them harſhlie vpon no occaſion: the men of *Suits* knowing the accuſation to bee true, ſent a Bayliffe thether againe, and appointed new ordinations for *Cuſnach*. Beſides, they haue two Bayliwickes in common with them of *Glaris*, to wit, *Vznac*, which is a Towne, and *Gaſtall*. Thether they ſend Bayliffes, turne by turne, and alwaies there is one of *Suits* in one of the Bailywickes, and one of *Glaris* in the other.

What Baylywickes they enioy in common with other.

In like manner, they haue three other Bayliwickes in common, beyonde the Mountaines, in the valley of *Liuiner*, with the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderuald*. The charge and office of all their Bayliffes laſteth two yeeres, except in the Bayliwickes beyonde the Mountaines, where they holde for the ſpace of three yeares; and they goe not to the other but at certaine times, and to decide law controuerſies.

What time their Bayliffes continue in authority of gouerning.

They of *Toggenbourg* are not ſubiects but Bourgeſſes of *Suits* and *Glaris*, and go to warre for them ſucceſsiuely. They of *Zug* ſend Bayliffes to *Cham*, a very little Towne neere vnto their lake. To Saint *Andrew*, ſometimes a Towne. To *Huneberg*, *Walcheuill*, *Stein-houſe*. To Saint *Wolfgang*, and to other Villages. They bought this Countie, in the yeare 1517. Next, with them of *Suites*, they ſend (turne by turne) Bayliffes to

The order and maner of ſending theyr Bayliffes, to their ſeuerall places of Iuriſdiction.

Vznac

Vznac and *Gaſtal*. They of *Toggenbourg* are their Bourgeſſes, as we haue ſayde already; and go to warre for them, and for the Canton of *Suits*. Finally, the fiue firſt Cantons are Lordes with the other Cantons, of the Bayliwicks gouerned by them in common: except the men of *Appenzel*, who ſend a Bayliffe onely to *Rhinthal*, with the ſeuen firſt Cantons, & in the ſame manner.

Of cuſtomes belonging to theſe ſix Cantons.

Now follow ſome particular cuſtoms of theſe ſixe Cantons, and which are not common to all the Switzers. Whoſoeuer ſhall haue committed a murther, although it was done in the defence of his owne body, hee is conſtrained to forſake the Canton, and it is not lawfull for the leſſer councell to repeale him; but hee may demaund and obtaine leaue of the councell generall to returne againe.

In caſe of murther.

They doe not permit, that Landes and foundations of inheritances ſhould bee pawned or ingaged vnto any one that is not of the Canton; for they holde them to be no longer Lords of their countrey, if once they will becom bound for debts and morgage in ſuch manner their inheritances to ſtraungers. Likewiſe in the Canton of *Vri*, it is not lawfull for ſtrangers, that haue bene receyued there as inhabitants, to buy any inheritances, but a houſe and a ſmall garden for Pot-herbes onely.

Againſt morgaging of lands and inheritances to ſtrangers.

If any man being drunke, doe commit ſome ſcandalous action, hee is puniſhed by impriſonment; and beſide, hee is forbidden to drinke wine for the ſpace of a certaine time, and vntill the Councell generall haue pardoned him.

Againſt drunkenneſſe

In publike aſſemblies, and in the diſtribution of honourable charges and Offices: hee that is put in election, is preſent, and his parents, brethren, and ſons may giue him their voyces. They giue their voyces by lifting vp their hands on high, and ſome are ſet in an eminent place to count them. If they ſtand in doubt, and cannot ſo decide it, then they haue another courſe. There are two men, who hold two Halberds touching together at the points; they that giue their voyces, do paſſe vnder them, and two other men count them as they paſſe.

For voices giuen at the election of publike offices.

Finally, they vſe Feaſts and Proceſsions, on ſuch dayes as their Anceſtors obtained any remarkable victory. As they of *Glaris* do yearly celebrate the memoriall of the victory which they wonne againſt the *Auſtrians*, in the yeare 1387. and in the month of Aprill, I wil declare at large, the ceremonies obſerued by them in this feſtiuall; to the end, the better iudgment may be made of ſuch feaſts as are vſed by others.

Reade in the former part.

Feaſts & Proceſsions for honourable cauſes.

The order of the ſolemne Feaſt and Proceſsion, performed by the men of Glaris, in honor of their victory againſt the Auſtrians.

IN the moneth of Aprill, euerie yeare, on the Thurſday of the firſt weeke (except Eaſter day fall on the Sunday following, for then it is deferred til Thurſday in the weeke after) the Feaſt is celebrated. On the Sunday before, it is a lowde and openly publiſhed in the church, in behalf of the Seigneury, that on Thurſday following, the moſt honourable perſons of euerie Family, eſpecially the men, are to meete and go in ſolemne Proceſsion to *Mulhouſere*, by thoſe waies, places, and paſſages, where their Anceſtors were in great danger, euen ſo far as the Fountain, and to be warie of deſcending to the Village of *Haures*, til firſt they haue paſt the other way. Moreouer, that all keepe ſilence while the Sermon is done, and to carrie themſelues (that day) ſo modeſtly in their refection, that no diſorder may bee noted, becauſe the Seigneury will chaſtiſe them ſeuerely that do otherwiſe, and becauſe the whole Canton of *Glaris* doth ſolemnly feaſt that day. Forbidding alſo, that no man ſhall mount on Horſebacke out of the Village of *Glaris*, ſicke & aged men onely excepted, who are not (being ſo mounted) to goe anie further then *Scheneiſinge*.

The great Feaſt of Glaris.

Remembrãce of their Anceſtors great peril.

After they are all aſſembled together, and rounded in a ring as it were; the Amman, who is in the midſt, makes a kinde welcome (in name of the whole Canton) vnto ſuch ſtrangers as are come thether. Firſt, to the Ambaſſador of *Suits*, who is yearly ſent for celebration of the Feaſt: becauſe thirtie Souldiers of *Suites* were preſent in the battell for which this Feaſt is kept. Likewiſe, he ſaluteth the Abbots, Prieſts, & neighbors of *Gaſtal*, *la Marche*, *Raſperwill* and *Toggenbourg*, giuing them hearty thanks, for comming to celebrate this

Obſeruation after their meeting together.

this ſolemne Proceſſion, and to thanke & ſing praiſes to almighty God, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, S. *Fridolin*, and S. *Hillary*.

The order of the Proceſſion in marching, as they paſſe along to the place where the battaile was fought.

First, one beareth a red Standard, wherein is the Image of S. *Fridolin*, then follow 4 men, bearing a guilded Toomb, whereon are many faire and holy reliques enchaſed. Then come the Croſſe-bearers, carrying the Croſſes of *Glaris*, *Haures*, of the Vale of *Liuthe*, and of the churches neighboring to the Canton of *Glaris*, as of *Schenniß*, *Weſen*, and others. The Croſſes are followed with Banners of all the Churches, and the Prieſts come after them, ſinging according to their order. The Curate of *Glaris* is the firſt, accoſted by an Abbot, or elſe ſome other man of the Church. Among the ſtrangers the other Prieſts follow. Then the councell of *Glaris*, to witte, the *Amman*, with the Ambaſſadour of *Suits*; then the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, and the other Officers in their order, each guiding or leading one of the moſt honourable ſtrangers. The women (in great number) follow, to make vp the end and concluſion of the Proceſſion.

The ceremonies in the Proceſſion of Glaris, being come to the field where the eleuen ſtones are fixed in the ground.

Beeing come to the place where the battail was fought, there are eleuen ſtones ſet down in thoſe ſeueral parts of ground where they began and held on fight with the enemy: for they had partings & meetings againe at hand-blowes, eleuen ſeuerall times, and at each of thoſe ſtones the Standards and Banners ſtay, and all fall vpon their knees in prayer to God. Whē they are come to the ſixt ſtone, they caſt themſelues round in a ring, and then the Secretarie of the Canton readeth in a paper, the cauſe and originall of this Proceſſion, the ſummary whereof is this. War being moued betweene *Leopold*, Duke of *Auſtria*, and them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Solleurre*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*; *Leopold* led his Army to *Sempach*, where hee was ouercome, and ſlaine by the *Switzers*, the ninth day of Iune, one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore and ſixe, beſide ſixteene Earles and Barons, and a great number of Gentlemen.

The reaſon and originall of the Proceſſion, read in particulars by the Secretary

A ſecond reaſon, vpon the beſiedging & taking of Weſen.

Afterward, in mid-Auguſt following, they of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*, beſiedged and tooke the towne of *Weſen*, & the inhabitants promiſed perpetuall fidelity to the *Switzers*. Truce was made, till the beginning of Lent in the yeare following; which being ended, and war beginning againe, they of *Glaris* ſent a Garriſon to *Weſon*, wher the Souldiers thinking themſelues to be in ſafety, and confiding on the oath of the towneſmen, were ſlaine (for the moſt part) in a night by them of *Auſtria*, who entred in the dead of night, by intelligence which they had with certaine of the inhabitants, that machinated this villany againſt the garriſon, and opened the gates to their enemies.

A third reaſon of coming with an Army againſt Haures.

Furthermore, that the very ſame yeare, and the ninth day of Aprill, they of *Auſtria* brought an Army of fifteene thouſand men towards *Haures*, and wonne the Fortreſſe of the Country. But three hundred and fifty Souldiers of *Glaris*, & thirty which the Canton of *Suits* ſent to aſſiſt them, aſſayled the enemy, and (Gods helps furthering, the Virgin *Marie*, and their Patrones, S. *Fridolin* and S. *Hilarie*) they became conquerors, wonne eleuen of their cheefeſt Enſignes, and left two thouſand fiue hundred enemies ſlaine in the field, beſide them that were drowned in the Lake, and among the reſt, many of *Weſen* were there ſlaine, that formerly had betraied the Garriſon of *Glaris*. And therefore, in dutifull thankfulnes to God almighty, the glorious Virgin *Mary*, and S. *Fridolin*, and S. *Hilary* their Patrones, and to all the Saints and Sainteſſes of Paradiſe, & in euerlaſting remembrance of ſo great a helpe and deliuerance, this annuall Proceſſion was ordained vppon thoſe limits, where their Anceſtours had ſuffered many inconueniences.

Gods iuſt iudgement for breach of faith.

After the reading of theſe ſeuerall letters, a Sermon is made in the ſame place; the Prieſts of *Glaris* performe their Aniuerſary, and followeth the Miniſter of the new opinion. All their prayers being ended, they go againe to the ſame ſtones, in the ſame ranke and ceremony as they began, vntill they come to the eleuenth, which is placed neere to the Village of *Haures*, towards *Weſen*, where they aſſayled the enemy at the laſt time. Then they take their way to the Church of *Haures*; but they of the new opinion return home to their houſes. The reſt go to the church, where they ſing a Maſſe for the *Switzers* that were ſlaine in the battaile: and one reciteth all the names of them of *Glaris*, that periſhed there. Soone after this, a

Performance of the finall ceremonies.

The concluding of the ceremonies at the ſtones.

banquet

A Banquet made at the Cantons cost.

banquet is made (at the Cantons expences) for the Priests, and all the strangers that came in the Procession. After dinner, the Priests singing, bring backe againe to *Glaris* the guilded Toombe, the Banners and Crosses.

This is the manner of the annuall Procession and Feast of them of *Glaris*, in remembrance of so famous and remarkable victory. The other Cantons also haue their Feasts, to celebrate the victories obtained at *Morgarten*, *Sempach*, and elsewhere.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Common-wealths belonging to the Confederates. And first of all, Of the Abbey of S.Gall.

The Abbot and Abbey of S.Gall the first confederate.

AFter we haue spoken of the thirteene Cantons, and of their seuerall Common-wealths; me-thinks now (according to the same order) wee should make mention of their Confederates, among whom, the Abbot and Abbey of S. *Gall* holdeth the prime place. The Abbots of S.*Gall*, haue bin great Lords for the space of many ages possessed of great meanes, and numbred with the Princes of the Empire: but I know not well from what Emperour they receiued this honour and title. *Stumpfius* noteth, that *Conrad de Pfauerts*, Annalist of *Switzerland* writeth, that Abbot *Huldrich*, of the house of *Altsax*, was made Prince by the Emperour *Phillip*, in the citty of *Basile*. Now albeit these Abbots are not of such power as heeretofore; yet notwithstanding, they continue still great Lords, and haue their dominion in large extendure.

Abbot Huldrich was made a prince at Basile.

In the country of *Turgow* they are Lords of *Wile*, and haue a Pallace and a Vicar in the Towne. Moreouer, in the high country of *Turgow*, they haue a great Territory, and well peopled, who are all subiect to them. The inhabitants are called Die Gottshuszlut; the Subiects of the house of God, or of the Abbey, and are parties in certaine Regions. Their names are *Rosac*, *Thumbech*, *Gold*, *Vndereg*, *Morswill*, *Tablate*, *Gozow*, *Waldkilch*, *Romishorn*, *Summery*, *Mule*, *Hotischwill*, *Bernattzell*, *Lumiswill*, *Berg*, *Wittenbach*, *Rodtmont*, *Strubenzell*, *Geiserwald*, *Helbach*, *Bergknecht*, *Luzwill*, *Ziberwangen*, *Vnd Wiger*. These places are diuided into Castle-wicks or President-ships; and the Abbot sendeth Prouosts thether. Moreouer, he hath his *Ammans* and Officers, that hold meane Courts of Iustice in many places. Beside, he hath a higher Court of iustice, whether resort all appellations, and where causes of importance are decided. All kindes of duties, and such as are rendred to Princes, in these places are confirmd vpon him.

What possessions the Abbot hold in Turgow, and in diuers other parts of the country.

Beside this country, the county of *Toggenbourg* acknowledgeth (as Lord) the Abbot of S.*Gall*, who sendeth a Gouernour into the country, and a Iudge in criminall causes, which admitteth no further appeale. And yet they of *Toggenbourg* are Bourgesses of *Suits*, and of *Glaris*, & haue their priuiledges & franchises; by meanes whereof (among other things) they enioy the freedome of Religion. Also in the Bayliwick of *Rhinthall* which belongeth to the cantons: the Abbot holdeth law courts of iustice in many Villages, & keepeth Officers there for that purpose.

The Abbots power in the county of Toggenbourg

CHAP. X.

Of the Common-wealth in the Towne or Cittie of S.Gall.

SAint *Gall*, *Mulhouse*, and *Rotuille*, are numbred among the Imperial townes, and therfore haue (almost) the same manner of gouernement, as we haue already described vnto you. But because the cittizens of S.*Gall*, do hold something in particular; I will here set downe a summary description of their common-wealth.

Imperiall Townes.

In the first place then, the Towne of S. *Gall* is diuided into sixe Tribes or Companies, & the Society of Noblemen. The first & principal of these Tribes, is of weauers, because of the linnen cloth there wouen, which is made very faire, and in abounding quantity: which afterward is sold in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spaine*, *Bohemia*, and *Poland*, greatly enriching the inhabitants that dwell in S. *Gall*, and ma-

Sixe Tribes or Companies in S.Gall.

The first tribe is of weauers.

Two councels in S.Gall.

king the Towne much renowned. It hath two councels, according to other towns, to wit, the great and the lesse. The lesse is composed of foure and twenty, and namely first of all, twelue *Zunfftmasters*. Each Tribe, Colledge, or Company, hath three Masters, which gouerne the company a yeare, turne by turne: but there are no more then two, which enter into the lesser councell; the first is of the new, the second of the olde. The thirteenth *Zunfftmaster*, is the first of the eleuen, which are elected out of each Tribe, to be of the great councell.

Twelue masters.

The election of the Zunfftmasters.

The *Zunfftmasters* are elected by secret voyce in their Tribes, and are confirmed by the lesser councell. Euery yeare, the councell and officers of iustice, are elected about mid-Iune, and mid-December. Beside the *Zunfftmasters*, nine other Senatours do assist in the lesser councell, and are chosen as well in the company of Noblemen, as in the other companies. The three Consuls (with them) make the number of foure and twenty councellers: For there are three Consuls in S. *Gall*, the first is in charge; the second is called olde Consull, for hauing gouerned in the very neerest yeare before; and the third presideth in iudgement for criminall causes, and in other places he is called, Prouost of the Empire, Reychuogt. The councell is elected the first Sunday of Aduent, not in the lesser councell, but in the generall, by secret voyce, *Mit derrun*: the Sub-consull and the *Zunfftmasters*, going then out of office, do collect the voyces.

Nine Senators.

Three Consuls, and how they gouerne.

Election of the Councell.

The great Councell, in what manner they are chosen, and what order they obserue.

The great councell is composed of threescore and sixe, to wit, twelue of each company: whereby there are ninety persons in the great and lesser councels. After the election of the Consuls and the councell, the ordinances of the Towne are read in this assembly: whereon the Consull and the new councell do deliberate. Then they go (by two and two together) to the great Temple or Church, named S. *Laurence*, where all the cittizens meete, and after reading of the lawes and ordinances, the Consull sweareth first to obserue them, and afterward, receiueth of the councell and whole assembly, the same oath. This done, the morrow after christmas day, and the day following, the *Zunfftmasters*, and the other eleuen Seigneurs of the lesser councell, do meete together in the Towne-house, and elect the Sub-consull, whom they call *Vnderburgermaster*. His charge is to take order for the watch of the Towne, and to appoint Tutors and Ouerseers for Widdowes & Orphanes, and also to examine their accounts.

The election of the Sub-Consull or Vnderburgermaster.

Euery weeke, the lesser councell do ordinarily meete together twice, on Tuesday and Thursday; except those dayes be Festiuals, or haue Fayres. Also the Thursday before Lent, which they call the mad Thursday, Den Unsinnigen Donstag: because once, and on that day, the people mutined against the councell, by meanes whereof, it was ordained, that (frō thence forward) there should be no more assemblies held, as on ẏ day. The lesser councell manageth the Townes affaires, decideth ciuill causes, and giueth sentence concerning inheritances and willes: but medleth with no criminall suites, nor differences about Scedules, Obligations and iniuries.

When the lesser councell do assemble together.

The mad Thursday.

The office of the lesser councell.

The great councell meeteth together fiue times euery yeare. First, the morrow after christmas day, when they elect and confirme the new Magistrates. Secondly, in mid-Lent, to elect and confirme the Master of the Hospitall. Thirdly, the Friday before S. *Bartholmewes* day, being the foure and twentieth day of August, whē they establish the Masters of Halles, and consider on the tolles and taxes at the Gates. Fourthly, and fiftly, before the Fayres which they keepe, on the morrow after Ascension day, and the day of S. *Gall*; and then they consult on the conseruation, and course of Courts for the Fayre.

The fiue meetings of the great Councell euery yeare.

Extraordinary meetings of the great Councell.

The great councell also doth sometimes extraordinarily meete when they are to discourse on matters, whereof the councell ought to haue knowledge, as concerning sentences in criminall suites. Then the Prouost of the Empire sitteth President, and demandeth each case: this is done in the Towne-house, and the doores kept close. The lesser councell electeth the Prouost, and giueth him power to iudge. Afterward, the great councell decideth the appellations made vnto him, and receiueth such strangers as desire to be Bourgesses.

Election of the Prouost by the lesser Councell.

But this is done more often, in the ordinary assemblies of the great councell,

and

and then also they conclude there on many appeales. Sometimes the lesser councell sendeth affaires of importance to the great councell, to bee considered on.

The three meetings of the Councell generall of all the people, and their appointed times

Euery yeare, the councell generall of all the people, is assembled three times, about publike affaires. First, to elect the Consull. Secondly, the morrow after Christmas day, to take oath of the new Consull, and to binde him to obey the Magistrates. And thirdly, in the Moneth of August, about S. *Bartholmewes* day, after that the ordinance for tolles and taxes is agreed vppon, to heare the Lecture, which is made before all. Moreouer, the lawes and statutes of the Towne are distributed into three parts; one part whereof is deliuered to the people, in each of these three assemblies.

The cheefest Court of Iustice and authority thereof.

The principall and cheefest Court of iustice, is that of fiue; who are the Consull, the Sub-Consull or Lieutenant, one of the new **Zunfftmasters**, and two of the new councell. They iudge in differences concerning borrowed monies, things laid to pawne, debts that haue no certaine time prefixed, wages that are due, suites concerning victuals, iniuries, and fines. They sit on the Wednesday, or Friday, and there is no appeale from their sentence; neuertheless, they may send backe difficult causes, and of importance, to the lesser councell.

The Court of Iustice, called the Towne or Citty Court, and what Officers belong thereto.

Next to this, there is the Towne court of iustice, **Das Stattgricht**, composed of twelue Assistants, chosen out of the Noble mens companie, and out of the other companies: so that the one is of **Zunfftmasters**, and the other of the people. The cheefe Officer of this court is called **Statamman**, Maior of the citty, and is elected with the other Magistrates, about Christmas day, and is confirmed by the great councell. As for the Assistants, they are changed twice euery yeare, and elected by the great councell, on one of the feast dayes of christmas, & by the lesser councell, about S. *Iohn Baptists* day, in the Moneth of Iune. These Iudges take knowledge of debtes, barterings, and yearely rents, although the summes bee great. They are called together by tolling the Bell, and assemble in the Towne-house on Monday in euery weeke, except it bee a Feast day, or that all the councell doe meete together, for then they refetre those causes till Wednesday. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser councell, prouided, that the suite be of no lesse moment then an hundred Sols, or Shillings: and if the appeallant loseth his cause, he is condemned in a fine to the Iudges.

What causes they deale withall when they sit in Courts.

Of the Consistory Court, and Iudges thereto belonging.

The consistory court is composed of eight Iudges, whereof foure are Ministers of the Church, or some other men of learning: next, two councellers of the lesser councel, and two of the great. There sitteth another Seigneur of the lesser councell, as President, who questioneth the causes: and if there be as many voices on the one side, as on the other, hee reduceth both parties to such a course, as hee conceiueth to be iust, and then sentence is giuen accordingly. The consistory censureth matters of marriage, and of diuorces, and no appealing is permitted from sentence. But if there happen any inuolued or entangled variance, or if some colour of pollicy be mixed with the case of marriage; then cause and all, is sent to the councell, where the deciding is suspended, vntill the councell, and some other learned men, haue aduisedly considered thereon.

Concerning intricate and cumbersome cases.

Of publike estates, charges & offices.

As for publike Offices, estates, and charges, this common-wealth is therein gouerned, as the other are; hauing Treasurers, Masters of Halles, Receiuers, and Administrators at the Gates, for customs, tolles, and taxations, *Voyers*, &c. Such as hold these places, doe render their accounts, first to the **Zunfftmasters**, next to the lesser, and lastly to the great councell, on the morrow after christmas day. Hauing giuen vp their accounts, the lesse and great councell do elect new officers, or reconfirme the olde: and it is openly read, what the charge is of each one of them in particular, and afterward, in presence of the councell, they sweare to discharge their duty faithfully. But when many are established in one and the same charge, then such rules as they are to follow, are giuen them in writing.

New Officers chosen, or the olde admitted againe.

Linnen cloth the only main trading of S. Gall.

And because the very greatest trading of S. *Gall*, consisteth in linnen cloth, and that not onely the people of the towne, but them also in most part of the Villages round about, doe maintaine their liues therby; the councell is diligent and

Viewers and Ouerſeers for the goodneſſe or badneſſe of linnen cloth.

carefull, for well ordering all things in that reſpect,and for the auoyding of fraud and deceit. Firſt, therefore, ſo ſoone as the weauer hath finiſhed a peece of cloth, there are three expert ſworne Viſiters or Ouerſeers,that come to looke vpon it.and according as it is good,or indiffrent, they ſet on ſuch and ſuch markes. If it appeare to be bad and naught, they ſend it to the **Zunfftmaſter** of the weauers,and to the other eleuen **Zunfftmaſters**; who condemne the workman in a fine, or cut the whole peece into ſome portions, of eight Elles in length each one, or elſe through the midſt,or if it bee worth nothing, they burne it openly. This view and viſitation is done daily, and there is a Market of linnen cloth,which hath certaine Lawes,for the obſeruation whereof, they that deale in ſuch Merchandize are ſtrictly bound.

A Market of linnen cloth onely.

What is done after approbat on of the cloths goodneſſe.

After that the cloth hath beene ſeene and approoued; the ſworne Meaſurers do both Ell it,and marke it. The Meaſurers haue ſome other ſworne men of the Myſtery,to be their adiuncts;and the Merchants haue with them the Ouer-ſeers of the meaſuring. They call them **Den reiff**, meaſurers of linnen cloth, which are of diuers lengths: but a whole peece conſiſteth of 134. Elles, and may not be of any greater length. There is another view made at the whitſters, wher the cloth is thickened and whited. Theſe Viewers are called **Die wyſſen Schower.** They looke that the clothes haue their requiſite whiteneſſe,and whether they ſuſtaine any harme in the thickning: and according as they finde, they marke, or condemne the whitſter in a fine. Likewiſe there are certaine Merchants and Weauers,that viſite the whitſters houſes and grounds, to ſee if all things bee fitting and conuenient there: whether they haue ſufficiency of wood and aſhes, that none may be wronged by delay. Euery yeare the Maſters whitſters take newly their oaths, to doe their duties as becommeth them.

Viewers of the whiting of cloth,& how they are thickened.

Linnen cloth reputed fit to be died in colours,& how they deale therein.

As for the clothes which the Viewers (whom they vſually tearme **Blaw vnd Schwartz gſchower**) thinke fit to ſend to the Diars: the cutters of linnen cloth, named **Lynwathſchnyder**, do cut them iuſt in the midſt, and there are other committees, to regard that they haue their iuſt meaſure. After they are dyed into colours blew or blacke, if the Ouerſeers finde the dying to bee well taken, they marke the peece, and when they haue plained and ſmoothed it with a Rowler; others come to approue it valuable, and they ſet on the Seale. Contrariwiſe, if it be ſpoyled and viciate in the dying: they cut it,or dip it againe, if it may bee done, and the Plainer and Diar are condemned in ſome fine. All theſe things aboue named, are very carefully obſerued, and if any dare do otherwiſe,hee is ſeuerely puniſhed. For the Towne or Citty of S. *Gall* hath this priuiledge, to condemne in criminall ſuite; to fetch men out of places of refuge, and to puniſh them that vſe any fraud, in weauing, marking, ſealing, dying, plaining, or miſuſing any Linnen clothes.

Penalty for cloth ſpoyled in dying.

The priuiledg belonging to S.Gall.

Something likewiſe muſt needs bee ſaid,what order they of S.*Gall* take, to auoid the inconueniences of fire: becauſe they hauing beene heeretofore much endamaged thereby,it hath made them (ſuruiuing) to be the more prouident. Euery euening, for the ſpace of a quarter of an houre,there is a Bell rung, and it is called **Die Feurglocken**,the Fire-Bell: which admoniſheth euery one, to looke to the hearths of their Chimnies, for feare leſte fire ſhold take in any part. Then are there two **Zunfftmaſters**, that foure times yearely do viſite the hearths, furnaces, & chimnies in all the houſes; and thereupon are called **Die Feurgſchower**, Viſiters for fire. They regard alſo, what Armes and prouiſion of foode the Bourgeſſes haue: and whether they be prouided and furniſhed, according to the ordinances of the Seigneury.

What prouiſion they make againſt the inconueniences of fire,

Viſiters for fire.

Beſide, if there riſe any impetuous windes,or any rough ſtormes or tempeſts happen(beſide the ordinary Captaines of the watch,whom they call **Die Wachtbieter**) there are two other, named Maſters of the watch, **Die Wachtmaſter**, who take with them two men of euery Tribe,well appointed, and goe with the Captaines of the watch, to walke the round through all the ſtreetes of the Citty,to preuent the dangerous accidents of fire.

Againſt troubleſom winds and tempeſts.

Captaines of the Watch.

Euery night,two and thirty men keepe watch on the Towers and Walles, and in other places of the Citty, beeing appointed as Sentinels, by the cheefe **Zunfftmaſter**,with the Captaines of the watch.

If

tailes giuen, and victories wonne by the *Switzers*, against the Duke of *Bourgongne*, at *Granson*, and at *Morat*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Commonwealth of those Cantons that haue neither Cities nor Towns, but dwell onely in Villages.

The author distinguisheth the Cantons according to their qualities of gouernmēt & situation.

HItherto we haue discoursed on two formes of Commion-wealths, concerned in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, that haue Cities and Townes. There remaineth now a third, which is of those Cantons that haue no Townes, but make their abode in Villages, and for that cause are called, **Die Laender.** There are sixe of them, to wit, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderuald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*. *Zug* indeede is a towne, & hath her Officers in the towne, but the soueraignty of the Canton appertaineth to them that dwell in the lands of the Canton, with them of the towne, and are Lords as well the one as other. In all these Cantons, the cheefe of the publike councell, is tearmed **Amman**, which signifieth a man in office and authority, and that name is attributed to all publike Officers. So that Abbots, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, do call their Iudges, Receiuers, and other such like Officers, **Ammans.**

Amman is held as a Maior or Bourgomaster among the Switzers.

As the Townes are diuided or parted, by Companies and Colledges of Artezans, or Tradesmen; so the Cantons are distributed into certaine parts and portions.

CHAP. VIII.

Of all the sixe Cantons forenamed, which in this ensuing Chapter we will handle together, according to their seuerall rights & iurisdictions.

The Cantons diuided into certaine portions.

THE whole country of *Vri* is diuided into ten parts, which by them are called **Gnoszaminen**, as if a man would say, Participations. It may be in this respect, because they are all partakers in pasturages, goods, honours, and publike charges, and that from those ten parts onely, they are summoned and called, to be present at those assemblies which are yearely made.

The diuision of Suits.

The Country of *Suits* is diuided into sixe parts, which they call quarters. Because the country (heeretofore) was distributed into foure portions: but the people coming to encrease greatly, they made a new partage into sixe portions, which neuertheless do reteine the ancient name.

Vnderuald diuided in the midst.

As for the Country of *Vnderuald*, there is a Forest that diuideth it in the middest: and therfore the diuision is thus made to them that dwell aboue and beneathe the Forest. The whole Country taketh name of that part which is beneath the Forest: for **Underualden** is as much to say, as beneathe or vnder the wood. In elder times, *Stants*, a principall Village beneathe the Forest, and neere to the Lake, was the prime and cheefe place of the country, and the people were called, inhabitants of the Valley of *Stants*. But now adayes, because the word *Vnderuald* is taken for the whole country, the *Switzers* haue added these words, aboue and beneathe the wood, **Underualden ob vnd nidt dem kernwald.**

Of the name.

Stants a principall village.

The partition of Zug, the Towne & the Villages.

Now as concerning them of *Zug*, we haue said already, that they are diuided in two parts; the one is the Towne it selfe, the other the Villages round about, comprehended vnder three assemblies, to wit, the Mountaine, the Vale *Egeria*, and *Bara*, a Parish very neere to the Towne.

The diuision of Glaris.

Glaris is diuided into fifteene parts, which they tearme **Tagwan.** The word signifieth the work of a day, and as much distance or spaciousnesse of ground, as a man can plow in a day. It may be, that these parts were called Iournals, or day-labours: because euery one prepareth & ordereth the way in his quarter, and each one knoweth where he is to labour.

The orders or proportions belonging to Appenzell.

The country of *Appenzell* is parted into twelue orders or portions, which they call **Raden**, whereof those sixe conioyned to the Village of *Appenzell*, they name them the orders within, and anciently were subiects to the Abbot of S. *Gall*. The other sixe are called the orders without: to wit; out of the Abbots Seigneury,

The estate & condition of the common-wealth of Coire.

are enclosed in the same walles: euen so are they counted but for one Comminalty, and the other twenty reduced into ten, make vp ten great Comminalties. The citty (for so we will call it) of *Coire*, hath a common-wealth apart by it selfe, like (wāting but little) to that of *Zurich*, and to other gouernments of the same condition. For first of all, the cittizens are wholly diuided into fiue companies, from each of which are chosen fourteene men, who are of the great councell publike: so that the great councell and generall, is composed of seuenty. From these seuenty men, are chosen fiue of each company, for the lesser councell: to whom are ioyned the fiue **Zunfftmasters** of the precedent yeare, whereby the lesser councell hath thirty councellers, whereof fifteene called Senatours, gouerne the common-wealth.

The great councell of seauenty.

The lesser councell of thirty

Two Consuls.

In the councell there are two Consuls, who are Presidents (turne by turne) a whole yeare. The councell and the Officers of iustice, are yearely elected on the eleuenth of Nouember, being the day of S. *Martin*. The thirty of the lesser councell do iudge in criminall causes, and the Gouernor or Prouost sitteth then as President, remaining in that charge a yeare: at the ende whereof, another taketh his place, and they two are (in this Office) as two Consuls. Next, there is a Court of iustice belonging to the Lieutenant, who hath fifteene Assistants, to witte, the fiue **Zunfftmasters**, and ten from the thirty of the lesser councell. This Court taketh knowledge of ciuill causes, and pecuniary actions concerning debtes: there is appeale from them to the lesser councell, who doe decide also matrimoniall matters.

The Gouernour or Prouost President

The Lieutenants Court of Iustice, and his Assistants.

Of the second Comminalty.

The second Comminalty, which wee should count for the third, because *Coire* takes it selfe for two, is named **Die vier Doerffer**, the foure Villages. 4. *Bergon*. 5. *Tieffencasten*. 6. *Stalla*. 7. *Trintzen*, with *Reamps* and other Villages, which with *Tieffencasten*, make one iurisdiction, where the Bayliffe of *Reamps* iudgeth ciuill and criminall causes. 8. *Vatz* the high, where sometimes dwelt the Barons of *Vatz*: this Comminalty is ioyned with the fourth. 9. *Furstnow*. 10. *Ortenstein* in *Tumlesch*. 11. *Sinnada*. 12. *Zutz*: these two are in *Engadin* the high, and make one of the great comminalties. 13. *Ardetie*. 14. *Scultine*. 15. *Remuss*: which with two other small comminalties, maketh one of the great. 16. *Bergell* aboue the Port. 17. *Bergell* vnder the Port. 18. *Pesclaw*, or *Postlaaf*. 19. *Brusch*, which is ioyned with *Postlaaf*, and maketh one of the eleuen great Comminalties. 20. *Munstertall*. 21. *Mals*. Each Comminalty hath his *Ammans*, *Podestats*, and vnder-Officers as they tearme them in least authority, vnder whom they are maintained in liberty.

These Comminalties are heere counted as they stand in the Record.

The third League tearmeth it selfe the League of Iurisdictions, or the league of Rights. The first and principall of the ten, is called *Tafaas*, in regard of a Village so named, where the house of the League is, and where the dayes meetings for the ten Comminalties are held. 2. *Beelfort*, or *Aluanuw*. 3. *Churwalden*. 4. *Langwiss*. 5. S. *Peter de Schanfik*. 6. The little Abbey in *Brettigow*. 7. *Ienats*, or *Castelser*. 8. *Schiers*. These eight iurisdictions doe acknowledge the Arch-Duke of *Austria* to be their Soueraigne. Anciently, the Barons of *Vatz* were Lords thereof: but all their race fayling, the Counts of *Toggenbourg* succeeded them. And after them, the Counts of *Amat*, whereof one being named *Gaudentius*, dying in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, eighty nine, left these eight iurisdictions to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*.

The League of Iurisdictions, or of Rights.

The house of the League for their meetings.

How they came to the Duke of Austria.

The Arch-Duke established a Gouernor there, which to this day is chosen among the *Grisons*. The Gouernor dwelleth at *Castelser*; and presideth in sentence of criminall causes: he manageth and conserueth the other rights of the Arch Duke, who hath not the same right and equall authority ouer the eight iurisdictions: but each of them enioyeth his priuiledges & particular customes, the instruments and charters whereof are kept at *Tafaas*. The first and fourth iurisdiction haue great priuiledges and immunities, farre beyond the other.

The Arch-Dukes authority not absolute there in euery part.

The ninth Iurisdiction is called *Malans*, by reason of a Village so named, betweene the Riuer of *Lanquart*, & Mount * *Rhætica* towards the South.

* A high Hill by Rhætia.

The tenth is named *Meyenfeld*. These two last did belong sometimes to the Barons of *Vatz*, afterward to the Counts of *Toggenbourg*; then they fell vnto *Wolfhard de Brandis*, in respect of his Wife, who was of the house of *Werdenberg*. Thē they

The addition of the third league to the two other.

they becam ioyned (with the other eight Iurisdictions) to the two Leagues of *Grisons*, and made the third; reseruing to the Lords of *Brandis*, the right iustly to them appertaining. Afterwardes, these three leagues together bought these Iurisdictions, and sent a Gouernor thither, who dwelt in the castle of *Meyenfeld*, and sate President to iudge in criminall suites: he condemned men in fines, and to death, & gathered the tolles, and other publike reuennewes. The ten Iurisdictions allyed themselues together, in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, thirty six, conditionally, to succour one another, & be abiding in all things (iust and reasonable) against enemies, repelling al wrongs that should be offered to any of them, & procure the peaceable enioying of their liberties. Also, all rights and duties appertaining to the Lords, they should be duly rendred, they permitting them to possesse their franchises and priuiledges: all the rest beeing carefull and prouident to preserue the good and benefit of one another.

The Iurisdictions bought by the three Leagues.

The ten Iurisdictions ally themselues together faithfully.

In the same yeare, or the next following, these Iurisdictions made perpetuall alliance with the two other Leagues, and so the three leagues became ioyned as in one body, the particular parts whereof haue bene already mentioned. But in our numbering and setting them downe, we haue rather followed the situation of the place, then the ranke which they holde in the dayes of assemblies, wherin notwithstanding are many opinions: & therefore I will describe them heere, according to the comminalties of the two first leagues, & as they are comprized in their alliance with the Switzers. The Comminalties of the *Grise* league, are the vally of *Lugnitz*, *Ylants*, *Oberſachs*, *Walterſpurg*, *Laax*, *Siniſs*, and other places about the Woods, *Flims*, *Schewis*, *Trimmis*, *Retzuns*, *Hemtenberg* and *Tuſis*, *Schamps*, *Rhinuald*, *Maſax* and *Rufflee*, *Safien*, *Thannen*, *Schopine*, *Fals*. The Comminaltics of the league of *Cade*, are in order as they followe, *Coire*, *Furſtnow*, the foure villages descending on *Aſpremont*, *Vatz* the high, *Reamps*, *Tieffencasten*, *Gryfenſtein*, *Beuio* or *Stalla*, *Auers*, *Bergel* aboue and belowe the Port, *Zutz*, *Sũmada*, *Poſtlaaf*, *Steinſperg*, *Schuls*, *Remuſſ*, *Munſtertal*, *Mals*, *Galſen*, and *Schantzen*. As for the ten Iurisdictions, I vnderstand their order thus. *Tafaas*, the three Iurisdictions of *Brettigow*, *Beelfort* or *Aluanuw*, *Chuwalden*, *S. Pierre*, *Langwiſz*, *Malans* and *Meyenfeld*. I know very well, that some doe name these Comminalties otherwise, but that importeth nothing, because in each Comminaltie there are many times notable villages, so that the Comminalty sometime takes his name of one, and sometimes of another. For mine owne part, I haue named the principall places of the Comminalties.

The 3. leagues vnited all together in a perpetuall allionce.

The Author proceedeth to a more significant expression of the Comminalties, in their due places and order.

He leaueth his labour herein so due consideration.

Thus then there are three leagues of the *Grisons*, containing fifty Comminalties, which (neuertheleſſe) doe make but one Commonwealth. For, although many of the Comminalty haue their Iudges lawes, customes, & iustice, as wel ciuill as criminall; yet notwithstanding, the Soueraignty is with the councel of the three leagues (which they name in theyr Language, **Ein pundts tag**) & dayes of meeting or assemblies of Ambassadors, from each comminalty of the *Grisons*: whether some of them send two Ambassadours, others but one onely. If the councell bee ordinary, the Grise League sendeth thether 28. Ambassadors or councellors; that of *Cade* 2 . and from the Iurisdictions, 14. If either one or other doe send a greater number, they haue no voyces there, but according to the aboue-named account. Sometimes also, the councell general of the whole Nation (which was made no long time since) do meet together: but that is very rarely.

Fifty Comminalties in the 3. leagues

The Councel of the three Leagues of the Grisons, and sending their Ambassadors thither.

The fore-mentioned councell, manageth the affayres of the common-wealth: yet in such sort, that the councellers or Ambassadors deale not according vnto their owne best seeming, but as the commaunds and remembrances from theyr comminalties, and which they bring with them in writing on the dayes do direct them, and whereto they conforme their resolutions, which passeth by plurality of voices. The councel of the *Grisons* is (almost) like to that of the Switzers: for there they treate on the selfesame things which concerne the good of the vvhole countrey; of peace, of warre, of alliances, of Ambassages, lawes and ordinances, & causes of appeales from the Baylywickes. There are three places appointed for thē to sitte in councel, to wit, *Ylants* in the *Grise* league, *Coire* in the league of *Cade*, and

The Ambassadors are to be guided by their directions.

& *Tafaas* in that of the ten Iurisdictions. But oftenest the dayes are held at *Coire* at times of their affaires, which happeneth three times in the yeare: about the sixe and twenty day of Ianuary, the beginning of Iune, and the eleuenth day of Nouember.

Another principal Councel or Senate for them al.

They haue another Councell or Senate, which they name **Einbytag**: whē the principal Magistrates onely, and, as being the cheefe of the three Leagues, do assemble themselues together. These men, are the Iudge-Prouinciall for the Grise-League; the Councel of *Coire* for the league of *Cade*, and the **Amman** of *Tafaas*, for the League of the tenne Iurisdictions. At all times, and as often as neede requireth, to prouide for the publique affayres; and it appeareth not conuenient, to call all the Deputies of the countrey together; then those 3. Principals do meete, with some of the cheefest of the three Leagues. But they cannot determine absolutely, onely they referre separately vnto the Comminalties of the three Leagues, whatsoeuer hath beene discust among the Councellers, and that which is approoued by plurality of voyces, is receyued of all. There is appeal also from the councel, to the Comminalties, and then matters are propounded in the Comminalties, whose sentences are set downe in writing: and being conferred on, they are gathered to a resolution and an arrest, by the pluralitie of Voyces.

The Principals meete together when the other need not.

Appeale from the Councel to the Comminalties.

Concerning iudgments in publike causes

As concerning iudgements in criminal causes: the Grisons doe therein proceede like the Switzers. If there happen any difference among the three Leagues, three or foure Iudges must bee chosen on eyther side, and discharged of the Oathe which bindeth them to their league. They are to accord the difference by kind composition, or iudge according to theyr consciences. If the voyces fal out equall: an Arbitratour must bee chosen by voyces and common suffrages of the three Leagues. If two Leagues bee in suite, they must referre themselues to the third, who shal deliuer vnto both the parties, the right whereby they are to bee quieted. If it chaunce betweene two Comminalties of one and the same League: they must take (as Iudge) the verie neerest comminalty or Iurisdiction belonging to the same League. But when the Comminalties of diuers Leagues are at difference: the councel of the three Leagues, namely the Iudges, are to prouide therefore.

When variances happen amongst the Leagues, how they are then to behaue themselues.

When one Comminalty, or some particular person therein, hath processe and suite against the three Leagues, or any one of them; two or three Iudges of each League are then to be chosen for it. And when two Leagues are at difference against the other, sixe Iudges of the two Leagues, and sixe of the other alone, are to bee appointed. If they cannot conclude the strife; an arbitratour must bee chosen, by plurality of voyces of the three Leagues. These iudgements are to be deliuered first at Ylantz, nexte at *Coire*: a second time againe at Ylantz, then againe at *Coire*, and at *Tafaas* the last of all.

When one Comminaltie hath suite against the 3. Leagues.

The places appointed for iudgements.

It would much weary mee, if I should describe at large the Statutes & customes of the *Grisons*: notwithstanding, I shall not greatly displease or offend the Reader if heere I glance at a worde or two. First then, it is agreed vppon betweene them, by the consent and aduice of the vvhole councel, that neyther the Byshoppe of *Coire*, or any of the Eccleasiastical Order: shal elect or establish any ciuile Magistrate, nor aduance a Gouernor or Amman, for any Comminaltie or Iurisdiction whatsoeuer; but that the people of the Grisons (by theyr suffrages onely) shal elect and choose theyr owne Magistrates.

Concerning som statutes & customs amōg the Grisons.

For election of Magistrates

Such as haue obtayned any Offices of the Byshoppe, may not be accepted into councel, so long as they do remaine in his seruice.

For Ministers of the church.

As concerning the Ministers of the Church, euery Parish electeth their owne: may depose them, pay them their Wages, which are too little in many places.

For admission to Councel.

Thoroughout the countrey of the *Grisons*, no smal Tythes are payed, and as for the great, they pay but the fifteenth part, and giue nothing in the fielde, but they giue it in the house, and alwayes after the haruests both for their Grapes and corne.

For paying of Tythes.

All they that are of a comminaltie, may fish in al the Riuers and Pondes, and hunt both Beasts, and flye Fowles freely, within

For Fishing, hunting, and Fowling.

For weight and measure.

within their sayd Comminalty.

Thoroughout all the countries, one weight and measure of things licquid and dry, is to be vsed, to wit, the weight and measure of *Coire*. And it is not lawful for the Bourgesses of *Coire* to alter any thing therein, without the consent of the other Leagues.

Of their Gouernmenrs & Baylywickes, and how they stand in the Grisons country.

For our conclusion, we are to speak of Gouernments and Bayliwickes, wherein the three Leagues of the *Grisons* do command equally. On this side the Alps nere to *Coire*, they send a Gouernor to *Meyenfeld* and to *Melantz*. On the other side the Alpes beneath *Bergel*, toward the riuer of *Maire*, the Gouernment or Baylywick of *Plurs* first presenteth it self, which is a great village in the field neighbouring to the Alpes, and on the bankes of *Maire* riuer, and euen as sightly to bee lookt on, as if it were a good Towne. In this place, there are digged infinite Chauderons of Rocke-stone coales, which serue as fewell for the kitchin; and it is faithfully reported, that the nature of this stone-coale is such, as when Fish commeth to boyling, they make them mount and leape out of the kettle into the fire; these coales are very abundantly sold in *Italy*. All the villages round about, are answerable and like to *Plurs*, where the Gouernour (whom they terme Podstat) decideth causes, & is soueraigne in that place in name of the *Grisons*, and deputed by them.

Coales called stone or rock-coales in wonderful plenty.

Next is the Towne and county of *Clauenna*, whereon *Plurs* in elder times depended. *Clauenna* is a Towne aboue the Lake of *Coma*, about fiue miles, as *Antonius* obserueth it also, in his booke of the wayes. The *Grisons* call the Gouernor of *Clauenna*, Commissary: & he is the most apparant, next to him of *Sondria*. The third more spacious and noble gouernement is that of the vale *Telina*, famous for the exeellent wine, which there is made in extraordinary plenty, and is thence transported into Switzerland and Germanie. The whole vale of *Telina*, is diuided into sixe Bayliwickes. The first is that of *Bormia* a Towne aboue the valley; towardes the Mountaine of *Brauli*: this Bayliwick hath many priuiledges and franchises, farre beyond the other. The second is the towne of *Tiran*. The third is *Tel*, wherof (as some thinke) the vale *Telina* first tooke name. It is a Towne seated in a very high place, & appearing to be so naturally: & it is counted to be the best fortresse of all the Prouince. *Sondria*, the most renowned town of all the vale *Telina*, maketh the fourth Baylywicke. It is the most rich & powerfull among all the rest, and he that is Gonernor thereof, is called Captain, because ouer and beside the Bayliwicke, hee hath an eye to the whole valley when it is chief in Armes. He hath his Lieutenant, who iudgeth with him the ciuil causes of the the Bayliwicke. Hee iudgeth also the criminal matters of all the vally, hauing lawyers and learned men to his councel, and giuing sentence according to the Lawes and Statutes of the vale *Telina*: which ne(uertheless) may be moderated & made milder in the Bayliwicke by the *Podestats*. Beside all this, all causes may be appealed to the councel of the *Grisons* Signeuries, or to them that they haue ordained commisaries, and sent to iudge: or finally, to the couucel of the Comminalties, who haue the soueraigne power. The fift Bayliwicke is called *Morben*, and the sixt *Trahon*, which is last of al.

2.Tiran.
3.Tel.

4.Sondria.

The Gouernor of Sondri ais calld Captaine, and iudgeth in causes both ciuill and criminal for the whole vale.

5.Morben.
6.Trahon.

Appeal to the Seigneurs of the Grisons Councel.

This is the order of the Baylywickes of the vale *Telina*, yet some doe not set the Bailywick of *Bormia* in this ranke, but diuide the whole vale into three partes; whereof the first comprehendeth *Tiran* and *Tell*: *Sondria* maketh the second; and *Morben* and *Trahon* are the third. In electing the Bayliffes, they follow the order of the Leagues and Comminalties. As for example; if the *Grise* League establish a Captaine at *Sondria* for two yeeres, the League of *Cade* sends one thether for the two following years: at the end whereof, the League of the Iurisdictions sends one for two other yeares, this order is obserued in each League of the Comminalties. And sometimes the Comminalties, vvho should send a Bayliffe by their turn, vvould elect him only: but now the councel of the *Grisons* makes the election. The byshop of *Coire*, and the City, do stampe money. The Abbot of *Dissentis* hath the same priuiledge also, amongst many other.

Another order of diuiding the vale.

The manner of electing their Bayliffes

Coyning of money.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Commonwealth of the Valasians, or people of Valois.

The diuision of the country of Valais or Valois, the higher, & the lower.

THE whole countrey of *Valois* is diuided into two parts The higher *Valois* from the sourse or spring of the riuer of *Rhone*, so farre as the riuer of *Morsia*, which vniteth it selfe with *Rhone*, somewhat beneath *Sion*. This was the dwelling of the ancient *Viberines* and *Sedusians*. The lower *Valois*, is from the riuer of *Morsia*, so farre as Saint *Mauris*, and this was the countrey of the *Veragrians*.

Seuen Iurisdictions in the higher Valois

The higher *Valois* is diuided into 7 Iurisdictions, which they call *Dixaines*, wards, and Zenden in the *Alleman* tongue. I know not whence this worde is deriued, for it cannot produce the number often, because there are no more Iurisdictions. A friend of mine told me, that the worde intended so much, as Dioceses, because that euery Ward hath his Diocese or Iurisdiction, his Common-wealth, and priuiledges apart by it selfe. Others do hold that the word Zenden commeth of another word, signifying, an Hundred: as in the Lawes of *France*, the Offices of the Earledomes or Counties, the Vicariates and Hundreds are number; and in some places of *Germany*, they are called *Zendgraues*, the Iudges of some certaine Iurisdiction. But without standing so strictly on the words originall: wee may verie fitly tearme them Dioceses or Comminalties. So then, there are seuen Comminalties in the higher *Valois*, to wit, *Goms*, *Brighe*, *Vespie*, *Raron*, *Leuck*, *Siders*, and *Syon*. These seuen Comminalties haue thirty parishes. The lower *Valois* hath sixe Comminalties, which they cal *Banneries*: because each one hath his particular standard, and foure and twenty Parishes so numbred.

Hundreds or Bstonnies, or the account of so much land.

The names of the seuen Cominalties.

Six Banneries in the lower Valois.

Long warres betweene the Veragrians & Viberines.

The *Veragrians* or lower *Valasians*, had (in times past) long warre against the *Sedusians* and *Viberines*. In the end, after fourescore and thirteen yeares, they were ouercome and subiected; so that the *Sedusians* and *Viberines* ruined sixteene Castles, the old pittifull foundations whereof, are yet to be seene, and it is not lawful for any to builde them againe, for feare they should prooue hurtfull to the countries liberty. And therefore the higher *Valois* ouer-ruleth the lower, and sendeth Gouernors thether to iudge in causes, & manage the affayres of the State. The Byshop of *Syon* (whom some call Count & Gouernor of *Valois*) is Prince of the countrey. Hee is elected by common suffrages of the Chapter of *Syon*, and of the 7 *Dizaines* of higher *Valois*.

Higher Valois ruleth ouer the lower.

The Byshop of Sion Prince of Valois.

The Annales of *Valois* do declare, that *Charlemaigne* gaue the County and Gouernment of *Valois*, to *Theodosius*, Bishop of *Syon*, and to his successors: with power to beare a sword, in signe of ciuill Iurisdiction, and other priuiledges of Princes of the Empire. Because that Byshop (by reuelation of an Angel) had declared to *Charlemaigne*, that some secret sinne (I know not what) was forgiuen him. Howbeit, there are sufficient circumstances to call the county into suspition, as we haue already made more ample mention in our description of the country of *Valois*. Notwithstanding, it is certaine, that the Emperors which came after *Charlemaign*, accorded & confirmed the fore-named priuiledges to the byshops of *Syon*: namely, the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, then *Charles* the fift renewed & increased them willingly, at the request of *Mathew Shiner* Byshop and Cardinal of *Sion*, from whom he had deriued many good and gracefull seruices.

Charlemaign gaue the Gouernment of Valois to the Bishop of Syon.

The priuiledges of Valois confirmed by the Emperors

Afterward, the Byshop had another grace granted, that the next most excellent estate to his, should bee that of the captaine or Bayliffe of the whole country whom they vse to call Landts Hauptman. He iudgeth in ciuill causes, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeeres: being elected by the Byshop, and by the Ambassadours of the *Dizaines* or comminalties. Afterward, he is confirmed by publike approbation and consent of all the comminalties, which haue each one his Magistrate, whom they of *Goms*, *Raron*, and *Leuck*, call *Maire*, the others *Castillian*. He iudgeth all suites, especially them criminall, with the councellers which the comminalties giue him as assistants. There be *Ammans* also (who are so-

The Captain or Bayliffe of Valois, and his authority.

soueraigne Magistrates in the Cantons of *Switzerland*, but they of *Valois* are iudged inferiours, and haue *Maires* as theyr superiors.

The Councell of Valois, and their meetings and how farre theyr power extendeth.

Appeale may bee made from the sentence, which is giuen by the Iudges of a comminalty, to the councell of *Valois*, who are called **Den landts rath**; and according to the custome of theyr Ancestors, they assembled twice a yeare, in the months of March, and of December. At which times, two or three Deputies of each Village, do meete at *Syon*, in a Castle named *Maierin*. The Byshop assisteth there, and the Bayliffe cals for the causes, and then they treate on affayres of the Common-wealth, election of gouernors and publike Officers, & such as shal iudge in the last power, of causes that concerne appeale.

The Barons of Raron and their successors.

The Barons of *Raron*, were sometimes great Lordes in the countrey of *Valois*. Their successors were the Lords of *Chiuron*, who are Marshalles of the Bishoppricke of *Syon*, Vicount of *Syon*, and Stewards of *Valois*.

Of the Maze.

As for the *Maze*, which they tearme **Mutzen**, it is a particular inuention of the people of *Valois*, to oppose thēselues against the power of great and rich men. Wee haue made ample mention in our description of the country of *Valois*, and there declared, wherefore it was putte in practise, and how it began.

Of the Comminalties that are in the lower Valois.

We haue told you, that the Byshop & the seuen *Dizaines* of the higher *Valois*, hold the soueraignety of the whole country in their handes. The lower *Valois* is subiect to them, and is parted into sixe Comminalties, viz. *Gundes* nere to *Syon*, is the chiefe Castlewicke or comminaltie of lower *valois*. Heeretofore it appertayned to the Canton of *Berne*, but in thewar which the Switzers made on the Duke of *Sauoy*, in the yeare 1536. the Valasians did there recouer it, in exchange of another country. 2. *Ardon*, 3. *Sallion*, 4. *Entremont*, 5. *Martinach*, 6. the Towne of Saint *Mauris* in *Chablais*, where the mountains seeme as if they ioyned together. So that all *valois*, is shut or lockt vp by a Tower, & two gates (as it were) at both the endes of a bridge, vnder which the *Rhone* glydeth. In the yeare, 1475. the *valasians* brake down the wals and fortresses of the fore-named places, except that of Saint *Mauris*. Without the country of *valois*, the *valasians* possessed themselues of 3. Bayliwickes, during the warre of *Sauoye*: as namely, *Montey*, *Yuian*, and *Hochtall*. Neuertheleese, some few yeares after that they surrendred *Yuian* to *Emanuel Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, and retained both the other.

3. Baylywickes without Valois.

CHAP. XIII.

The Common-wealth of Bienna.

Bienna made allianee with the Bernians.

THE Towne of *Bienna* made perpetuall alliance with the Bernians, as wee haue already sayde: and it happened in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fifty two. Thirty yeares after, it contracted perpetuall Allyance with *Solleurre*; and in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and seuen, with *Fribourg*, so it became allyed with three cantons of the Switzers. It acknowledgeth as temporall Lord, the Byshop of *Basile*, because as concerning the Eccleasiasticall Iurisdiction, it is the Dioceese of *Lausanna*: but it is a long time, since it was no more subiect to the spirituall gouernement of the Bishop, as in like maner were the citizens of *Zurich* and *Berne*.

The Ecclesiastical Iurisdiction of Bienna.

The soueraign Magistrate of Bienna, & his authoritie in criminal causes.

Afterward, when it came to passe, that the Bernians got the possession of the Bishoppricke of *Lusanna*, they enfranchised *Bienna* of the Eccleasiasticall subiection. The Byshop of *Basile* is Lord thereof very peaceably, in temporall power, and establisheth the soueraign Magistrate, whom they call *Maire*: but hee is chosen out of the number of the Townes councellers, and the *Maire* giues oath to the councell, and they to him. Hee taketh knowledge (with the councell) of criminall causes; & sitteth as President in censuring them. The moitie of fines, amounting to aboue 3. *Liures Tournois*, apertaineth to the Byshop, with some tenths, and other reuennewes: but the ports, tolles, customs, and such like, belong to the Towne only, and not to the Bishop. For hee is not permitted to impose any charge whatsoeuer vpon the Bourgesses, nor to engage the Towne: but the Bourgesses are bound to goe

The Byshop imposeth no charges on the Bourgesses

The maner of the situation of Valois.

Saint Mauris onely spared.

The priuiledges giuen by Immer Ramſtein.

go in warre for the Byſhop, and at theyr owne expences, yet no further then a dayes iourney from the Towne. If hee would haue them march any further, hee is bound to pay their wages. Yearely, there is repetition made to the Councel, what priuiledges Byſhop *Immer Ramſtein* gaue to the Town, in the yeare one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore, & three. They of *Bienna* haue as ample priuiledges as in the greater *Baſile*.

The gouernement of the Common-wealth of Bienna.

The Common-wealth of *Bienna* is gouerned in maner following. All the Bourgeſſes are diuided into ſixe companies or brother-hoods: yet in ſuch order & carriage, as no one man whatſoeuer may ioyn himſelfe with two or more of the companies, who haue each one two Maſters, & a ſeruant attending. The Councell publike is choſen out of the number of theſe Bourgeſſes. The leſſer councel is compoſed of foure and twenty: and the greater, of thirty councellers. The election is made at the yeares ending, and at the beginning of the yeare following, theyr names are openly publiſht in the church. There is choiſe made of ſome Electours, out of the great and leſſer councell: who (in preſence of the cheefe Secretarie) do confirme the ancient Councellers, or elect new, if there be any ſuch need.

Bourgmaſter Preſident of the General Councel.

He that ſitteth Preſident in the councell generall, is called Bourgmaſter, and is elected by the great and leſſer councell. He is next in office to the *Maire*, & when they deliberate on affaires of the Common-wealth, and queſtion is vrged concerning ciuil caſes: the Maire and Officers to the Byſhop depart, and leaue the Bourgmaſter Preſident. Next to him are the Treaſurers, *Banderets*, *voyers*, or Surueyers, the Iudges of the Conſiſtory, the Hoſpitaliers, and others elected in publike charges, by the great and leſſer councell, who are not aduanced to ſuch Degrees, but as they are knowne apt and able. The Banderet onely, is choſen by all the people. Hee hath charge not onely of bearing the Towns banner; but alſo (with the Bourgmaſter) is protector of Schollers, taking care that they may haue diligent and faithfull Teachers and Ouerſeeers, and to take their accounts. The leſſer councel aſſembleth three times euery weeke, to wit, on Monday, Wedneſday, and Saturday; but if any man doe deſire to haue a cauſe extraordinarily decided, paying a Florin to the Maire, the councell ſhall be then aſſembled. *Bienna* hath no other particular Iuriſdiction, but the Councell iudgeth all cauſes ciuill and criminal.

Other officers of the Commonwealth.

The office of the Banderet.

Care for ſchollers.

The valley of S. Immer, and Seigneurie of Ergua.

They of *Bienna*, are Lords of the Valley of Saint *Immer*, for ſo likewiſe is the Seigneury of *Ærgua* called, and is diuided into many Comminalties, vvhich haue (each one) their Maire or Amman elected and confirmed euery yeare, in the moneths of May and September. But they of *Bienna* haue not any bayliffe, for the Comminalties haue their courtes of Iuſtice, and when the parties cannot bee agreed, the cauſe is ſent to the councel of the Towne, who ſend ſometimes aſſiſtants to helpe in the country pleadings, and to end their ſuits: but appeale may be made from their ſentences to the councel of the Towne. The inhabitants of this valley, do march in warre vnder the Standardes of *Bienna*.

Bienna hath no Bayliwick.

CHAP. XIIII.

The Common-wealthes of ſuch people as are gouerned in common by the Cantones of Switzerland. And firſt of all, of ſtipendary Townes.

The diuiſion of the ſtipendary Townes.

IN our former booke, we haue diſtributed the people gouernd in common, by the Cantons of Switzerland, into fiue ſtipendary Townes, and nine bayliwickes or Gouernements. Thoſe Townes haue their Magiſtrates & Councell by themſelues, to wit, a leſſer Councell compoſed of twelue, and a great, of forty Councellers, comprehending the twelue of the leſſer in the number. The cheefe of the councel is called Schultheſt, or *Auoyer*: hee is elected at *Bada*, by the leſſer and great councell.

Election made at Bada.

At *Bremgarten*, the ſixe firſt Cantons eſtabliſh one of the two *Auoyers*: who (notwithſtanding) is in number of the Bourgeſſes, onely of whome the other is elected.

At Bremgarte.

He

At Frawenfeld.

Hee of *Frawenfeld*, is elected by the Councell generall but in ſecret voyce. The Councell of theſe Townes doe elect Treaſurers, *Voyers*, and other Magiſtrats: for the Townes haue priuiledges, to prouide for publike charges, and haue likewiſe treaſuries, and good round ſums of ready gathered monies in them, for their condition and extendure, becauſe the cuſtomes, tolles, and taxes do belong vnto them. Neuertheleſſe, in the towne of *Bada*, which is the paſſage of Germany into France, the cuſtome belongeth to the towne; but the tolle for Merchandizes tranſported that way, appertaineth to the Cantons. The leſſer councell of theſe townes, prouide not onely for the townes affaires, but alſo do decide ſuites: for they haue no other Courts of iuſtice, except at *Frawenfeld*, & they haue likewiſe both ciuill and criminall iuriſdiction.

The priuiledges of the Townes,

The cuſtom at Bada is the Townes, but not the Tolles

Bremgarten commandeth ouer ſome Villages neighboring to the town, which they call the Bayliwicke of *Cella*. This country is in the gouernment of the free Prouince, appertaining to the Cantons: but it was engaged ſometimes to them of *Bremgarten*. When the Emperour *Sigiſmond* did put them of *Zurich* in poſſeſſion of the free Prouince, he gaue them priuiledge, to diſengadge the country: but they of *Bremgarten* entreated them, that in regard of the amity, which had til then continued betweene the two townes, they would leaue the country to them, which was eaſily granted them. Wherefore at that time, by the liberality of them of *Zurich*, who gaue it them by Letters: they of *Bremgarten* were put and confirmed in poſſeſsion of the country, in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred, and eighteene.

Concerning the Towne of Bremgarten.

Long emitie between Zurich & Bremgarten.

Neuertheleſſe, they of *Zurich* reſerued to themſelues the ſoueraignty, & the puniſhment of Malefactours deſeruing death. The yeare one thouſand, fiue hundred, twenty eight, a difference happened betweene them of Zurich and Bremgarten; to wit, about the cauſes of appeale, and to whom it belonged. The ſeuen Cantons ordained thereupon, that the Bayliwicke of *Cella*, might appeale to the councell of *Bremgarten*, and from them to Zurich: but as concerning ſuites mooued at *Bremgarten*, the appeale was to bee brought before the eight Cantons.

The reſeruation of Zurich

The ordination of the ſeauen Cantons.

The towne of *Frawenfeld*, beſide the councell apart by it ſelfe, hath an aſſembly of twelue Iudges, who decide ſuites among the Bourgeſſes, and country people in the Villages, that are vnder the townes iuriſdiction. But as for criminall cauſes, and variances touching inheritances, and ſuch like things; the knowledge of them belongeth vnto the councell. Theſe Iudges execute their arreſts, in condemning of certaine fines, and making ſeizure on the goods of condemned perſons. Appeale may bee made from them, to the ſeauen Cantons: but there is no appeale from the councels ſentence.

An aſſembly of xii. Iudges at Frawenfeld

No Appeale from the councels ſentence.

For the preſent, by permiſſion of the councell, the *Amman* of the country is cheefe of thoſe Iudges; but anciently, and about an hundred yeares ſince, it was to the Apparatour of the towne, and afterward to the Agent or Prouoſt of the Empire.

VVhen any Malefactour is to be condemned to death, the Iudges make choiſe (as pleaſeth themſelues) of twelue other men of the towne, or of the villages reforting thether; and then theſe foure and twenty men may condemne to death. *Frawenfeld* obtained this priuiledge of the Emperour *Sigiſmond*; and therefore they haue priſons purpoſely. From the time of the *Auſtrian* Princes, they hadde power to put criminall perſons to death; now adayes the Cantons conſerue and maintaine the rights to *Frawenfeld*: and although condemnation of death appertaineth to tenne Cantons, yet *Frawenfeld* ſtands excepted, which dependeth not, neither is ſubiect but to the ſeauen firſt Cantons, the priuiledges reſerued.

When any one is ſentenced to death

Frawenfeld ſubiect to the ſeuen firſt Cantons.

Moreouer, this Towne hath ſome particular rights, touching teſtaments and inheritances, and the Bourgeſſes may exact their debtes thorough all the country of *Turgow* (annuall reuennues excepted) according to the rights of Iuſtice of the Prouince, and may (without puniſhment) lodge ſuch as haue beene baniſhed by the lawes; but they cannot bee drawne into any ſtrange iuſtice, but the demander muſt come and pleade at *Frawenfeld*.

Particular rights belonging to Frawenfeld.

The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, hath

The Abbey of Auge the rich and priuiledges it hath at Frawenfeld.

some rightes at *Frawenfeld*, whereto the Bourgesses stand obliged, and(anciently) the most part of them wer subiects to the Abbey: but afterward, they enfranchised themselues from all charges of seruitude, and now adayes, before giuing any Oath vnto the Abbot, they receyue Letters from him, whereby hee promiseth them, not to sel, engage, nor alienate the rights which he hath at *Frawenfeld*, by reason of the Abbey; and besides, that hee will conserue and keepe all their ancient Priuiledges, Franchises, rights, and good customes.

The ancient power in time of warre.

Finally, in the times of war, anciently, the Seigneurie of *Frawenfeld* elected the Captaine, the Ambassador, the Ensigne, and other cheefe offices of warre: which all the countrey of *Turgow* followed, and tooke Oath to them. Also, the Standard of the Towne is adorned with Images of Saints, like to the Standardes of the Catholique Cantons, to wit, with a Crucifixe, and two crossed Keyes; and on the other side, is the picture of Iesus Christes face, as in a Linnen hand-kercher. But within some fewe yeares they of the Prouince of *Turgow* obtayned leaue, to haue their particular captaines and Standards. In meane while the Towne of *Frawenfeld*, and the places that are of her Iurisdiction, haue theyr Captaines, Ensigne-bearers, and their auncient Standards.

Turgow at liberty by it self.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Baylywickes or Gouernments.

The custome obserued in most part of the Cantons for their Baylywickes.

WE haue already formerly set downe, how many Baylywickes or Gouernements the Switzers haue, to what Cantons they appertaine, and how they becam Lords of them. The Cantons do send their Bayliffes turne by turne, and in the most part of the Cantons, the custome is; that the charge is giuen vnto one of the Councellers of the lesser councell. The Bayliffe continueth in his charge two yeares, and then giueth place to him that is sent by another Canton. They gouerne the Bayliwicks according vnto the Lawes and customes of the people: neuertheless, in the Baylywickes on this side the mountaines, the Bayliffe doth not iudge alone in criminal causes; but hath (as adiunctes or assistants) the Iudges of the Prouince; in regard whereof, they do call this course of Iustice, **Ein Landgricht.** They take knowledge of all suites of importance, and especially, those criminall, and giue sentence; Notwithstanding, the Bayliffe is soueraigne, for he sitteth President, and hath power to moderate the sentence.

The custome on this side the mountains

But in the Bayliwickes of *Italy*, or beyond the Mountaines, the bayliffes onely condemne to death: they may vvell call some learned men for councell, but those Councellers haue no power in the sentence. Finally, euery yeare about midde-Iune, they render an account of theyr administration; they on this side the mountaines, at *Bada*, they beyond, at *Lugano*; before the Deputies, which the twelue Cantons then send thither, and then they iudge the subiects causes of Appeale. If some straunge enemy make warre on the Switzers: all the Bayliwickes send theyr people, who march vnder their particular Standards, and euery bayliwicke ioyneth with the Canton, vnder whose power it is that yeare. As in the warre of *Bourgongne*, they of the baylywicke of *Turgow* serued the Canton of *Zurich*. But if there happen any ciuill warre in Switzerland, because the baylywicks do stand as much obliged to one Canton, as another: they are not bound to giue succor, if the most part of the Cantons do not commaund them.

The custome in the Bayly. wicks beyond the mountains

When some strange enemy warres on the Switzers.

In time of ciuill warre in Switzerland

CHAP. XVI.

Of Bada.

THE Gouernement or Baylywicke of *Bada*, is much more magnificent then the other, because the dayes meetings and assemblies of the Cantons are held there: for the bayliffe of *Bada* euermore helpeth there, demaunding for the causes in order, and sea-

sealeth with his Signet, such things as are written in the name of all the Councell. Moreouer, if the voyces be equall vppon either side: hee maketh that auayleable, where he ranketh himselfe, and by that meanes endeth all variance. This Bayliffe hath no authorities ouer the Towne of *Bada*, but ouer the Countie, which is diuided into many Villages and small Iurisdictions: where hee hath his Lieutenants and Officers, who hold their pleadings with Iudges of the Village in name of the Bayliffe; exact the Fines, and render him an account, and sometimes also himselfe is present in those Iurisdictions. But when there is question of condemning a Malefactor vnto death, foure and twenty Iudges of the whole Countie of *Bada*, meete together, and the Bayliffe electeth them: but the custome is, that after they haue beene once thus elected, they continue all their life time afterward in that charge, if some lawfull impeachment doe not preuent it: and when any one of them dyeth, or is dismissed, then the Bayliffe putteth another in his place. These Iudges, giue sentence according to the Lawes: neuertheless, the Bayliffe (who hath the soueraignty in his hand) may mittigate their sentence. Next to this estate of the Bayliffe, is hee that is called Secretary of all the Prouince: for, beside the dignity, hee hath profite, beecause all the Cantons serue him, so long as the dayes are kept. Moreouer and beside, hee hath a Lieutenant, who is cheefe of al the Officers belonging to the Bayliffe.

Many villages and Iurisdictions commanded by the Bayliffe.

In cases concerning life & death.

The Secretary of the whol Prouince.

The Bailywicke and Countie of *Bada*, hath two small Townes vnder it, the one named *Clingenow*, and the other, *Keyserstoull*; but the Byshop of *Constance* sendeth Bayliffes thether, and hee of *Bada* hath nothing to looke to there, saue onely, the acknowledgement of causes criminall appertaineth to him, and the people of those places, are comprehended with the rest of the County of *Bada*, when they goe to warre, with, or for the Switzers. Betweene these two little Townes, is a great Village, neere vnto the *Rheine*, named *Zurzach*, inhabited as if it were a good great Towne, subiect vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, and depending on the Baylywickes of *Clingenow*. I must needes say somewhat concerning the policy thereof, because it is a place greatly renowned, in regard of two great Fayres very goodly and commendable, which are there kept euery yeare. Many Merchants, not only of *Switzerland* and *Germany*, but also of *France* and *Italy*, meete there, albeit each Fayre lasteth but one day.

Two little Townes, belonging to Bada, Clingenow, and Keyserstoul.

Zurzach a great Village.

Two great Faires yearly at Zurzach.

Many do hold opinion, that this village is the place, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Forum Tiberij*; and that on this occasion, these Fayres are very ancient, as hauing beene ordained by *Tiberius*. It seemeth to haue taken this name of M. *Iunius Certius*, a famous Romane Souldier, buryed in that place, as is testified by an ancient inscription. The Iurisdiction of this village is one of the dependances of *Clingenow*: the Bayliffe electeth an officer yearly, in the Moneth of Ianuarie, and eyght Senatours, foure whereof, are in seruice a whole yeare, and they are called sworne Senatours; and then the other foure doe succeede them, hauing foure Iudges giuen them as assistants. These twelue, with the Bayliffe of *Clingenow*, who presideth, iudge the causes, and meete once in xv. dayes; but if any man requireth (in the meane time) that the Iudges should meet together, they doe; the party paying thirteene Shillings of the Money of *Lucerna*.

Forū Tiberii.

Sworne Senators.

The Bayliffe of Clingenow

Moreouer, the Bayliffe to the byshop of *Constance*, cannot condemn any greater fine, then the summe of tenne pounds; but if the crime appeare to deserue more rigorous chastisements, to witte, corporally; then the Officer to the Bayliffe of *Bada*, executeth the sentence, and punisheth the faultie. But out of the Fayre times, Malefactors are examined, first, at *Clingenow*; after they haue confest theyr fault, and are conuinced of capital crime, they are deliuered into the handes of the Bayliffe of *Bada*. At the times of the Fayres, to witte, the first day of September, and the first Holyday of the Wecke, after Pentecost, the day before the Faire, all the Iurisdiction of the Byshoppe ceaseth, and belongeth vnto the bayliffe of *Bada*, who hath sole power and authority of commanding and forbidding, euen vntil the end of the Faire. For in regard that a great number of people doe assemble there, our Auncestors were desirous, that these Fayres might be in the safegard and

Power of condemning fines or otherwise.

Concerning the times whē the Faires are kept.

The gouernement of Zurzach.

protection of such as were soueraignes, and had meanes to bee strongest in these places then. In former times, the Princes of *Austria*, were Lords of the Countie of *Bada*; but now it belongeth to the eyght first Cantons. As for the gouernment of *Zurzach*, it is managed by sixteene councellers, to wit, the twelue before mentioned, and foure assistants. But if there be any businesse of importance, it is referred to the councell generall.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Turgow.

Turgow the greatest of all the Bayliwicks

AMong all the Bayliwickes of the Cantons, there is not any more plentifully peopled nor of larger extendure then *Turgow*, which hath more then fifty Parishes. The seuen most ancient Cantons send thither a Bayliffe, & to them appertaineth the Seigneury and ciuill Iurisdiction of the countrey. If Switzerland be assaulted by a stranger enemy, they of *Turgow* ranke themselues with the seauen Cantons : but the knowledge of criminall causes, and such as are capitall, belong to the tenne Cantons.

Mean Courts of iustice in the villages of Turgow.

Condemnation of fines.

Besides, there are many Noblemen, & Ecclesiasticall persons, that haue meane courts of Iustice in diuers villages of *Turgow*, yet in such sort notwithstading, that all the villages are subiects to the Bayliffe of the whole country. The inferior Seigneurs may condemne fines of twentie shillings, and sometimes so farre as tenne poundes: but the moity of the fines belongeth to the Bayliffe, according to the ordinances well vnderstoode, and established among them.

The Ecclesiasticall persons and what Iurisdictions they haue.

All they that haue Iurisdictions, are called **Grichtsherren.** The Ecclesiastickes, are the byshop of *Constance*, who hath his Prouosts in *Turgow*, to witte, at *Arbonna*, *Tanneg*, *Guttingen*, and *Gottliebe*. The Chapter of *Constance* hath Iurisdiction within *Altnaw*. The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, nowe vnited and incorporated with the Byshoppricke of *Constance*, hath great reuennewes, and many Iurisdictions in the countrey of *Turgow*, to wit, *Stekbure*, *Bernange*, *Mannebach*, *Ermatingen*, *Tribeltingen*, *&c.* Many Gentlemen are vassailes to this Abbey. The Abbot of the Hermitage, is also Lord of *Eschentz*. In like manner, the Abbey of S. *Gall*, hath Iurisdiction in some Villages: as also the Abbeyes founded in the countrey of *Turgow* haue, as *Tobel*, the Commanderie of the Knightes of Saint *Iohn*, *Fischinge*, the Abbey of *Benedictines*, *Ittinge*, *Chartrouse*, *Munsterlinge* and *Tennikon*. The Abbey of the Monkes of the *Cisteaux* order. Also *Veldbach*. *Calchere* Saint *Katharine du Val*, nere to *Dissenhow*; and some other Prouosts in one or two Villages, and sometimes in many, haue Iurisdiction.

The Abbey of Benedictines.

Of Castles belonging to Gentlemen.

There are great store of Castles, appertaining vnto diuers Gentlemen, who dwell there, and enioy their ancient Iurisdictions: the names of which Castles I will recite, together with the Lords vnto whom they belong. The Lords of *Vlme* dwell for the present time at *Wellenberg* and *Griesenberg*. *Herdere* and *Burgelle* are to the Lords of *Landberg*. *Wengie* belongeth to the Lords of *Giel*. *Spiegelberg*, to the Lordes of *Montprat*. *Vinfeld* vnto the Lords of *Schelneberg*, and of *Gemminge*. Vpon the limites of the countrey, there is a Towne belonging to the Count of *Oberstein*. *Nuuenbourg* and *Mammer* appertaine to the Lords of *Tum*. *Salenstein* and *Blidec*, to the Lords of *Hanuille*. *Clingenberg*, to the Lordes of *Herdneheimer*. *Ottlishouse*, to the Lords of *Schenck*. *Epishouse*, to the Lords of *Hagenuille*. *Liebenfels*, to the Lords of *Lanz*. *Clinge*, to the Lords of *Brum*. *Neufere*, to the Lords of *Stocker*. *Sonnenberg*, to the Lords of *Gutenson*. There are many castles also ruined the most part of whose Iurisdictions, doe belong vnto Ecclesiasticall persons: but other some of them belong vnto Gentlemen dwelling in other castles, and also vnto some particular men of the Countrey.

A Towne on the limites of the countrey.

Castles ruined and defaced.

The Abbot of Rinow.

Besides, the Abbey of *Rinow* hath iustice both ciuill and criminal in the towne of *Rinow*, which appeareth to be very ancient, although it hath no store of beautifull buildings. Some are of opinion, that the Romaines planted theyr campe there heeretofore, to encounter with the Germaines.

The Abbey of Auge.

In

The Isle within the Rheine.

In the Isle which is not within the *Rheine*, the Abbey of the *Benedictines* is to be seene, one of the most ancient in all *Switzerland*. The Abbot is Lord of the Towne; neuertheleſſe, if any Malefactor be condemned to death: he is deliuered vnto the Prouoſt or *Amman* of the Prouince, and his goods remaine seized and confiscated to the seuen Cantons. They of *Rinow* haue their standard, vnder which they march in Warre for the Switzers. Moreouer, there are some Towns in *Turgow*, which continue in the Switzers protection, and haue their Franchises & priuiledges verie ample, & Iurisdiction particular.

The Standard of Rinow.

Bischoffzel, or Episcopalla.

There is another Towne, named *Bischoffzell*, at the meeting of two Riuers, called *Sittera* and *Tur*, which is well into the countrey of *Turgow*: and it hath his Standard, where vnder the souldiers goe to Warre for the Switzers. But the Gouernour of the countrey is onely but to bee seene there, and can commaund nothing of the inhabitants, who are subiect (in some things) vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, yet hee gouerneth according to their ordinances.

The Byshops Bailiffe in the towne Castle.

The Byshop hath a Bayliffe in the Castle of the Towne, to whom appertaineth the moitie of the Fines: but the Townesmen doe elect the Councel, and the two Presidents out of them, whom they call ancient Senatours, that gouerne the Common-wealth with the Councellers.

The Councell and two Presidents.

One of the two, iudgeth in criminal causes, and there is no appeale from the sentence of the Senate: neither is it lawfull to draw a Bourgesse before any other Iustice then that of the Towne. The Impost of Wine, and other Reuennews belong to the common-wealth.

The Byshop taketh oath of the townsmen

When the Byshoppe taketh his Oathe of the Townesmen, hee promiseth first himselfe, neuer to diminish in any manner whatsoeuer, their auncient Priuiledges and Franchises.

The auncient towne of Arbonna on the Lake of Constance.

Arbonna is an ancient Towne, on the Lake of *Constance*, whereof *Antoninus* maketh mention in his guide of the waies It is vnder the dominion of the Byshop of *Constance*, who hath there a Bayliffe: but they of the Towne doe elect theyr *Amman* and Councell, who manage ciuil causes. The Switzers haue some Seigneuriall rights in that place: for the castle is open to them in the times of warre, for best accommodating themselues, and the Inhabitants are theyr Souldiers for seruice.

Dieſſenhow on the Riuer of Rhe ne.

Dieſſenhow, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, betweene *Stein* and *Schaffouſe*, as also of the countrey of *Turgow*, and besides the seauen Cantons, who are Lordes of this countrey: *Berne* and *Schaffouſe* haue some right in the domination of *Dieſſenhow*.

Oath to eight Cantons only

Neuertheleſſe, the Townesmen giue Oath onely to eight Cantons, and haue great store of priuiledges: their councel and *Auoyer* haue the Iurisdiction of some Townes about it. But all are esteemed to bee vnder the gouernment of *Turgow*, and goe to warre with the other for the Switzers: but yet vnder the Standard of *Dieſſenhow*.

The Iurisdictions of the county of Turgow.

But besides the Iurisdictions of the Eccleſiastickes, and of the Gentlemen: there are many Villages, wherof the Cantons are entirely Lords, and they are called the Iurisdictions of the county of *Turgow*, and the Officers of the Bayliffe, do holde the pleadings in these Villages. Heeretofore there were diuers formes of pleas, and manie customes: but the seauen Cantons (by aduice and consent of the Lords of the Iurisdictions) ordained and established a common manner of pleading, thoroughout the whole countrey of *Turgow*. Beside, if a particular man haue a suite against the Lord of a Iurisdiction; he presents it to the Bayliffe or Gouernor of the country, and of him demandeth iustice.

Order for the suits and pleas in Turgow.

Law or iustice termed Prouinciall.

There are two kindes of Law and Iustice (in the highest degree) in *Turgowe*: for they must pleade before the Iusticiary bench of the Prouince, or else before the Bayliffe and his assistants. The Law or Iustice Prouinciall, it appertaineth not onely vnto the seauen Cantons, who establish a Gouernour in the countrey: but likewise they of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue therein their part, whereof wee haue giuen a reason in our former booke.

Sometimes this court of Iustice was held at *Winterduer*, when as the countrie of *Kybourg* was ioyned to the countrey of *Turgow*; afterward, it was helde neere to *Constance*, when the Emp. *Sigiſmond* had engaged *Winterduer* to the Bourgesses of *Cõstance*, & somtimes in other places: but

it is fully resolued on at *Frawenfeld*, and the Cantons haue concluded, that it shal neuer bee transported any whether else heereafter.

The election of xii. Iudges, by the Bayliffe

Twelue Iudges are chosen by the Bayliffe, foure of *Frawenfeld*, and four of *Turgow*: the Bayliffe sits President in name of ten Cantons; or the *Amman* of ỹ country, established by the Cantons; or the Lieutenant whom the Bailiffe substituteth in his place. The causes of appeale, concerning the whole countrey of *Turgow*,

Causes ended in the Prouincial Court.

are decided in this Prouinciall Court of Iustice, together with the suits in matters of debt, the knowledge whereof may appertain to this court: also the causes of iniuries, crimes, and other offences deseruing death. The Bayliffe and his assistants (who most often are the *Amman* of the country, the Secretary, and the cheefe Vsher) do censure also in the same suites: &

Power of the Plaintiffe in his plea.

it is at the discretion of the plaintiffe or demander, to make choise before which of the two courts he will pleade.

Difference betweene the Bailiffes Court, & the Prouincial Court.

The Bayliffe causeth the sentences and ordinances to bee executed, with imposition of a fine of ten poundes, payable by him, that satisfieth not the sentence in ten dayes. The Prouinciall court of iustice, imposeth no fine of mony, but banisheth: onely reserued, that it condemneth him in a fine that pleadeth his owne cause in person (because the custom is, to take one of the Iudges to declare the fact) and enters it into the Court where the Iudges vse to sit. He that is accused to contemne the ordinances of the Bayliffe, is imprisoned.

Appeale from both the Courts to the Cantons.

A man may appeale to the Cantons, from the sentence giuen in either of the Courtes; and, according to the importance of the cause to the seuen Cantons, or to the ten in taking knowledge. Likewise al Fines (as the goods of persons put to death, confiscations, and fines imposed on such as are accessaries to crimes deseruing death) doe appertaine partly to the seauen, partly to the ten Cantons. Heere may be alledged (for example sake) mighty and horrid iniuries, yet not meriting death: violence done by any man to him that is strictly commaunded to liue in peace with his aduersary, outragious acts committed to a man vpon the publique high way, by wounding, robbing, or offering him any such like violence. Also, if any man vsurpe, encroach vpon, enclose, or appropriate to himselfe any part of the high-way, transpose or alter boundes, markes, and limits; or change any goods layed to him by way of pawning, or giuen him in trust to keepe; if he violate Fayth, or forsweare himselfe openly; or if he cary himselfe insolently toward the Bailiffe or Iudges, &c.

Concerning sentences of death.

Besides, all such as the Prouinciall court of Iustice declareth guilty of death: are sent vnto the other Iudges with theyr causes, to haue the sentence pronounced on them. These Iudges are in number foure and twenty, and heretofore the custom was, that the Bayliffe ioyned twelue Iudges, to the twelue of the Prouinciall Iustice, and chose them thoroughout the countrey, at his owne discretion: but now adayes (and ofner then any other) the Iudges of *Frawenfeld* doe pronounce the sentence of death. This is to cut off charges, which would be farre greater vvithout comparison, if the Iudges should bee called from diuers parts of the country, it being of so large extendure.

A custom vsed in former times, but otherwise prouided, and vpon good reason.

There is no appeale granted from this sentence: neuertheless it is permitted to the Bayliffe, to moderate the Iudges sentence, or to alter the manner of the punishment vpon the Offender; or else to saue the condemned mans life; but hee may not (by any meanes) aggrauate, or make heauyer the condemnation.

A great power granted to the Bayliffe.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Sargans.

Concerning the Originall of Sargans, taking name of the Riuer Sar.

THE Countrey of *Sargans*, hath heeretofore had Countes or Earles, that gaue it the name, and sold it vnto the Switzers Countrey. Those Counts were of the house of *Werdenberg*, by reason of the Counties thereunto belonging, and also of *Montfort*, being then diuided into many families: but the countrey standeth separated by a certain smal Riuer, named *Sar*. Part of it, aboue the Riuer, hath some villages; the cheefest whereof

whereof is called *Regatz*, where the law pleas are held: as also the Abbey of *Pfauertz*, the Abbot whereof hath iurisdiction in those quarters. It seemes that this part was heretofore diuided from the other, so as the name of *Sargans* belonged to them that dwelt beneathe the Riuer, and whereof (vndoubtedly) they borrowed their name. For there is another *Sargans*, or of *Sarunets*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention, which at this day is called *Engadin*, and neere the sourse or spring of *Rheine*: but they which dwell aboue the Riuer, may bee of the quarter of the *Rhegusces* and *Rhucans*, at this day tearmed *Rhinthall* and *Rhuchenberg*. They haue their court of iustice by themselues, and other weights and measures, then they beneathe the Riuer.

Of them beneathe the Riuer Sar.

Another Sargans or Sarunettes.

The towne of *Sargans* is small, and hath a Castle, wherein the Bayliffe dwelleth, and it is the cheefest of all the Bayliwicke. There is a councell at *Sargans*, and an *Auoyer*, whom the *Switzers* (beeing Lords there) do establish: as also in another Towne of the same Bayliwick, named *Walhenstat*, on the Lake of *Riue*. But the lower court of iustice belongeth to them of *Sargans*, as likewise the principall Villages haue their Court. The last or latest appellations, for causes criminall and capitall, are held at *Sargans*; where Iudges are chosen, both of the Towne, and from the whole Bayliwicke. Oftentimes, in stead of the Bayliffe, the *Amman* is President of the country. The Bayliffe himselfe pleadeth against the offender, and hath a Secretary and an Officer. If criminall persons are prisoners at *Walhenstat*; then iudgement and execution to death is done there: but the Bayliffe sitteth President, and not the *Auoyer* of *Walhenstat*.

Of the Bayliffe & Councell of Sargans & their Auoyer.

For criminall and capitall causes.

The Amman gouerneth sometimes in stead of the Bayliffe.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Rhinthall.

THE Bayliffe of this Valley (which taketh his name of *Rheine*, and is vpon the left bancke thereof, aboue his entrance into the Lake of *Constance*) maketh his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhinek*, somewhat below the Valley.

Rhinthall taketh name of the Riuer of Rheine.

The whole Bayliwick is diuided into certaine portions or fee-farmes, which they tearme *Hoef*, and these are their names: *Alstett*, a little Towne, *Marpach*, *Bernange*, *Taall*, whereon *Rhinek* dependeth, and *Oberriede*. Each hath his iurisdiction by it selfe, and two *Ammans*; whereof the one is enstalled by the Bayliffe of the cantons, and the other by the Abbot of S. *Gall*. The moity of the fines belongeth to the Abbot, and the other part to the Cantons. Neuertheless, at *Alstett* the fines are diuided into three parts, whereof the third appertaineth to the inhabitants. Some say, that the higher and lower iurisdiction of this place, belongeth to the Prince of *Austria*. The lower court of iustice of *Lustenow* (which is a Village in the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthall*) appertaineth to the Counts of *Amsa*. The acknowledgment of criminall causes, belongeth to the cantons: and their Bayliffe causeth the sentences to bee executed in those places where the delicts were committed, hauing *Ammans* for their Iudges.

The Bayliwicks diuision and their seuerall iurisdictions.

The diuision at Alstet.

Acknowledging of criminall causes.

The inhabitants of this Valley doe principally imploy themselues in husbandry about their Vines, and spinning linnen yarne, which they sell at S. *Gall*, & liue very commodiously by these meanes. Also they of S. *Gall* haue store of lands, and many vineyards in this Valley, with plenty of Vine-dressers and Barne keepers: in regard whereof, they set a taxation on the wine with the inhabitants of *Rhinthall*, and set downe a price to be payed by the Masters and others, who buy it before vintage time at publike sale, and pay the mony to the Vine-dressers. This taxe bindeth not them who haue not solde their wine before that time. When the vintage draweth neere, the Deputies of each Village do meete at S. *Gall*, and the Seigneury appointeth one or two of the councell to sit with them; and then they (altogether) set a price vpon the wines. If they cannot agree, but that there are as many on the one side, as on the other: then the Village, whose turne it is to bee Arbitrator, sets downe the determination. For euery Village (in his rancke and place) hath the right and priuiledge of arbitration, when as the taxers cannot, or will not agree together. The price agreed vpon, then they begin to cut and gather grapes for the vintage: but it is not lawfull

How the inhabitants of the Valley bestowed their time.

A taxe set vpon the wine to such as are buyers before the vintage.

In what manner they set a price vpon the wines, & how it is concluded by arbitration.

full to begin before.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Barons of Altſax.

The ſcituation of the Seigneury of Altſax.

BEtweene the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthall*, and the county of *Werdenberg*, you may ſee the Seigneury belonging to the Barons of *Altſax*. Now, although the Barons are ſoueraigne Lords; yet notwithſtanding, in regard of the ſcituation of *Rhinthall*, I was not willing to paſſe any further, without making ſome mention thereof.

The Antiquities of the Barons of Altſax

The race of the Lords of *Altſax* is moſt ancient, and hee that hath written concerning Iuſtes and Tournaments, declareth, that the Emperour *Henry*, ſirnamed the Faulconer or Fowler, made choiſe among all the Gentlemen of *Suaba*, of *Frederick*, Baron of *Altſax*, to preſcribe to others, the order to be obſerued in thoſe Royall paſtimes. They of *Miſauk* in the *Griſons* country (whom *Pliny* calleth * *Hirſaces*, at the Trophee of *Auguſtus*) were ſometimes ſubiects to the Barons of *Monſax*: to whom the Emperour *Sigiſmond* gaue the name and dignity of Counts, and *Wolffe*, Baron of *Monſax* was in the warre againſt the *Obotrites*, in the yeare nine hundred, thirty fiue. Some ſay, that thoſe Counts deſcended of the houſe of *Altſax*, and that there are many Gentlemen (of very ancient race) in the country of the *Griſons*, deſcended of the firſt *Rhætians*, who were of *Tuſcany*, and vaunt themſelues alſo to be iſſued of the Romanes.

* So named of the Foreſt of Hircinia running thorough Germany.

Gentlemen deſcended of the firſt Rhætians.

In Antiquity, the Lords of *Altſax* dwelt in the *Griſons* country. For neere to the Valley of *Lengs*, where they inhabite, who (among all other) vaunt and glorifie themſelues, to bee of moſt noble and ancient race; there is the Village of *Obierſax*, which retaineth yet the name of that Family, and it hath a Caſtle of the ſame name. I am of the minde then, that the houſe of *Altſax* is *Griſon* by originall, and deſcended (with many other of the *Griſons*) of the *Tuſcanes*, who were before the Romanes. Alſo the country, whereof they are Lords to this day, was heeretofore reputed to be of the *Griſons*: conſidering, that *Strabo* extendeth the *Griſons* limits, ſo farre as the Lake of *Conſtance*.

The Valley of Lengs.

The originall of the houſe of Altſax of the Griſons.

This Baronny hath had heeretofore two ſtrong Caſtles, to wit, *Sax* (which was burnt before the warre of *Appenzell*) and *Fortege*, builded afterward, vpon the warranty of *Vlrich* of *Altſax*, Abbot of S. *Gall*, at ſuch time as the Barons were in warre againſt the Counts of *Montfort*. There are many Villages in this Valley, ſubiect to the Barons of *Altſax*. If any warre threaten *Switzerland*, they chuſe their moſt valiant Soldiours, which they ſend to their ſuccour. Alſo *Huldrich*, Father to *Huldrich Phillip*, now Baron of *Altſax*, fought valiantly for the Switzers, in the warre which they had againſt the Emperour *Maximillian*, and the league of *Suaba*: and as a recompence and acknowledgement of his valor, the Cantons gaue him diuers peeces of Artillery.

Two ancient Caſtles belonging to the Baronny.

When warre is menaced againſt Switzerland.

It is a long time ſince the Barons of *Altſax* haue beene Bourgeſſes of *Zurich*, the reſt of the Cantons neuer had any dominion ouer the Barons of *Altſax*: but themſelues were ſoueraigne Lords, and no man might appeale frō their ſentence, to any other iuſtice. At this day, there is no more of this race of the Barons of *Altſax* left, but one, namely, the Lord *Huldrich Phillip*: but by the grace of God, it is now augmented, becauſe this lord hath had (by two wiues) fiue ſonnes, already of good ſtature, and which promiſe faire hope, namely, *Albert Iohn*, *Thibault Iohn*, *Phillip Iohn*, *Iohn Chriſtopher*, and *Iohn Huldrich*.

The Barons of Altſax Bourgeſſes of Zurich.

The now liuing iſſue of the preſent Baron of Altſax.

CHAP. XXI.

The Bayliwicks or Gouernements of Italy.

THE firſt and principall of the foure Bayliwicks of *Italy*, is called *Lugano*, and the Bayliffe is called a Captain, commaunding ouer all the foure, if any warre doth happen vnexpected.

Lugano the firſt Bayliwick

The ſecond is that of *Locarna*, almoſt of

Locarna the ſecond.

of as great and large extendure, as *Lugano*. I will set downe in this Chapter, an exact description of the Bayliwicke and Towne of *Locarna*, made (at my request) by M. *Thaddeus Dun*, Physition, and a natiue of *Locarna*, my very good friend. For therby may be knowne, what the gouernment of the other Bayliwicks is, which althogh they are not of the like extendure, neither haue the same policy, yet notwithstanding, they are gouerned in the same manner, in respect of the Bayliffe, and dominion of the *Switzers*.

A mã of great experience & knowledge.

The Towne of *Locarna*, is called *Luggari* by the *Germanes*, and *Locarno* by the *Italians*. Some do hold it to be so named, as being a place of flesh: because in al the country round about, there is no meane number of cattell. It is seated on a plaine, betweene the foote of an high Mountain, and the Banck of the Lake *Maior*. Towards the East it hath the head and beginning of this Lake: to the South, the neck of the Lake, and the high Mountaines. It extendeth and shooteth it selfe out along the middle of the Lake, to his fall, and towards the North are also very high Moũtaines. To the West, and against the lands belonging to the Bayliwicke of *Bellizona*, is a plaine of great length, yeelding yearely a plentifull Hay-harueſt, & thwart it passeth *Thesina*. Neere to the Towne, betweene this plaine, the Towne it selfe, the foote of the Mountains, and the Lake bancks, is a fruitfull parcell of Land for Corne and Wine, and a great goodly field, abounding with grasse; which heretofore hath beene much more spacious, but the neighbouring Riuer (by vndermining it) hath borne away a great part therof. The Mountaines of long extendure, are very aptly husbanded, hauing goodly and faire vineyards in them.

The description of Locarna, and how it is scituated by euery way. The fleshy Territory, or where flesh is in great plenty.

Heereby we may coniecture, that *Locarna* is great, by reason of the Families therein, to the number of foure hundred, or thereabout: and there is not any greater Towne about the Lake *Maior*, neyther are there more Gentlemen in any towne of that quarter, by which reason, it is the cheefe and principall Towne. This description doth demonstrate, how pleasant the place is; the ayre also is there temperate, sweete, and healthfull, euen as much as can bee desired. The windes of the South do blow there very little, and euen as tired, broken, and spent, by reason of the Mountaines defencing before it. The North winde is there also sweet enough, because the high Mountaines doe couer the Towne. From the East to the West, the windes breathe at their ease: and there is not a Pond, or Marshy plot in this quarter, so that to say all in a word, the place is sufficiently pleasing.

Great Families in Locarna, and store of Gentlemẽ.

Locarna appeareth to be very healthfully seated.

Heeretofore, the towne of *Locarna* had a great & strong castle, of very goodly shew, in regard of the many Towers & Turrets, and well engirt with sightly Ditches. It was sometimes the principall dwelling of the Counts of *Rusque*: and the French were Masters there, the space of thirteene yeares, but yet could not expell the Counts. There is a Pallace within the saide Castle, which is the Bayliffes house: there also abideth the Trucheman or Interpreter, and the two Switzer Archers of his Guard, of whom wee shall make more ample mention heereafter: within the walles enclosure of this Castle, there was a goodly Hauen or Port, where the Ships for warre were kept.

The ancient goodly Castle of Locarna.

A Pallace in the old Castle and how it is imployed.

The Castle was square and quadrangular, beautified with Towers at each corner, and had a very strong wall about it. At that time, the Lake *Maior* washed the foote of the Castle, so that the Ships were easily sent forth vpon the Lake. But now, the Riuer of *Madia* hath gathered such aboundance of sand and grauell, as the place is become farre enough off from the Lake. Since the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, thirty one, the *Switzers* wholly ruined the Castle, except the Pallace; the foundations are yet to be seene, and the walles of many houses, for there was not any castle so strong in all the country. Also it was munited with Artillery of all sorts, and other furnishments for warre, in great plenty. *Frances Guicchiardine* maketh mention in the fift Booke of his Histories, that fifteene thousand *Switzers* got themselues together, to go and assault this castle; thereof he speaketh againe in the eleuenth Booke, and at the end of the twelfth.

The singularity of the ancient Castle.

This goodly Castle was quite defaced by the Switzers.

Guicchiard in Lib. 5. 11. 12.

Long since, in the times of the Dukes of *Millaine*, the whole country was commanded by the Bayliffe of *Locarna* (except the towne of *Brisag*) and it was a county, wherof the *Rusques* were Lords, they beeing Gentlemen of marke in the towne

The extendure of the Bayliwicke of Locarna.

The County of Locarna diuided in twaine.

towne of *Coma*, whereof alſo they were Maſters ſometimes, but after they ſurrendred it to the Duke of *Millaine*, in the yeare one thouſand, foure hundred and ſixteene. But afterward, this county was diuided in two parts, and the Vale *Madia* ſeparated from the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*.

At that time alſo, the Vale of *Verzaſche* and *Gambaron* (whereof ſhall be ſpoken heereafter) obtayned leaue, to elect their *Podeſtats*. The extendure of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, may bee knowne by the Pariſhes, whereof there are twenty and more.

Of the fertility of the country, and encreaſe of their Vines.

The foote-ground of the Mountains of *Locarna*, and a great part of the Territory, yeeldeth plenty of very good wines. In the Hilles and Mountaines, the Vines are bound high, and ſtore of good graſſe groweth vnder them. On the plaines they ſhoote vp about Elmes and other Trees, as Hops do about Poles; alſo the twigs as being wouen together, and bound at the ends, are extended from one Tree to another. But if they ſtand too farre off, where the branches come too ſhort, then they fixe poles in the midſt, whereto they faſten the branches, for feare leſte they ſhould hinder the Cornes encreaſe, or the other ſorts of pulſe, which are alſo there ſowne. The Vines are of great and incredible yeelding, the grapes huge, and very ripe, which cauſeth an extraordinary plēty of wine.

Of the Fields and Meddow grounds about Locarna

The fields cannot be very ſpacious, in regard of the ſo neere neighbouring Lake and Mountaines: yet notwithſtanding, they are very fertile, by reaſon of the grounds goodneſſe, which the husbandmen do fatten and labour very diligently. For becauſe there are no great ſtore of fields and meddowes, and the towne is ſufficiently peopled; their paines are performed at the better leyſures. Many times they render twenty graines for one, and they haue two Harueſts in one yeare. In the Moneth of June, they reape and gather Wheat and Rie: In the Moneth of October, they haue the like of Millet, Panicke, and other Pulſes ſowed in Spring time.

Two harueſts gathered in a yeare continually.

The Mountaines and Vallies are furniſhed with cattell in great aboundance, eſpecially Goates. Alſo there is plenty of Partridges, Phezants, Larks, Hares, Conies, Butter, Cheeſe, and admirable ſtore of Cheſtnuts, for the nouriſhment of country people. At the beginning, they eate them rawe, then dryed, and afterward boyled, roſted, and fried. Alſo they make Meale of them for Bread, and that Meale ſerues thē to diuers vſes: but Gentlemen eate cheſtnuts among their other delicates.

What fleſh, Fowles, and other helpfull food the country affoordeth.

When therefore there is a good ſeaſon of cheſtnuts, the dearth of other victuals is not great in that country: wher alſo is ſtore of good Figs, variety of Apples, Peaches, Peares, Cheries, and other dainty fruites, as Plums of diuers kindes, Pomgranets, Citrons, Oliues, Oranges, and other fruites in great plenty. The Lake aboundeth with Fiſh, dainty and good; eſpecially Trowts, whereof ſtore are brought & ſold in *Millaine*. In briefe, the country is enriched with all good things, for the maintenance of life; yet ſometimes there is ſcarſity of Corne, by reaſon of the countries narrowneſſe, and Salt is brought thether from other places.

Variety of all kindes of fruites, and of dainty fiſh.

All bleſſings for the life of man.

Euery Thurſday there is a great Market at *Locarna*, where meete no meane ſtore of people. You ſhall ſee many boats arriue there, from all the Townes of the Lake *Maior*, from whence come diuers Merchants, rather to buy, then ſell. They come thether alſo from ſundry parts of the Dutchy of *Millaine*, from *Lugano* and *Bellizona*, neighbouring Bayliwicks: as alſo from *Miſauk*, and the Valley of *Liuiner*, not ſpeaking of them about *Locarna*, and the vale *Madia*: It is one of the goodlieſt Markets in all thoſe countries. There is a very ſpacious place neere to the Lake, where the Merchants ſet vp Tents, to defend them from raine, and ſuch like accidents.

A market at Locarna euery Thurſday.

The people of *Locarna* are diuided into three degrees, to wit, Noblemen, ancient cittizens, whom they call Bourgeſſes, and the inhabitants, deſcended from diuers parts, and whoſe anceſtors began to dwell at *Locarna*, more then an hundred yeares before.

Noblemen, Bourgeſſes, & Inhabitants, the three degrees of people in Locarna.

There is a fourth race noble, as of the *Aurelles*, *Muraltes*, *Magorians*, and *Duns*. That of the *Duns* is the moſt auncient, and before the other: their houſes and goods beeing partly at *Locarna*, partly at *Scone*, which is a Towne neere

A fourth deſcent of Noblemen.

neere to *Locarna*, but not so wel peopled, seated on a plaine neere to the Lake. At such time as the Counts of *Rusque* commanded, the *Duns* were fauoured and honoured, more then the other Nobles, and aduanced to great estates. And the Arms of the Counts of *Rusque*, magnificently illustrated, are yet to bee seene (outwardly) on the *Duns* Pallace at *Locarna*. Next, vnder name of the people, are reckoned all them that dwell in the Vallies and Villages, dependants on *Locarna*. The whole body of the Seigneury or Bayliwicke, is called the Comminalty.

In memory of former receiued fauours.

As for the Bayliffe, whom they call Commissary, hee is chosen by the twelue Cantons, and sent to *Locarna* euery yeare, by one of the said cantons, as it is then in rancke, according to their lawes and alliances. This commissary is Soueraigne, and hath full power to chastise the faulty, yea, to condemne to death, if the case do so require. His custome is to take wise & vnderstanding men, expert in the lawes and manners of the country, to bee his councellers. Hee is not receiued into his charge, til he haue first solemnly sworn and promised, to keepe the lawes and ordinances, which the inhabitants tearme municipall rights. Which being done, the people there present, do acknowledg him for their lawfull Gouernor; with solemne and publike acclamations, & swearing faithfully to obey him.

The Commissary, and how he is elected.

The Commissaries power and authority.

Municipale ius, the priuate law of euery Citty.

Now, because the commissiary speaketh the Switzers language, and the people Italian; the Lords of the Leagues do allow him a Truchman, who vnderstands and speakes both the languages, to whom they pay wages. By entremise of the Trucheman, the commissary, the parties that plead as Atturnies or Aduocates, do vnderstand each other, and so debate the causes: which the Secretary or Prognotary writeth downe in Latine. The commissiary medleth not with the affaires of the common-wealth, because the people haue full power to elect Magistrates and Officers, to ordaine of all things concerning the publike estate.

A Trucheman allowed to the Commissary to be his Interpreter.

The people haue power to elect Magistrates.

Moreouer, they elect an ordinary Atturney, who pursueth criminall causes, & keepeth the fines adiudged to the common purse, which they call, *The fines Chamber*. The Lords of the leagues giue order for the election of this Atturney; who is one of the Bourgesses of *Locarna*, and continueth as long time in that Office, as pleaseth the said Lords.

The election of the Atturny.

They establish also the Receiuers of the taxes. For euery yeare, in Summer, when the twelue Ambassadours of the Cantons come thether: they giue the farming of the taxe (mittigating a certain summe) to one, or to many Bourgesses, who then also receiue ample power, to exact the taxe, and at the yeares end they pay it.

The Receiuers of the taxes & tolles

The Commissary chuseth (oftentimes) a Switzer Officer, who walketh daily attending on him, with an Halbert and a Sword. He is the cheefest of the Serieants, that arresteth men, and guardeth offenders. When the Ambassadors come to *Locarna*, hee is their Vsher: also, they pay him his wages, as well as the Trucheman.

The Officer waiting on the Commissary.

The same Commissary electeth his Lieutenant, some one of the Bourgesses, fitte to decide suites and criminall causes. This Lieutenant giues attendance in the Commissaries absence, or when hee is with-held by sickneesse, or any other hinderance: hauing (in those causes) the same power and authority, as the Commissary hath.

The Lieutenant to the Commissary.

Moreouer, the councell (of whom we shall speake presently) makes choise of some Serieants among the people. Their charge is to serue the Common-wealth, and to execute the commands of the cõmissary.

The Seriants and Officers.

The Bourgesses and inhabitants that are of this County and Comminalty, do meete together according to their custome, which yearely is the first day of Ianuary, and then they elect the one and twenty councellers of the Common-wealth. Twelue among them are of *Locarna*; three of the towne of *Scone*, which is neere: the other sixe are of the Vallies and Villages round about. As concerning the twelue of *Locarna*; sixe of them are Noblemen, foure Bourgesses, & two inhabitants; yet sometimes three, and fiue Nobles. The three of *Scone*, there is one of the family of Gentlemen, called *Duns*, and the two other are of the body of the people. The other sixe, whom I haue said to be of Villages and Vallies, are of such places, as acknowledge no other Gouernour, but the fore-mentioned Commissary.

Of the councell, their mãner of meeting, and orders obserued among them in their election of councellers.

A contrary kinde of gouernment & Officers.

sary. This I speake in regard of the towne of *Brisag*, the Valley of *Verzasche*, & *Gabaron*: which haue their Podestats or Lieutenants, and some rights apart by themselues, as we shall shew anon, and they do not elect any councellers.

What charge the councell do vndertake

The councell of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, hath charge to watch and waite on the affaires of the common-wealth: to conclude on needfull expences & wages: to dispose and set in order, whatsoeuer seemeth for the good of the weale publike fit and conuenient.

Of the seuen Attorneyes, & what their office is,

Seuen Procurators or Atturnies are added to the one and twenty councellers, who giue order, that the decrees of the councel may be effectually executed, and that euery man do his duty thoroughly & faithfully. They stand also in stead of *Voyers* or Suruayors: because they take charge of publike buildings. In like manner, there is a Secretary whom they call Chancellor; and he setteth downe in writing, all things whatsoeuer that are concluded on by the councell.

The Secretary or Chancellor.

A Treasurer euery yeare elected.

And forasmuch as the Comminalty lockes not vp any of the publike monies, there is yearely a new Treasurer elected, who exacteth and collecteth of consuls and communities, such summes of money as are imposed by the councell. For euery community or parish hath his Consull (so called, because they councell and aduise that which is necessary for the communities welfare) and is in Office as a Receiuer. They leuye vpon euery Father of the Family, or on each house, the money whereat they are assessed by the councel, and afterward bring all to the Treasurer. The manner of assessing these summes, is according to the estimation of goods, & the number of housholds in euery community.

Consuls appointed, and their office.

The sum of one of the least assessements.

There is not any Parish nor Family (how little soeuer it bee) but iustly knoweth, how much it is valued at in the assessement. One of their cottisations amoũteth to an hundred pounds of the Empire: which make seuen and twenty Florins of gold, or thereabout. The Consuls do first collect this summe of the Families, and then deliuer it into the Treasurers hands, and he afterward paies it to the Seigneurs of the annuall accounts. Then it is payed out in wages, to the Bayliffe, to the Physitions, to Masters of Schooles, Officers, and other persons, who are al at wages of the common-wealth: And beside, it acquitteth all other publike charges. The yeare being expired, hee yeeldeth vp his account to the councell, or to the Procurators. If there be more omitted then receiued; his successour disburseth it himselfe. Contrariwise, if the receipt doe surmount the ordinary charge, the remainder is deliuered ouer vnto his successour. Moreouer, the fore-named Magistrates make choise of two sufficient men, to haue a care of food and prouision. And other two are elected by the councell, to see the wayes and streetes duely and decently repaired and well kept.

The Treasurers account to the Councell.

The gouernment of the Forrest.

Now in regard that the country is enuironed with Mountaines and Vallies, repleated with woods of extraordinary taul trees, exquisite for their beauty and braue branching (among others the Pine, which produceth very excellent Agaricke, and the Firre-tree, notable for building, and whereof they of *Locarna* make very great benefit) the Merchant dealing in wood, do elect a Iudge or Master of the Forests, who decideth all differences proceeding in such cases. When the taule trees are cut, they bring knowledge therof to him, and then he ordereth their lesser cutting, for more commodious conuaying them through the narrow passages and vallies, as also the Rocky crooked windings, to the Lake *Maior*. When they are there shipt in apt Barques and Boats, they passe along the Lake, and then on the *Thessina* to *Millaine* and *Pauia*, in great Trunkes, Beames, Ioists, and long Planks; together with gteat quantities of wood-coales, and other brush-wood, for heating Ouens. Afterward, they descend with them from *Pauia*, by the Riuer *Po* (wherein *Thessina* dischargeth it selfe) so farre as *Cremona*, and *Plasentia*, and may goe also to *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Venice*, and to the Adriaticke Sea. The trunks of the trees haue their length and thickneſſe iust, and the Merchants marks on them. The valley of *Verzasche*, the vale *Madia*, and other neighbouring places, doe also send away Trees very aboundantly, when the Riuers swell higher then their vsuall wont.

The Iudge or Master of the Forest, & his authority.

The Merchants set their markes on the trunks

The towne of *Brisag*, which is vpon the Lake *Maior* towards the North, and at the end of the country which the *Switzers* hold, is of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, and

Brisag belonging to the Bailiwick of Locarna.

and is but foure miles distant off from *Canobio*. It hath also to the East, the Vallie of *Verzasche*, taking his name of a Riuer so called, and thence descending: Also *Gambaron* to the South, and on the Lake *Maior*. These places haue their *Podestats*, who iudge in ciuill causes: for as concerning them criminall, the knowledge of them appertaineth to the Commissary of *Locarna*. There is appeale granted from the sentence in ciuill causes, if it seeme good to the party condemned. They of the Valley of *Verzasche*, and of *Gambaron*, do chuse (among themselues) such persons as they please, to be their *Podestats*: but the people of *Brisag* haue not that authority, but yearely doe elect a Lieutenant, who is of the Family of the *Aurelles*. Gentlemen of *Locarna*. The Inhabitants of this place are not cottised or sessed, as the other Communities be: but onely pay their part of rentage due, to the Lords of the leagues, and of wages to the Commissary. Beside, they furnish towards the charges that are in their Villages and Communities.

The gouernment of Podestats.

Brisag differing in authority from Gãbaron.

Of this Towne of *Locarna* thus described, are descended the *Locarnians* dwelling at *Zurich*, and in other places. It is not aboue thirty yeares since, that some Citizens of *Locarna*, yet liuing, affected to the new Religion; tooke knowledge thereof, by the reading of certain books, and afterward enstructed it to many of their Townesmen. From the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, forty two, vntill the yeare one thousand, fiue hundred, fifty foure, the zeale and number of them began to encrease, and notwithstanding the persecutions, embraced it the more earnestly. The most part of the Seigneurs and people, not willing to suffer it, expulsed (in the yeare following) about thirty Families: namely all such as would not forsake that new opinion, and returne againe to the Romane Church. There were people of all kindes in this troope, Nobles, Gentles, and Yeomen; learned and vnlearned; rich and poore; great and small; husbands without their wiues, and wiues without their husbands; fathers without their children, & children without their fathers. The men of *Zurich* receiued them very louingly, and did, and yet do many kinde courtesies to them: so that diuers of thẽ are embraced as Bourgesses, and the rest maintained at the expences of the Seigneury. At the beginning, they receiued a good sum of monie, sent by them of *Berne*, and another collected at *Basile*, and in some other Townes of *Sauoye*, where-with the poore people haue bene long time maintained.

The Locarnians inhabiting at Zurich

Religion the more it is persecuted, the more it prospereth.

Persecution is the true Christians touch-stone.

The End of the third Booke.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome and Court of Spaine; *the Lawes, Customes, and manners of the people, as also the diuision and scituation of the Country.*

SPaine, so tearmed of * *Hispalis*, or of * *Hesperia*, or *Hesperus*, by being a part of *Europe*, and neerest to the VVest; hath her Confines in this manner. On the East, the Mediterranean Sea: On the VVest, the Ocean: On the South, the streights of *Gibraltare*: And on the North, the Pyrenean Mountains, which make diuision of *France* & *Spaine*. The principall Riuers in this Prouince, are sixe in number: *Myuo*, *Duria*, *Traia*, *Guadiana*, *Guadalquabir*, and *Iberus*. This Kingdome (by our Auncients) was diuided into three parts, to wit; *Bætica*, *Lusitania*, and *Tarraconia*. At this day, *Bætica* contayneth three Regions, namely, *Granata*, with her Citty Royall, which is called *Granada*; *Andalusia*, with the City of *Siuill*; and *Estramadura*, with the City of *Menda*. *Lusitania* hath two Regions, to wit, *Portugall*, with the Citty Royall, named *Lisborne*: and *Galicia*, with the citty that is called *Compostella*, where the body of S. *Iames* is saide to be. *Tarraconia* hath nine Regions; as *Arragon*, with the citty of * *Sarragossa*; *Nauarre*, with the citty of *Pampalona*; *Cathalonia*, with the citty of *Barcellona*; *Biscay*, with the city of *Vilucro*; * *Castile* the elder, with the citty of *Burgos* or *Braga*; *Castile* the newer, with the citty of *Tolledo*; *Leupusca*, with the citty of S. *Sebastiano*; *Valenza*, with the citty of *Valencia*; *Murgia*, with the citty so called. In the kingdome of *Granada*, ther is an Island named *Caliz*, which hath a citty also called by the same name. In the Ocean Sea, and in the Mediterranean, there are three seuerall Islands, subiected to the gouernement of *Valencia*, to wit, *Ieniza*, *Maiorica*, and *Minorica*. The *Portugals* vse their nauigation into the East Indiaes; and the *Spaniards* of *Siuill* and *Caliz*, into the West. The circumfrence of *Spaine*, is about 1893. miles. The kingdom of *Portugall*, frō the South part, beginneth at the citty of *Leppe*, and on the North it extendeth to *Baiona* of *Galicia*. The most notable Ports or Hauens of *Spaine*, on the North part, are S. *Sebastiano*; the Port *Galette*; the Port *Andrea*; the Port *di S. Vincenzo*; the Port of *Ribadeo*; the Port *Ieroll*; and the Port *delle Grugne*, or of the *Groyne*. On the VVest part, are the Port *di Monuedra*; the Port of *Portugall*; the Port of *Lisborne*; & the Port *Secuball*. On the South part are the Port *di Siluas*; the Port of *Siuill*; the Port of *Calix*; and the Port of *Caliz* in the Island; and the Port *Beger*; & the famous Port *Cartagenia*. On the East part is Port *Calibre*, now called *Porto venere*.

Spaine hath seuen Arch-Bishoppricks, and the residence is made in *Tarraconia*, in *Sarragossa*, in *Tolledo*, in *Compostella*, in *Braga*, in *Lisbona*, and in *Granata*. Vnder the aboue-named Arch-Bishopricks, are many Cities and their Bishops; as *Barcellona*, *Girona*, *Ierida*, *Tortosa*, *Valenza*, *Maiorica*, *Ostia*, *Monuedro*, *Burgos*, *Salamanca*, *Corduba*, *Legiau*, *Tariffa*, *Almaria*, *Siuiglia*, and others.

This Country (in many places) is not reduced to tillage & husbandry, because the ground consists of a very stony earth, and is much squallide and filthy through desertnesse: notwithstanding, in respect of *Affrica*, it is very fertile, and this ensueth through the ouer-great heate which is in

*The Citty Siuil in Bætica.

*The West star, and supposed to be the farthest Country Westward.

Riuers in Spaine.

The first three diuisions of Spaine, and how since altered.
Bætica.
Andalusia.
Estremadura.

* Called also Cæsar augusta.

* Called also Vlterior and Citerior.

Of Islands in the kingdome of Spaine.

Nauigation.

The cheefe Ports and Hauens in Spain On the north.

On the West.

On the South

On the East.

Archbishoppricks, & Cities & Bishops vnder their command.

Not much tillage or husbãdry in many places of the Country.

All things necessary for man.

in *Affrica*. It aboundeth in all those things that are necessary for man: as in VVine, Corne, Fruites, Oyle, Cattell, Line for all garments, yron mettals, VVaxe, Hony, VVaters well stored with Fish, and such other like things.

Salt digged out of the earth.

They make no Salt by boyling or seething, but dig it out of the earth. And they haue not so many windes as *France*; neyther are they so stored with marish and fenny grounds, whereby the ayre is much corrupted.

Of Gold, Siluer, & Yron.

There is not found any Gold, Siluer, or Yron, so good and approued, or in such plenty, as in *Spaine*, and the gold is taken not only out of the Mines, but also out of the Riuers,

Gold in Riuers.

which when they encrease by much plenty of raine; they doe produce sandes of gold, & especially the Riuer *Tagus*.

Springs of hot and cold water.

There are found out in many places, diuers wels and springs of hot and cold water; maruailously good for the helpe of diuers & sundry infirmities, which happen to the bodies of men.

Swift running horses.

There is likewise great abundance of Beasts, both wilde and tame; and especially of swift horses, which were supposed by our Elders, to bee conceiued by the windes.

Conies harmfull creatures.

They haue no hurtful creatures in any great store, Conies onely excepted, who making their caues vnder the ground, doe much harme to the rootes growing in the earth.

Soft paced riuers, stored with Fish.

Their Riuers glide away very gently, for hardly can their motion be discerned; and therefore they do not ouer-flow, or drowne the fields, being also well stored with Fish, because the Sea (by helpe of the Riuers) doth not send any plenty on land.

The gold Mines of Galicia.

Galicia is much commended for the Mines there breeding, and sometime it hapneth in this Region, that by plowing vp the ground, the people finde little graynes of gold.

The Spanish Language.

The language of the *Spaniards*, is not much different from the *Italians*; from whom they receiued it, whē they were subiected to the Romane Empire. On the Northerly part, the Prouince is not so colde as in that climate of *France*: for it sendeth into

Commodities sent into France and other places yearely.

France, Oyle, Hony, Waxe, Saffron, Madder, Barly, dying-coulors, Chuchinelo, Sniger, Oliues, Lemons, Dates, Cedar, Pomgranats, and other things; but especially many thousand weights of wool, & muchwine, dried plums or pruins, rasines, almonds, chesnuts, bay-berries, salted salmon, and other things, which are sent into *Italy*, & frō thence transported to *France*.

The temper and coullor of the Spaniards, compared with the French.

The temperature and complexion of the *Spaniards*, is much more hot and dry, and their coullor more dun & foggy, thē that of the *French*: because they are more cold and moist, hauing their flesh more soft, and their coullor whiter, & the *French* women are more gentle, and apt to conceiue children, then the *Spanish* are.

Their disposition of body and aptnesse to war.

The *Spaniards* are more raw-boned men of body, thē the *French*, and in war they feed with councell and arte, being silent by nature; as men that know most exquisitely, how to dissemble their owne intentions, walking very grauely, and vsing much ceremonious behauiour in their customs & qualities. They drinke wine temperately, liue with great respect, & are of acute vnderstanding & knowledge in their words.

The Princes and Nobility of Spaine, & their reuennues.

In *Spain* there are a great number of Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, & Barons, and euery one of them hath the reuenues and profits, from 50. to 60. thousand Ducates yearely. The Marquesses are 20, beside the like reuennues. The Earls are 60. with reuenues from ten, to twenty thousand Ducates.

The Adalantadoes of Spaine. Great Masters of the Orders of knighthood.

Then there are Viscounts, Gouernors, and Barons, which are called *Adalantadoes*. There are great Masters of the Orders of knighthood; as of S. *Iames*, of *Alcantara*, of *Calatraua*, of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*, of the *Rhodes*, of *Montese*, and others; who dispend (each one) about 50. thousand Ducates in reuennues yearely.

The women of Spaine, their attire and behauiour.

The women go pompeously apparelled, wearing rich eare-rings of Pearl & Gold, hauing their garments plaited, after the manner of *Italy*. When they walk abroad out of their houses, the men-seruants goe before them, and the maids follow after. The most part of them do willingly drink water, and so paint their faces with white and red, that it is most lothsom to behold. They are discreet in speech, yet prettily wanton and lasciuious, & deliuered with effectuall gestures, especially in amorous matters.

The fame for Military seruices, of no long antiquity among the Spaniards.

It is not many yeares since, that the people of this Prouince, hath gotten a great name of military seruice, as men that are most patient in labors, suffering most valiantly both thirst and hunger, and being matchlesse for subtilties in Soldier-like affaires, quicke and nimble of body, both for pursuit & flight. They haue conquered many countries, bringing thence very honourable victories, especially vnder *Charles* the fift, Emperor.

Of the Maiesty Royall.

THE Kings of *Spaine*, as great in power, and valorous, in regard of Military prouision, were alwayes held in no meane reuerence among their people. For men bearing ordinarily affection to their Soueraigne, their beneuolence is so much the more encreased, by how much the King liueth vertuously and iustly, according to the ordination of his owne lawes, for so shall hee be both loued and serued. And in conclusion, the worthy deeds of his Lords, that are enriched with vnderstanding and iudgement, doe highly support him: euen as the wicked actions of such as know not how to rule and gouerne, doth ruinate & ouerthrow him. The Kings of *Spaine* haue possessed this Prouince many yeares peaceably, though it was (a long while) nested by the Moores; whom at length they expelled, and reduced the whole politicke body to a quiet condition, and greatly deuoted to the catholique church, whereon the King attained to the title of Catholique King. The king then is the cheefe Ruler of the kingdome, and ordereth matters as best him pleaseth: but heere it shall not much differ from our purpose, to sette downe some other obseruations, concerning the originall & succession of this kingdome.

The loue and beneuolence of Subiects is much encreased by the life of the Prince according to his lawes.

Spaine subiected to the Moores for many yeares

Spaine in her yonger daies was held by sundry petty Kings and Tetrarches, & afterward became diuided into many commonwealths, six in number, as some haue written. The *Carthagenians*, a people of *Affrica*, hazzarding their fortune thether: held one part therof, and possessed themselues of many Cities, Townes, and places; vntill they were expelled thence by the *Romanes*, in the time of the Punicke wars. Since when, it was continually subiect to the Roman common-wealth, & reduced into forme of a Prouince onely, in the reigne of the Emperour *Augustus*. So it remained till the Emperour *Honorius* in whose dayes, the *Vandales* (a people of the North parts) brought it vnder their command. But they (were soone after) chased thence by the *Gothes*, who established there the seate of their kingdome; which they maintained (in that kinde) for the space of aboue 200 yeares. Nor were they then called kings of *Spaine*, but kings of the *Gothes*. In the reigne of *Roderick*, king of the *Gothes*, the Moores entred *Spaine*, in the year 715. they being brought thither by one named *Iulian*; in very despitefull indignation, and to shape out a way to his bloody reuenge, because king *Roderick* had dishonoured his Sister, or as others say) his Daughter, wherof heretofore we haue spoken more largely. And so did the Moores possesse themselues of all *Spaine*, seizing the citty of *Tolledo*, which was then the capitall citty. So ended the kingdome and name of the *Gothes* in *Spaine*. Nor rested they thus, but pursued on their conquest still, & there remained but *Gallicia*, the *Asturies* and *Leon*: which countries king *Pelagius*, Vnkle and Successor of *Rodericke*, had fled too for refuge, & there shut vp himselfe, in regard that those places were enuironed with Mountaines, and might well defend and shelter him for some time. But his Successors being hardly pressed by the *Sarrazins*, could no longer resist: wherefore, vnder the reigne of *Alphonsus* the second, they were forced to craue the helpe of *Charlemaigne*, king of France, by whose valour and vertue, the Moores were beaten thence a great way, and had bin quite cast out of the country, if the *Spaniards* mallice had bene no hinderance thereto. Afterward, the kings of *Leon* and *Gallicia* (for such were then their onely titles) being so formerly preserued, began somewhat to encrease in power. And in regard of this expeditiõ performd by the *French*, the strength of the *Moores* was so weakened & diminished, that many other kingdomes were established in *Spaine*, as that of *Nauarre*, by *Enocho*, Count of *Bigorre*, in the yeare 950. which hee tooke away from the *Moores* and *Sarrazins*, by a very valiant conquest of them. And afterward, in the yeare 116. was *Arragon* reduced to a kingdome, by the will and testament of *Sanchio* the great, fourth king of *Nauarre*; for loue to *Ramyrus* his naturall Sonne, who was the first king thereof. This was the same *Sanchio*, who being Earle of *Castile*, in the kingdome of *Leon*, tooke on him first the name of King of *Castile*, which he left vnto his Sonne *Ferdinand*.

The Moores in possession of all *Spaine*.

Pelagius, Vnkle and Successor to King Rodericke.

Charlemaign king of Frãce against the Moores.

The strength of the Moores much weakened.

The kingdomes of Nauarre and Arragon,

The kingdome of *Portugall* was also conquered frõ the same *Moores*, by Earle *Henry*, Sonne vnto the Duke of *Lorraine*; who held it first of all vnder tytle of an Earle, in the yeare 1110 but quickly after, he brought it to be a kingdome. *Spaine* did

Spaine in the gouernment of petty kings & Tetrarches.

1 Tarracon.
2 Carthage.
3 Lusitania.
4 Gallicia.
5 Bætica.
6 Tingitana.

The Vandales got the rule of Spaine.

No Kings of Spaine, but Kings of the Gothes.

The first king of Castile.

Portugall cõquered from the Moores.

did continue so (in this kinde of state)for a long time,diuided into many kingdoms: & the *Moores* had also their abiding ther, possessing still a great part thereof; till such time as *Ferdinand*, the fift, king of *Arragon* (who was married to *Isabell*, the onely heire of *Castile*) wholly expulsed the *Moores* out of *Spain*,in the year 1492. In no great distance of time after, he possessed himselfe of *Sicily* and *Naples*, inuading also the East *Indiaes*.But fraudulently he vsurped the kingdome of *Nauarre*, against *Iohn d'Albret*, who was (indeede) the lawfull King. And it is this *Ferdinand*, and *Isabell* his wife, in whom onely wee may truly say,that the kingdome of *Spaine* had her first beginning.They left one only daughter,named *Ioane*, who was married to *Philip* the first,of *Austria*, Sonne vnto the Emperour *Maximillian*, and *Mary* of *Bourgundy*: he succeeded in this kingdom of *Spaine*,and other countries beside. He was likewise Earle of *Bourgundy*;of *Flaunders*, and Lord of the Low-countries, in the right of his Mother.In this his marriage,was borne *Charles* the fift, who was afterward Emperour. He reigned nine & thirty yeares, preseruing his Prouinces very happily: and hee left for succession (both in *Spaine*, and the more part of his other countries) his Sonne *Philip* the second,who reigned three and forty years, hauing ioyned to his other estates, the kingdom of *Portugall*,in the yeare of our Lord, 1580.and so(consequently) al that which the *Portugals* held in the East *Indiaes*, and elsewhere; as in *Affrica* and *Brasile*,which came vnto him by the death of *Henry* the Cardinall.He died,aged seuenty yeares, the thirteenth day of September,1598.No long time before his death, hee had made peace with the mighty and most christian King of France, *Henry* the fourth. *Philip* the third, his Sonne,succeeded him, and reigneth as yet to this day.He married *Margret*,daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, by whom he had a Sonne,in the Moneth of Aprill, 1606. Now let vs returne where we left before, concerning the king of *Spaine*, who being a good king,and liuing orderly; therfore on him doe depend the following councellers, who are speciall members of gouernement, both in the Court and elsewhere.

The Moores wholly beaten out of Spaine.

The begining of the kingdom of Spain and descent of their kings

The birth of Charles the fift,Emperor.

Portugall added to the dominion of Spaine.

Philip the 3. King of Spain yet liuing.

Councellers of Estate Royall.

THE supreame assembly of *Spaine*, which is the very same, that (in effect) hath the gouernment of most important affayres in their power; is the Royall or Kingly Councel,so tearmed of the vocable king; because they are (among all other councellers) as the King himselfe among his greatest Lords. These councellers doe prouide for the peoples liuing,in all things that appertaine to a well ordered state: because from them do proceed all meanes and deliberations,concerning matters of Graine, taxations, customes, prouisions, and other substantiall occasions for safe being; but euermore assisted by the Princes authority. These councellers are in number twelue, all principall men of the kingdome,& noble by blood, hauing a President as their cheefe. And from these Noble-men, being assembled together,do come all orders, wherby the whole Realme of *Spaine* is gouerned: and the appellation of three Audiences, called the Chanceries of three kingdomes, do all resort to this councell.

The reason of the Kings Councelles name.

The care and prouidence of the Councell.

The President of the Councell.

The Councell of Inquisition.

IN regard of the conquests which the *Moores* (in former times) made of this kingdome,reformation of the people was thought most conuenient, by bringing them to holy Baptisme,and procuring by all carefull meanes, that Religion might endure no danger throughout the country: this councel was first created, and called, *The sacred Councell of Inquisition*. Whereof there is a President, and hee is alwayes an Ecclesiasticall person, as the Arch Bishop of *Tolledo*, or the Arch-Bishop of *Siuill*. He is assisted by twelue others councellers, who doe altogether deale in matters appertaining to religion. They giue chastisement to heretiques; haue care of catholique affayres; and peruse all Bookes before they be imprinted, to auoyd them of offence or corruptions. Other the like businesses are referred to their charge, for the better preseruation of holy faith.

The reason of first instituting the councell of Inquisition.

The Councell of Inquisition onely for Religious occasions.

The Councell of the Orders.

IN *Spaine* there are three seueral degrees of Knights, all honourable gentlemen, containing euery one by themselues, one proper & peculiar Order of knighthood, introduced in former times by diuers Kings of the Land.The first and principal among all the other,is that of the knights

Three seueral Orders of Knighthood in Spaine.
Of S.Iames.
Of Calatraua
Of Alcantara.

of S. *Iames*: the second, the Knights of *Calatraua*: and the third, the Knights of *Alcantara*. These three Orders haue (each one to it selfe) many Cities and Castles vnder their gouernment, gotten and obtained in diuers times: and because their managing is great, and as if it were a kingdome within it selfe, therefore this Councel of these Orders was ordained. Whereof there is a President, with foure Councellers, and these meeting all together, do prouide Magistrates of the Orders, of Lawes, and of all other things that appertaine to the foresaid Orders. The King is the great Master of these Orders, & when any expedition is to be performed by the Order of S. *Iames*, the King in his Letter, next vnto the ordinary stile or title that is vsually giuen him, writeth; *And perpetual Administrator of S. Iames, &c.* Next vnto the King, followeth the great Commendator of *Leon*, as being Commendator of the Order of S. *Iames*; and after him, the Commendator of *Castile*. These altogether with the King, do dispense the commendums of spirituall liuings: but for that, looke in our Booke of the originall of Knights.

The reason for this councels first ordination.

The great Master of these Orders.

Their Office & authority.

The Councell of the Indiaes.

WHen it pleased God, by the means of *Don Christophero Colombo*, to open (in our time) that part of the world, which formerly was shut vp from all of vs now here dwelling, and whereof the kings of *Spaine* haue (in part) bin Patrones: for gouernment of that part (as necessity required) a Councell of the *Indiaes* was created, consisting of twelue Councellers, with one President. These then do attend vpon all such matters, as appertaine to the gouerning of *India*. And therefore they haue their full power, sending thether Gouernors, Officers, and all kinde of prouision, as is fit for those kingdomes, which are vnder the Crowne of *Castile*.

Columbus the first reuealer of the Indiaes.

Twelue councellers of the Indiaes, and one President

The Councell of Warre.

WHen it so falleth out, that any matter of action is to be vndertaken, eyther for defence of themselues, or any new acquisition, the Councell of Warre do meete together: among whom are the Lords of the Councell Royal, the great Commendator of *Leon*, the Commendator of *Castile*, with other cheefe Rulers.

The reason of this Councels negotiation.

The secret Councell.

LAst of all is the Councell for matters of secrecy, wherin the King is present, the great Chancellor, the great Commédator of *Leon*, and the third part of the Councell Royall, with the President. Being set together, they giue dispatch to matters of greatest secrecy, and which do most import the King, as appertaining properly to the State.

They haue the charge of priuate and secret occasions.

Three Iudges, and the Rector.

FOr causes incident to ciuill and criminall iudgement, three Iudges are ordayned in criminall occasions, who, as being Tribunes of the common people, do dispatch all criminall occurrences. And when the ordinary *Podesta*, or cheefe Officers are there present; thē they attend on ciuill affaires: but if it fall out, that hee cannot be there in person, the three Iudges doe then take order in ciuill matters. These are alwayes in those Cities, where the appointed Courts are kept.

After the ancient manner of the Roman Tribunes.

The three Chanceries.

OVer and beside the fore-named Coūcels and Offices, the King hath three Courts of audience, called three Chanceries, placed in three kingdomes, diuided the one from the other. One is in *Vallidolid*, consisting of twelue Councellers, and with one President. These do sit euery morning separately in foure Halles, three in each Hall. The second is in *Granada*, the principall citty of the kingdome of *Granada*, as being the first and cheefe. The third and last is in *Galitia*, beeing neyther more or lesse in power, then the two former. To this Court of audience go all the causes of *Spaine*, and they may each of them (by themselues) expedite their causes, without any interuention one of another. The appeales and chalendges of the *Rector* of *Granada*, doe passe to the audience of *Granada*; and those of *Castile*, to *Vallidolid*, and so from hand to hand. But in regard that they haue superiours, and for better satisfaction of the people, such as finde themselues greeued in the fore-named Audiences or Chaunceries, may appeale from them to the Councell Royall. Moreouer, each of these fore-named Chaunceries haue Rectors or Commanders,

Three seueral Courts of Audience, in Vallidolid, Granada, and Galitia.

The Appeales and Chalendges of each Court.

Appeales to the Royall Councell.

ders, with criminall iurisdiction.

Vice-Royes, or Kings Deputies.

Arragon the principall kingdome of Spaine.

BEcause *Spaine* (as formerly hath bene said) is diuided into diuers kingdoms, the cheefe or principall whereof is *Arragon*: the King hath and doth vsually send into those kingdomes, Deputies, or Vice-Royes, to gouern there in his name. They are elected and made choyse of by him, beeing first affirmed by the councell Royall, to be Princes of the country, men of vertue and valor, and deseruing aduancement to so high degree. *Valencia* hath her Vice-Roy, who gouerneth the kingdome of *Valencia*, by the same authority as was receiued from the former Kings of *Arragon*, and by the ancient lawes and orders of the kingdome. In *Barcellona* likewise, the principall citty of * *Catalogna*, ruleth another Vice-Roy, making vse of the lawes, customes, and ordinances of the kingdome of *Barcellona*. In *Arragon* also is another Vice-Roy, who maketh his residence in * *Sarragossa*. This Vice-Roy gouerneth by the ancient lawes of *Arragon* (as other Vice-Royes do by the *Castillian* lawes) because it is the head of the other kingdomes. The kingdome of *Nauarre* hath also her Vice-Roy, abiding in *Pampalona*, who ruleth this kingdome according to the lawes thereof, and those of the crowne of *Castile*, because it was last of all conquered by *Don Ferdinando*, the catholike King. All the fore-named Vice-Royes, doe acknowledge the King of *Spaine*, and his councell Royall, in all their causes.

The manner and order of the Vice-Royes gouerning in their seuerall charges.

* Hispania Citerior.

The Treasurer of Castile.

LAst of all, there liueth in Court the Treasurer, a most honourable degree, and of great importance, who receyueth the monies of all the kingdomes reuennues. Hee hath foure Contadories or Auditors vnder his command, who doe gather and collect the monies from the people, and bringing them vnto the Treasurer, payments are continually made foorth, as command is giuen by the King to the Treasurer.

* Cæsar augusta of Tarracon in Spaine

Pampalona conquered by King Ferdinando.

Foure Auditours of collections and accounts.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kingdome of Portugall; *the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Customes, Lawes, and administration of Iustice thercin obserued.*

THE kingdome of *Portugall* began in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, fiue hundred and ten, and after this manner. *Henry* Earle of *Lorrayne* comming thither, performed many valiant deeds against the *Sarrazins*, and his high deseruings mooued *Alphonsus* the sixt king of *Castile*, to giue him a Bastard daughter of his in marriage, named *Tiresia*. And in way of dowry, he assigned also vnto him that part of *Galicia*, which was then contained in * *Lusitania*.

How the kingdome had her first begining.

*The third part of Spaine now called Portugall, parted on the North from Tarracon, by the Riuer Durius, on the South, from Bætica, by the Riuer Anas.

Of this marriage was *Alphonsus* borne, who was the first that euer stiled himselfe king of *Portugall*; and hee was the first also, that tooke the citty of *Lisbone* from the *Sarrazins*. For he hauing conquered fiue of their Kings in seuerall battailes; caused his Armes to bee adorned with fiue seuerall Crownes & Coat-Armors, which euer after continued the Ensigne of the kings of *Portugall*, in perpetuall memory of his valour. But he quickly stayned this faire fame, with cruelty vsed by him to his owne Mother. For after her second marriage, he caused her to be imprisoned, and albeit the Pope laboured the matter greatly, by the meanes of his Legate; yet could he neuer compasse his grace and fauour for her deliuerance. Which sinne was seuerely punished on him afterward by his enemies, who tooke him in battaile. And then his Sonne *Sanctio* succeeded him, and after *Sanctio*, diuers other, to *Iohn*, who was the tenth king in direct and naturall line.

The succession in the kingdome after Alphonius the first.

This *Iohn* was (at the first) expulsed from his kingdome, and made a Knight of S. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem*: but at length hee was re-called to his kingdome, where hee made very honourable proofe of his valour, and (among diuers famous deeds) he tooke from the *Sarrazins* the citty of *Septia*. Hee had seuen Sonnes, among which, *Ferdinand* (for integrity of life) was

The King of Portugall a knight of S. Iohn of Ierusalem.

was termed a Saint.

Henry another of his ſonnes, was the firſt that found *Noua Inſula*, in the *Atlanticke* Sea. Hee being very skilfull in the Mathematickes, liued continually vvithout a wife, and made his dayly abiding in a Promontorie, which was called the Cape of Saint * *Vincent*, and there he died, in the yeare, 1460. But *Edward*, who was the eldeſt Brother, was made King; and he added to the kingdome of *Portugall*, by meanes of his warres, *Zelia*, *Tegea*, and *Alcazar* in *Affrica*. Hee had two daughters, or ſiſters (as ſome ſay) named *Ioane* and *Leonora*; the firſt was marryed to the King of *Caſtile*, and the other vnto *Frederick* the third, Emperor, of whome was borne *Maximillian* the firſt, who was afterward Emperor, and Grandfather to *Charles* the fift. He had alſo a ſon, named *Alphonſus*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and begate *Iohn* and *Emanuel*, that was the fourteenth King of *Portugall*. *Emanuel* had *Iohn*, who tooke to wife the ſiſter of the fore-named *Charles* the fifte, Emperour, called *Katherine*, and begate *Lodwicke*, that dyed an infant, and *Iſabell* who was wife to the ſaid *Charles*, and had another daughter alſo, which was married to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. After theſe ſucceeded *Sebaſtian*, who (in our time!) fighting againſt the Moores, was ſlain, & the King of *Morocco* with him, beſides diuers other great Lords of the Moores.

Henrie, Vncle to the deceaſed King, followed him in ſucceſsion, he being then a Cardinall, and very aged, holding the kingdome ſome few months. But he dying, *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, entred on the kingdome; withſtanding the claime and title of *Don Anthonio*, beeing a Brothers ſonne to the dead King *Henrie*, & ſo outwearied him with troubles, that he could neuer attaine thereto in full poſſeſſion, and ſo it remaineth ſtill in the Spaniards power.

Concerning the gouernement of this kingdome, it hath the very ſame forme & obſeruation as all the reſt of Spaine hath, as being a part of that Prouince. For, there is a high Conſtable, and a Lorde Great Steward, with all other dignities elſewhere related. By the Title and name of great Lords, there is the Duke of *Braganzia*, the Duke of *Colimbra*, the Duke of *Viſco*, the Duke of *Traſcoſſa*, the Duke of *Barcella* and the Duke of *Auaria*. There is alſo the Marqueſſe of *Villa Reale*, the Marqueſſe of *Torra Nuoua*, the Marques of *Monte Maggiore*, and the Marqueſſe of *Ferrira*, with an infinite number of Earles. There is likewiſe the Order of Knight-hood, called the *Knights of Chriſt*, honoured and eſteemed much aboue all other, and whereof the King is the Great Maiſter.

Among theſe honourable perſons in this Order, as an approoued man of valour, moſt ſignale for many vertues, liberall minde and courteſie, beſide ſpeedyeſt intelligence in matters of Military diſcipline; is the Lorde *Flaminio Zambeccaro*, Lord of *Caſtella* in *Campagnia*, who liueth at this day in *Florence*, and highly affected of the Duke.

*A high moũtaine in Portugal, called Satrum Promontorium.

The ſucceſſion of the Kings of Portugal, in their right line and order.

Sebaſtian K. of Portugal, ſlaine in the battel of Alcazar.

Philip the firſt King of Spain

Of the orders and gouernement of the kingdome.

Dukes;

Marqueſſes.

Earles.

Order of Knight hood.

CHAP. III.

Of the Antiquity, Originall, Cuſtoms, Lawes and adminiſtration of Iuſtice, obſerued in the kingdome of Naples.

THE Cittie of *Naples*, beeing moſt ancient and Noble in all reſpectes, giueth the Title of kingdome vnto all the Prouinces which it holdeth and poſſeſſeth, euen by hir owne proper name. Therefore wee may thence frame our argument, what the greatneſſe of that Citty hath formerly beene, in regard that all the parts by it poſſeſſed, deriueth from thence the Title of a Kingdome; which I do not holde to be of any great antiquitie, becauſe the Normanes tooke it from the Græcians, who poſſeſſed the Prouince in diuers partes thereof, and then it vvas tearmed the County or Earledome of * *Puglia*, or *Apulia*, as ſome do yet call it.

Robert Guiſcard, a verie valiant and worthy man, hauing expulſed (in a manner) all the Grecians thence, & taken *Sicily* alſo from the Sarrazins; would needes ſtyle himſelfe Duke of *Apulia* and of *Calabria*, and Earle of *Sicily*. In no long time after this, his Nephevve *Ruggiero* or *Roger*, hauing conquered the Cittie of

How the kingdome claymeth that title by the Cities name.

* A part of Italy, bordring vpon the Adriaticke ſea.

Robert Guiſcard the valiant Normane.

of *Naples*, which till that time had beene in the Grecians gouernment) obtayned the title of King of both the *Sicillies*, by *Anacletus* the Anti-Pope, in the yeare 1130. which afterward was confirmed to him in good and lawfull manner. And from that time, it was called the kingdom of *Sicily*, on this side [a] *Pharos*; vntill the reigne of *Charles* the first, when it becam diuided from *Sicily*, by occasion of that famous accident, called *Vespro Siciliano*, the *Sicilian* Euening, wherein so manie of the French were slaine. I finde moreouer in many good Historians, that this kingdome hath had 3. seuerall Names, to wit; the kingdome of *Naples*, the Kingdome of *Apulia*, and the kingdom of *Sicily*, on this side *Pharos*, the bounds or circumference whereof, at this day is thus described.

a A little Isle against the mouth of Nylus, ioyning to Alexandria.

The Sicilian Euening.

A description of the whole kingdome in length and breadth.

First of all, by Land-way, measure of the Line, and the Confines of the whole Kingdom, with the Sea-shores & strands; as also *Campagna di Roma*, [b] sometimes called *Latium*, which (at this day) terminateth the riuer of *Offento*, on this side *Terracina*, and from the mouth of the sayde Riuer, where it entereth into the *Terrene* Sea, proceeding on still towards the *Appenines*, with *Latium*, and part of *Sabina*: then passing the *Apennines*, with part of *Vmbria* and of *Picenam*, now called *Marca d' Ancona*, vnto the Confines thereof, is the Riuer *Truentus* or *Tronto*, where it entereth into the bosom of the *Adriatick* maine. Which Scale or Lone, because it doth not directly extend it selfe forth, but passeth on by turnings and windings, euermore from one of the forenamed Riuers to another, by the terminations of those Regions, it containeth about an hundred and fifty miles in length. Passing on thence from [c] *Terracina*, by the confines of the kingdome, to *Ponte Corno*, and *Ceperano*, and by the confines of *Aieti*, thorow the country of *Tayliacozzo*, to *Interdoco*, and *Ciuita Reale*, then to *Matrice*, and thence (by the riuer) to *Ascoli*, till we come to the mouth of *Tronto*, the Line heere being directly extended, will containe about an hundred thirty miles in length, or little lesse. By the sea-coasts along the banke and shore, the whole kingdome windeth about, like vnto an Island almost round engirt with water, as towards the middest of the *Terrhene* Sea, and so on to the *Sicilian* sea. On the East side, from the *Adriaticke* sea, and so vnto the North, part of the *Ionian* sea, so farre as [d] *Monte Gargano*, or *Santo Angelo*, and part of the *Adriatick* bosome, from *Gargano* to *Tronto*, the Kingdome extendeth it selfe, and imparteth her boundes with the saide sea: all which circumference, from *Offento* to *Tronto*, and in length by the sea-shores, containeth in all 1418, miles, in this manner.

b That part of Italy which is betweene the mouths of Tiber and the Circeians: so called of Latinus In it standeth the Citie of Rome, whereof it is now called Campagna di Roma.

c Or Trineus sinus, a Towne of the Brutiās in the vttermost borders of Italy, neere to the Lucani.

d A hil in Apulia, now called Mons S. Angeli.

From *Terracina* to *Naples*, are eighty two miles. From *Naples*, to the heade of the gulfe of *Policrasto*, an hundred fortie seuen miles. From the head of *Policrasto* to *Rhegium* in *Calabria*, an hundred eighty three miles. From *Rhegium* to the head of *Spartinento*, so to *Capo delle Colonne*, now called [e] *Lacinium*, an hundred and ninety miles. From *Capo delle Collona*, to *Taranto*, two hundred miles. From *Taranto*, to *Capo di Leuca*, now called *Salento*, thirtie miles. From *Capo di Leuca*, to *Capo d'Otranto*, sixe and twenty miles. From *Capo d'Otranto*, to *Capo S. Angelo*, now called *Gargano*, two hundred two and twentie miles. From *Capo S. Angelo*, to the vttermost confines, which is the riuer of *Tronto*, two hundred miles. All which sums in this roundure (by the sea boundes) do make one thousand, foure hundred, and eighteene miles. Whereunto adioyning the foresaid hundred & fiftie miles, which is the space of the Land by measured line, wherewith if wee ioyne to the other part of *Italy*, from *Offento* to *Tronto*, it summeth vp, one thousand fiue hundered sixty eight miles. And this is now (at this day) the dimension or measure of the kingdomes circuit.

The just account or numbering of the miles fromone place to another thorough the kingdome.

e A Promontorie in the furthest part of Italy, deuiding the Ionian and Adriaticke Seas, where Hercules built a Temple to Iuno, and cald it Lacinia.

These following Regions and Prouinces, are contained and embraced within the whole bodie. *Latio Nuouo*, that is one part, so much as is from the Riuer of *Terracina*, reaching to *Garigliano*. For, one part of the true *Latio*, which anciently extended it selfe so farre as the Riuer [f] *Liris*, that now adayes is called *Garigliano*, beginneth from *Offento* vppon the *Terrhene* sea. And although in these times, there are three partitions made of all the Regions which lye betweene *Teuere*, *Sabina*, the *Apennines*, and *Terracina*, and termed by three seuerall names, to witte, *Latio*, *Compagna di Roma*, and [g] *Maremma*: yet notwithstanding, in elder dayes (so farre

Regions and Prouinces contayned in this kingdom.

f A Riuer in Campania, running by the town Minturnæ.

g The sea before Tuscia or Hetruria, called also Mare inferum.

farre as *Garigliano*) was called all by one name, to wit, *Latio Nuouo*, or new *Latium*. And in this Region the chiefe landes and Citties, are *Formella*, *Fondi*, and *Gaeta*.

Olde *Campania*, which ſtretcheth from *Garigliano*, ſo farre as the riuer[h] *Sarnus*: therein is *Naples* and *Capua*, a moſt noble Citty, as well in auncient as moderne times.

Picenum, or where the *Picentines* inhabite, holdeth on from *Sarnus*, to the Riuer[i] *Silarus*, and the moſt famous Cities therein, are *Sorrento*, *Nocera de Pagani*, & *Salernum*.

Lucania, called ſomtimes *Sao*, containes it ſelf betweene the riuer *Silarus*, and that called[k] *Saprio*. And therein the Cities of moſt note are *Pontecaſtro* & *Saleo*: in elder times alſo there were *Peſtum* and *Buxentum*, and among the mountaines are many Caſtles.

Where the[l] *Brutij* do liue, it confineth with *Lucania*, and runneth along the riuer *Saprio* vppon the *Terrhene* ſea, ſo farre as the Promontory of *Lencopetra*, at this day called[m] *Capo dell'arme* in the *Sicilian* Sea, where the *Apennine* Mountaines do end, which beginning at the Alpes, run all along through the midſt of *Italy*, and the verie toppe ouer the ſaide *Cape*, is now adayes called by Marriners, *Punta di Tarlo*, the point of *Tarlo*. In this part, the moſt principall places are *Coſenza*, and *Rhegium* on the Sea, otherwiſe tearmed *Iunio*, as a difference and diſtinction from that *Rhegium* which is in *Lombardi*, ſo named by *Lepidus*.

[n] *Magna Grecia*, or Great *Grecia*, runneth along from *Capo dell'arme*, turning Northerly towardes the Promontorie of *Capo di Spartinento*, now called[o] *Herculanium*, by the Seacoaſt ſo farre as *Taranto*, where it entreth into the Adriaticke ſea. In it, are *Squillace*, *Taranto*, and *Cotroni*.

The countrey of the[p] *Salentines*, is on the breaſt of *Taranto*, ſo farre as *Capo di Leuca*, now called the *Salentine* Promontorie. In it are ſcituated *Callipolis* and *Vgento*.

Calabria it ſelfe, which hath ſo continued, turneth vnto *Capo di Leuca* Northward, ſo farre as[q] *Brunduſium* in the *Ionian* ſea. The famous Citties therein, are *Lecci*, *Brunduſium*, or *Brandizzium*, and *Hydruntum*, now called *Otronto*. Theſe two Regions (I meane *Salentinum* & *Calabria*, which is that part of Land which extendeth towards the Eaſt, between the Gulffe of *Taranto* and the *Ionian* ſea;) being ioyned together with one name, now adayes termed *Terra d'Otronto*, was called by our forefathers) *Lapigia* and[f] *Meſſapea*. And it is an Iſland round engirte with waters; for from *Taranto* to *Brunduſium*, which are vpon the two ſeas, there is not in firme land aboue 35. miles.

Apulia[t] *Pucetia*, betweene *Brunduſium* & *Offento*, vpon the *Ionian* Gulfe, is now adayes (along the ſea-coaſt) called *Terra di Bari*, and *Louenazzo*, & lyeth betweene the ſandy countries.

Capitanato, of plain *Apulia*, with his extendure betweene *Offento* and the Riuer called *Fortore*, paſſeth on, on the *Ionian* Gulffe, ſo far as *Capo S. Angelo*, & thence vpon the Adriaticke boſome to *Fortore*. The places of moſt note, are *Salupis*,[u] *Siporto*, and *Manfredonia*, a new citty builte by King *Maufred*. It is alſo between *Terra Luceria*, or *Nocera de Saracini*, and *Canoſa*.

Frentani are a people liuing from *Fortore* to the Riuer[x] *Sagrus*, or *Sagra*, now called the bloody riuer, on the Adriatike Gulfe. Chiefe cities therein, are *Eſtonni*, ſomtime cald *Iſtonium*, *Larino*, & *Lāciano*.

The *Peligni* dwell betweene the Riuer *Sagra*, and that called[y] *Peſcara*, ſometime *Aternus*. The faireſt citty, between *Terra*[z] *Sulmona*, and *Pentina* on the ſeacoaſt, is *Ortano*.

The[a] *Marucini* do inhabite from the riuer of *Peſcara*, ſo farre as *Tronto*, the vtmoſt ending of the kingdome, along the ſea-ſhore on the Adriaticke gulfe. There is a Sea-Cittie, which is called *Francauilla* or[b] *Frentana*, and a Land-city called *Chieti*.

Aboue the *Marucini*, between the land of the *Apennines*, and where they do take beſt rooting, beginning at the confines of the[c] *Peligni*, ſo now called, and turning towardes *Marca d'Ancona*, are three other people in order, to witte, the *Veſtini*, whoſe Citty was named *Pinna*, and now called the citty of *Penna*; the *Amiterni* and *Furroni*, of whoſe ruines the citie of[d] *Aquila* was builded, ſome ſmal diſtance off.

The *Veſtini*, neighbor with the *Precutij*, of whom

h A Riuer of Campania, riſing out of Sarnus, a hil in Picenum.

i A Riuer of Lucania, diuiding it from Picenum.

k Taking nam of Leda a Citty in Italie.

l People dwelling aboue the Lucani.

m A promontory of Rhegium in Italy againſt Sicily.

n That part of Italy, from Laurentum to Cumæ.

o A Towne in Campania.

p People almoſt enuironed with the ſea, neere to Apulia.

q A city of Calabria, by the Adriatick ſea, it hath a goodly Hauen.

r The land of the Salentines

f Where Iupiter was worſhipped in Laconia.

t An Ile whoſe narrow enterance is a whole dayes iourney.

u Called alſo Sepius or Sepinum among the Samnites in Italy

x A riuer in Italy, parting the Peligni from the Frētani.

y A riuer paſſing by Ferentum in Italy.

z Wher Ouid was borne.

a A people in Italy.

b Next to the Dauni and Piceates.

c People of Italy, next to the Marſi.

d A Citie in Campania.

whom it is verily credited, that the name of the *Brutij*, now tearmed [a] *Abruzzesi*, was first deriued.

The [b] *Marsi* dwell more inward to the Mountaines, whose most famous place is *Celæna*, with her Lake *Lucina*, now tearmed of the *Marsi* and *Albi*. These sixe forenamed people, are all called by one name, *Abruzzesi*; but oftentimes by writers they are vnderstood vnder the nomination of the *Samnites*.

* *Samnio*, from the point of Land, and almost to the middest of the Kingdome, hath *Latium* and *Campania* in length, both on this side, and beyond the *Apennines*. At this day it is called *Valle Beneuentana*, the valley of *Beneuentum*, which extendeth it selfe in length, so farre as the Riuer *Silarus*, eighty miles. Places of greatest name heretofore, were *Esernia*, *Sepino*, *Telesio*, *Beneuentum* and *Boniano*.

The [d] *Hirpini*, otherwise called *Samnites*, do confine with the *Picentines*, *Lucanes* and *Apulians*, partaking at this day with *Principato* and *Basilicata*. The most noted Cities, are now [e] *Auellino* and *Agnone*.

I finde that all these Regions haue (by our Moderne writers) beene diuided into seuen seuerall principall partes or Prouinces, if we may so tearme them, to wit, *Terra di Lauoro*, *Principato*, *Basilicata*, *Calabria*, *Terra di Otranto*, *Apulia* & *Abruzzo*. Which Prouinces haue (since then) according to order of later diuision, bene parted into twelue Regions, as I finde them in the Registers of *Naples*, in this manner.

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[f] *Terra di Lauoro*, which hath in lands, Citties, and Castelles, to the number of 198.

Contado di Montisio, hath 108.
Abruzzo the neerest, hath 155.
Abruzzo the furthest, hath 288.
Capitanata, hath 96.
Terra di Bari, hath 50.
Basilicata, hath 103.
Terra d'Otranto, hath 172.
Principato the neerest, hath 129.
Principato the furthest, hath 164.
Calabria the neerest, hath 162.
Calabria the furthest, hath 147.

All which beeing fully summed together, in Citties, Lands, and Castles, as hath formerly beene sayde, and all inhabited with plenty of people, and furnished with all thinges commodious for the life of man, do amount to one thousand seuen hundred, seuenty foure.

There are certaine Islands also in the bodie of this kingdome, which circle, neighbour, or are opposite: as on the *Terrhene* sea, directly facing *Terracina* & *Gaeta*, are the Isles of *Ponza*, and of *Palmarola*. And ouer-against [g] *Mola*, is the Ile of *Desente*. At the encountering of [h] *Pozzuolo*, is that of *Ischia*; neere to which is *Procida*, or *Prochyta*, made famous by those yong Gallants that deuised & performed the *Sicilian* Euening beside *Nisari* and [i] *Capræa*, so highly beloued of the Emperor *Tiberius*, opposite to *Capo della Minerua*.

The three [k] *Sirenussæ* do front *Passitano*; one of them being called *Gale*, another *Mona*, and the third S. *Pietro*. There is likewise the Isle of [l] *Lipara*, which circleth aboue ten miles, wherein are some Citties. On the Adriaticke maine, right against *Varano*, are those of *Rasata* & *Garganо*; and the foure other called [m] *Diomedæ*, now adayes called *Tremito*, but they are very little; and the two greater thereof are called, the one S. *Maria*, the other S. *Doimo*, and the two lesser are, the one *Gatizzo*, and the other *Caprara*. These are Islands of some note and name, omitting other places, which bee comprehended within the confines of the kingdome of *Naples*.

With them might bee ranked that of [n] *Sicily*, an Italian Island, great & wealthy: but that it is an Isle of it self, & at this day deuided from the kingdome. Notwithstanding, it did somtime partake in name with the kingdome of *Naples*. For some Kings, as *Fredericke* the eleuenth, *Maufred* his sonne, *Charles* the first of *Aniou*, and *Alphonsus* the first of *Arragon*, possessing both the one and other, wrote their titles both on this side, and beyond [o] *Pharos*. Whereuppon, when we find it written simply the kingdome of *Sicily*; it is meant of this Isle, & not of *Sicily* on this side *Pharos* in *Italy*.

In this Kingdome are twenty Archbyshopprickes, to wit, of *Naples*: which hath fiue Byshoppes vnder it: Of *Capua*, which hath ten. Of *Salernum*, which hath ten.

a So called for their Cowardice and base manners.
b Bordering on the Samnites & Aequiculani.
c Heere liue the mountain people, between the Sabines and the Marsi.
d Heere the riuer Ausidius in Apulia riseth.
e Called also Vulturnum.
Seuen principal parts or diuisions, afterward made 12
f Campania, accounted the most fertile & pleasant in all the world.
The general sum collected together
Islands in the Kingdome.
g The Cittie Nola in Campania.
h Puteoli, 8. miles from Naples
i Beyond Surrentum in Campania.
k Three Isles before Lucania.
l Containing seuen Isles betweene Italy and Sicily.
m Isles opposite to Garganus.
n A famous Isle in the Terthene sea, 618 miles about, sometime pertaining to the Kingdome of Naples.
o A Gulfe of the sea by Sicily, cald also Charybdis, dangerous to passe.
How manie Archbyshopprickes are in the kingdome and Byshops vnder them.

ten. Of *Amalfi* foure. Of *Sorrenzo* three. Of *Conza* six. Of *Cilenza* six. Of *Taranto* two. Of *Brundusium* one, and hath conioyned with it the Arch-byshoppricke of *Oria*. Of *Otranto* six. Of *Bari* twelue. Of *Trani* six. Of *Hiponte* one, and hath vnited with it the Archbyshoppricke of *Monte de S. Angelo*. Of *Beneuentum* twenty three. of *Ciuita di Chieti* three. Of *Sanciano* four. Of *Rhegium* eleuen. Of *Cosenza* one. Of *Rossano*, which hath no Byshops See vnder it. Of Saint *Seuerina* ten. And there is the Archbishoppricke of *Matera* beside.

121. Byshops vnder the 20. Archbyshops.

There are also an hundred twenty four Byshops, which are vnder the aboue named Archbyshoppricks; only the byshop of *Bisignano* excepted, who is not subiect to any one.

Of the Principalities in the kingdome

It is also to bee noted, that the Title of Prince is greater in this kingdome, then that of Duke. And the Principalities ther are ten in number, to wit, of *Ascoli*, of *Bisignano*, of *Euoli*, of *Melsi*, of *Molfetta*, of *Monchercole*, of *Squillati*, of *Siegliano*, of *Sulmona*, and of *Venosa*.

Of the seuerall dukedoms being 23. in number.

There are likewise three and twentie Dukedomes. As of *Andri*, of *Amalfi*, of *Ariano*, of *Asu*, of *Boiano*, of *Castronillari*, of *Noceri*, of *Popala*, of *Rocca di Mondragone*, of *S. Pietro* in *Galatina*, of *Seminara*, of *Sessa*, of *Somma*, of *Sora*, of *Tagliacozzo*, of *Termoli*, of *Terra nouo*, and of *Traieto*, together with those of *Grauina di Martina*, of *Montalto*, of *Montelione*, and of *Nardo*.

Of the Marquesates, to the number of 29

The Marquesates are 29. of *Anna*, of *Arienza*, of *Bellate*, of *Bucchianico*, of *Campania*, of *Capo Vrso*, of *Castel Vetere*, of *Chierchiato*, of *Ciuitá S. Angelo*, of *Corigliano*, of *Laina*, of *Lauro*, of *Sicito*, of *Misuraca*, of *Oria*, of *Oriolo*, of *Padula Beruentana*, of *Pulignano*, of *Quarata*, of *Santo Lucito*, of *Terza*, of *Torre di Francolise*, of *Torre Maggiore*, of *Triuico*, of *Turso*, of *Valle Siciliana*, of *Vasto*, and of *Vico*.

Of Earles, Lords, and Barons in their seuerall numbers.

There are in like manner, 54. Earles of State, 15. Lords, and 443. entituled Barons. And it is verily supposed, that in any kingdome of the world, there are not so many great Princes and Lordes, as in this, because they are (by nature) of high and lofty courage. And nowe I call to minde, in this matter, that I haue read in some Registers, bearing date of the yeare 1521. that the Emperor *Charles* the fifte, sold many Titles and Lordshippes in the kingdom, & that many Gentlemen sold their goodes at ten in the hundred, and bought these Lordships at three in the hundred.

The Normans gouerned Napies many yeares

This kingdome so highly ennobled, full of worthy Princes, most rich and fertile, as more cannot bee wished; was for long time gouerned by diuers kings. For beside the Normans, who helde it manie yeares, and (as hath beene sayde) wonne it the title of a Realme; it fell at length to *Fredericke* the second, Emperour, who had it of *Henry* the sixte his Father: after whom succeeded *Corrado* Emperour, son to *Fredericke*; and after him it came (by reason) to *Corradino*, Nephew to *Corrado*. But *Maufredo* the bastard son to *Fredericke*, feigning that *Corrodina* was dead vsurped the State, and made himself king. But Pope *Vrbane* the fourth (beeing enemy to *Maufredo*) excommunicated him, and depriued him of the kingdome: inuesting therein in *Anno* 1266. *Charles* the 1. of *Aniou*, Brother to *Lewes* the eight, K. of *France*; who (first of all) slewe *Maufredo*, and afterwardes causing *Corradino* to be beheaded, tooke it in full possession.

The succession of the Kings of Naples after the Normans.

Charles the second, Sonne to *Charles* Prince of *Salerne* had it next; and then succeeded him, *Robert* the excellent Philosopher; who was a very louing friend to *Petrach*. After him, the succesion fel to *Ioane*, the Neece of *Robert* by *Charls*; and next succeeded *Charles* the third, K. of [b] *Durazzo*.

b Epidamnum called also Durace, in that part of Macedon lying on the Adriaticke Sea

After his death there happened contention for the kingdome, betweene *Ladislaus* sonne to *Charles* the third, and *Lewes* of *Aniou*: but *Ladislaus* remaining ful Patron, held it till the yeare one thousand foure hundred and foureteene: and then succeeded *Ioane* the second, his sister; in whose place (making himselfe King by force of armes) rose *Alphonso* of *Arragon* the sonne to *Ferdinando*, who left it vnto *Ferdinando* his bastard son. Next to him succeeded *Alphonso* the second, who troubled himselfe not long in the Kingdome, by the comming of *Charles* the eight, K. of France into Italy, for recouerie of the kingdome, and then renounced it to *Ferdinando* the second, his son; from whom it came to *Frederigo*, Vnckle to the sayde *Ferdinando*.

The Emperor Charles the 5

Afterward it fell to *Charles* the fifte, Em-

A constitution concerning the kingdome of Naples

Emperor, who had the inueſtiture from Pope *Leo* the tenth. For there was ſuch a conſtitution betweene the Popes, Emperors, and Kings of *Naples*, that whoſoeuer was Emperor, he could not bee King of *Naples*: and therefore he gaue it ouer to *Philip* the firſt, King of *Spaine*, vvhoſe ſonne *Philip* the ſecond, now holdeth it, keeping there a Vice-roy, with moſt ample authority, and repreſenteth there the Kings owne perſon. Whereby he is very much honoured and reuerenced of all his ſubordinate Gouernors, according as he cauſeth himſelfe to be eſteemed, both by his valour and authority.

The High Conſtable.

Seuen ſeueral places of Authority appertaining to the Kingdome.

The Officers or Magiſtrates of the Kingdome, are ſeauen in theyr ſeuerall degrees; but he whom they terme *Sindico*, that repreſenteth the whole City, and ſpeaketh for all as chiefeſt Aduocate, is the Conſtable, or rather high Marſhall. He is the firſt man of the kingdome, and Captaine generall for all ordinances of warre. He (as Lieutenant to the king) ordaineth and prouideth all ſuch things, as appertaine to the preparation for warre: hauing charge of the Sentinelles, encamping men, prouiding tents and lodgings, appointing the Enſignes Royall, and (in breefe) hee hath the care for all matters that concerne Armes. In which place, he hath authority to chaſtiſe, and to put to death ſuch perſons as commit Theſte, Rapine, Homicides, and other miſdemeanors in the Campe. And this Office continueth ſo long as warres laſteth. When the King createth him in this dignity, deliuering a Truncheon to him, he vſeth theſe words: *Take this holy Weapon, wherewith thou ſhalt expell the aduerſaries of my people.*

The Office of the high Conſtable or Marſhall.

The maner of the Conſtables creation.

The Great Iuſticer.

The ſecond Office, is that of Great Iuſticer, or Lord chiefe Iuſtice, who hath iuriſdiction as well in ciuil cauſes, as thoſe that be criminall; and vnder his authority are all the Princes, Dukes, Marqueſſes, Lords, and Barons of the Kingdome; for to him belongeth care of offences againſt the Maieſty Royall. His Vicar or Lieutenant, is called Regent of the *Vicaria*: who hath his Iudges both ciuill and criminall, and his Tribunall is in the Court of the *Vicaria*, hauing allowed him for his yearely prouiſion, ſixe hundred Ducates.

The L. chiefe Iuſtice, the ſecond Officer of the Kingdome, and his authority.

The High Admirall.

The thirde Office, is that of Great or High Admirall, who hath the charge of Sea cauſes, and ſuch things as appertaine to Nauall Art and profeſſion. Hee looketh to the making, repairing, building, and appointing of all Shippes for Royall ſeruice, and keeping of all ſuch veſſels as come into the kingdome, from vvhat parts ſoeuer. VVhen occaſion ſo requireth, and that it is impoſed on him by the King, he ſetteth forth the Nauall Army in order. He appointeth both reall & corporeall puniſhments for delinquents, and hath ciuill and criminall iuriſdiction ouer the Officers and others, that attend on Sea affayres.

The L. High Admirall, the third Officer, & his authority.

The Great Chamberlaine.

The fourth Office, is, that of Great Chamberlaine, or the Chamberlaine of State, chooſe yee whether: whoſe Deputie or Lieutenant hath his iudgement Seate, in the Chamber called *Sommaria*. His charge is to haue care of the Kinges perſon, to prepare and adorne his bedde; as alſo his Garments, and to take order for all his vnder Chamberlaines, Guardians, and Treaſurers. Hee keepeth all the cuſtomes of the kingdome, and taketh cognition of the matters belonging vnto the Royall Exchequer, the tenths, tolles, fines, reuennewes, and other things appertaining to the Kings perſon.

The fourth officer, Lord Great Chamberlaine, and his authoritie.

The Protonotary,

The fift Office is the Lieutenant, or rather Protonotarie. Hee ſtandeth obliged to reade before the King, and to conſerue the writings and regiſters. He hath authority to create Notaries, Iudges, and to Legittimate Baſtards. But the Catholike King hath (ſince then) transferred the Office of writings, and of the Regiſters, to the Kings Chancery.

The Protonotary or chiefe Secretary, and his office

The Great Steward.

The ſixte Office, is that of Great Seneſ-

Seneſchall or Steward, tearmed the *Maior domo* or Maſter of the houſhold. This man hath the gouernment of the houſehold Royal, and to prouide all things neceſſary for life, as alſo garments for the Seruants in the Kings Court; hauing likewiſe abſolute power, to correct & puniſh all the familiars of the Kings houſe.

Great Chancellor.

Lord Chiefe Chancellour, the laſt office, & his charge.

The ſeuenth and laſt Office (of moſt importance in the kingdome) is that of Great Chancellor; who writeth the kings Letters of ſecrecie, and ſealeth al the priuiledges (graunted by the King) to any perſon. He hath alſo command ouer the walkers of Stations, the Beadles, the Studies, and ſuch like things. It is alſo to be remembred, that the high Conſtable, the Admirall, and the Protonotary, do ſit on the Kings right hand. And the Lord chief Iuſtice, the Great Chamberlain, and the Great Chancellor, on the left hand. But the Great Steward, he ſitteth on a ſtoole at the Kings feete.

Their order of ſitting with the King.

CHAP. IIII.

Of a Law obſerued amongſt the Rhodians, which enioyned and commanded Fathers (ſetting aſide all other buſineſſe and affayres) to marry their daughters with all poſſible ſpeed.

Greece the Mother of ancient Lawes.

THere are very fewe people, (in mine opinion) that are ignorant of the Romaine Lawes, which came firſt forth of *Greece*, and are continued to this day; ſurpaſsing al other nations whatſoeuer, in the actions of Iuſtice and Policy, and among them haue many Common-weales flouriſhed, not onely in Military and warlike affaires, but alſo in good manners and policies. Among the reſt, that of the *Rhodians* is to be eſteemed; which not onely eſtabliſhed great ſtore of Lawes, to render euerie man what belonged to him, & preſerue the weaker ſort from oppreſsion; but alſo concerning the marriage of their daughters, becauſe no inconuenience ſhould

The Rhodians eſtabliſht manie good Lawes.

enſue to them, as to too many elſewhere happened. The Law then made for marriage of their daughters, was breefely ſet downe in theſe words.

The words of the Rhodians written Law, for the marriage of Maides

WE command, that a Father doe not torment himſelfe one onely day, for the marriage of ten ſonnes, if hee ſhould haue ſo many: but rather to labour and trauayle tenne yeares, for the marriage of one onely daughter, being vertuous. That hee ſtand in water vp to the mouth; That he ſweat great drops of blood, and labor in the ground, drawing like a Horſſe; That he do rather diſinherit all his Male-children, leaue all his welth and riches to vtter abandoning, yea, and his owne proper life; onely to prouide ſafetie for his daughters chaſtity.

This Law had bene worthy of obſeruation in the countries heereabout, where if it had liued in the like force and vertue; ſo many famous Families had neuer bin diſhonoured, by the ſhameleſſe immodeſties of ouer-many maidens, as haue remained to very wofull example. For, it hath bin noted, that Fathers (oftentimes thorow greedy couetouſneſſe) would not allow Dowries to their daughters, anſwerable to their meanes and qualitie: in regard whereof, they haue cauſed them to be forſaken, and not ſought vnto by any perſon. Sometimes alſo they haue giuen them greater eſtates then either was conuenient, or ſtood with their owne power, to the ruine and ouerthrow both of the one and other. Wee haue obſerued likewiſe, ſome ill aduiſed fathers, who haue neglected their daughters marriages, being ouer-ſwayed with affection to theyr ſonnes, and bearing no reſpect at all to their daughters; eyther ſuffering them to enter too farre into yeares, or elſe to bee ſhut vp in Religious houſes (by not affording them money meete for Marriage) where all their time they haue liued miſerably, and (many times) as vnchaſtly, and with much leſſe honour then they could haue done, if they had remaind at liberty.

A verie great ertor and iniurie in Fathers towards their daughters.

Fathers that loue their ſonnes more then their daughters.

The common Prouerb is, that ther are three things, which if men do them not, they will be done of themſelues: And the third of them is, that if men do not marry their daughters, then they wil marry thẽſelues, and oftentimes, to ſuch as are of bad life, or poore, or not agreeing with their owne quality, to the great diſhonor of

A great fault committed by ouer-many Maidens.

A great blemish to any Commonwealth.

of themselues and their parents. When this doth happen in any Commonwelth, alliances loose themselues, and there is nothing but reproch on the one side and other; whereby (too often) great quarrels do arise, suites in law, and other desperate inconueniences.

To auoyd all which dangers, Fathers ought to be aduertised, that it is not good to keep their daughters too long vnmarried; For as one saieth very well; *It is a merchandise, which beeing kept, there is nothing gotten by it.* Prouision therefore (in this case) should be made, when theyr daughters begin to enter into their puberty, which is, at 13. yeares of age, or (at the vttermost) at 16. or 18. and to make no longer delaying, if possibly it may be don: for then they are ripe, and ready to yeeld fruite. If they be kept any longer time, for the most part they lose their beautie, and fairest graces. They affoord (according to common naturall instinct, as well in beasts, as in men, throwing all reason and respect behinde them) their affection to some such, whom their Parents doe not thinke meete and conuenient, and (in the end) worke some taint or blemish vnto their owne modesty. Or if they doe not; by reason of their frequent familiaritie with men, they shall be sure talked of verie strangely, which now adaies is grown so common and reproachfull, that euen the verie chastest that liue, haue worke enough to doe, to exempt and cleare themselues, from badde fame and ill reports.

To let them run to seede like hearbes vngathered.

Meete time for marriage in Maids

The manie harmes that do ensue, by the deferring of marrying maidens.

Moreouer we daily behold, that when Parents doe prouide for their daughters, such as are somewhat entred into yeares, they will refuse the men that are thought meete for them, and made offer of to them in good discretion. Alledging that they haue already giuen their liking vnto another, and (as many times it comes to passe) to such a one as is vtter enemie to their house; compelling their parents either to forsake them, without any choise at all, or else (with much sorrow) to consent thereto, onely to auoide the woorst, whereby both Fathers and mothers remaine discontented so long as they liue. These warnings do speake themselues, as well vnto great persons, such as are not onely Emperors, Kings, Princes, and other illustrious bloodes, but also to Plebeians, and men of vsuall ranke, who do stand no more exempt from ill husbanding their children, then the other do, but are euen as ready to faile therein, yea, and many times soonest. Which I will approoue by some Histories, deriued from *Bandello* the Italian, and the Annalles of *France*.

The folly of some daughters in disliking the Election of theyr parents.

Aduertisment as wel vnto great men, as those of meaner degree.

Adelasia, daughter to one of the greatest and most vertuous Emperors, named *Otho*, third of that name, that reigned after *Charlemaigne*, vntill his time, hauing listened vnto many Kings and Princes, who sought his Daughter *Adelasia* in Marriage, as well for her extraordinarie beautie, as her other excellent Graces, and Royall extraction: yet hee aspiring (as it should seeme) at some greater and more nobler match, or a party of more worth (in his opinion) for his daughter, by means of these delayes, broght incomparable misfortune to his Imperial house which else had flourished in no meane happinesse. *Adelasia* grew enamored of a young youth, a Sonne to the house of *Saxony*, and both of them being secretly married, furnished with some small store of money, beside a few Iewels and precious stones; betooke themselues to trauaile, attired and disguised like Pilgrims, *Adelasia* in the habite of a youth, with full deliberation, to make their abyding in some strange countrey, far enough from *Allemaigne*.

The History of Adelasia, daughter to the Emperor Otho the 3.

Alerane, one of the yongest sons to the Duke of Saxony.

Thus wandering as fugitiues, to satisfie their owne voluptuous desires: at the length, they were robbed on the Highway, and so by that meanes, were constrained (after long and importunate begging, trauersing manie Countreyes) to retire into a great Forrest, scituated betweene *Ast* and * *Sauona*, in *Italy*; where (thorough great necessity) they began to exercise the labour of Colliars, enduring many stormes and hard afflictions, for the space of eighteen years together. In the end, it pleased God to be satisfied with their humility & repentance, and to make them better knowne, by the meanes of one of their sons, named *William*, who following the nature of his extraction, betooke himselfe to make one in the Imperiall Armies in *Italy*, & greatly resembling in fauour the Emperour *Otho*, whereby he was imagined to be issued of *Adelasia*: which being found to fall

*Called also Sabatia in Liguria, a hilly country, reaching from Apeninus to the Tuscane Sea, one way, and from the Riuer Macra, to Varus, another way.

Naturall Nobility can neuer be concealed from manifest apparance.

Example of great Charlemains daughter.

out true, and the poore retreate of the Colliars (his parents) made knowne, the Emperor pardoned them; & calling them home into *Allemaigne*, gaue them great and liberall meanes; but much blamed himselfe, that he hadde not marryed his daughter in such time as was fittest for her. The like happened to that far more puissant and great Emperour (his predecessor) *Charlemaigne*; whose eldest daughter was found paillardising with one named *Eginhard*, his Secretary, or (as some say) Chauncellour vnto the saide *Charlemaigne*.

The history of Iudith, daughter to Charles the Bald, king of France.

Some Kings of France haue also bene payed with coine of the same stampe, as well as these fore-named Emperors; witnesse *Iudith*, daughter to *Charls* the Bald, second of that name. Her Father refused to giue her in marriage to diuerse young *Allemaigne* Princes, of great extraction, as Dukes, Marquesses, and others: affecting (much rather) to giue her in wedlocke to a King of England, who had formerly beene an Archbyshop, a man aged sickly, and impotent, with whome she remained eight months only, and without any hope of yssue. Repassing the sea, to returne home into France, she sent vnto *Baldwine*, Gouernor of the colliars countrey, then termed *Pais Charbomieres*, but now adayes called the countrey of *Flanders*, a poore Prouince, wherto no other Lieutenants or Gouernours were giuen by the King, but such as were of smal and slender renowne. This *Baldwine* had clandestinely promised marriage to Lady *Iudith*, before shee was sent into England, he being a goodly person, faire and of absolute forme, as many of that country oftentimes are, yet of no great discent, a Gentleman in the midst of many necessities, who surprized her on the seas (she being willing enough to be so taken) & carried her home with him into his gouernment. The King was so displeased heerewith, & that iustly, that he appointed diuers forces to goe punish the rauisher of his daughter, being his owne disloyal subiect. But he was round engirt with so many Wars, as well against his Nephewes, as his Brothers, and the Danes, that he was sodainely enforced to defer his intention for that time, dying not long after, bearing no meane greefe for this rape (with him) to his graue. By means wherof *Baldwine* & she liued a long while as priuate persons, not hauing any great store of meanes for their maintenance.

Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, who had secretly promised marriage to Iudith, before her going to England.

Lewes the Stammerer, succeeded his father Charles the Bald.

Charles the Bald, molested with many warres, dyed.

Lewes the stammerer, successor & brother to *Charls* the Bald, as much offended as the father of *Iudith*, persisted in resolution to punish these two louers. Neuertheless, by the humble entreaties made vnto him by diuers worthy Church-men, of holy life & vnstaind fame, beside diuers other great personages of his kingdome, (who deliuered liuely representation to him of the yong yeares wherin they then were, subiect to the prouocations of nature, who hath not alwayes reason for her guide, and laying the blame on hir deceased father, that would not admit her to marry, when she was so sought and sued vnto:) he pardoned them, giuing vnto his Neece *Iudith* and her heires, the country and Forrest of the Colliers, whereof *Baldwine* had formerly bin Gouernor; yet afterward depriued, & thus restored. And albeit it was a matter of small moment in these times; yet he reserued the homage thereof to the crowne of France, which homage the kings of France successiuely enioyed, vntil the taking of king *Frances*, first of that name, who quitted the soueraignty therof to *Charles* the fift, and Emperor. At this day it is a goodly & wealthy country, populous; hauing great store of faire Cities and Towns, and greatly merchandized; in regard of the sea, and diuers faire riuers which adorne the Prouince. But let vs nowe see, if Gentlemen haue stoode free from this disaster, more then Emperors and Kings haue done; it shall not be amisse therefore to alledge some, as well of *Italy*, as of *France*.

At what time the countrey of Flanders was brought to yeelde homage vnto France.

The great difference from former times, in the condition of Flanders.

The memorable historie of faire Iulietta, of Verona the Montacute, & Romeo the Capelet.

In *Verona*, a famous City of *Italy*, liued a yong Gentlewoman, named *Iulietta*, of the noble house of the *Montesches*, or *Montacutes*. Her father being not willing that she should marry, when both the decency of time, and aptnesse of her yeares made tender of themselues: therefore (in her fairest flower) shee espoused her selfe, vnknown to her parents, to a gentlemans son of another house and family, cald, the *Capelets*, whose name was *Romeo*, and the *Capelets* were mortall enemies vnto the *Montesches* or *Montacutes*. This mariage sorted vnto the lamentable death of both the louers, as you shall briefly hear in this manner. They being secretly maried, and

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by the hand of a Cordelier or Franciſcan Friar, a man moſt expert in the ſecrets of nature, who tooke great compaſſion on their earneſt reciprocal affection & dayly torments between them indured: it hapned on a certain day, that an vncle to *Iulietta*, in regard of the inuetred hatred between both the families, drew vppon *Romeo*, who (defending his owne body) ſlew the ſaid Vnckle, whereupon he was baniſhed, or inforced (at the leaſt) to be abſent from *Verona*. The wofull Gentlewoman hauing made her moane vnto the honeſt minded Friar, vnder the ſhaddow of confeſsion, concerning the irkſom abſence of her beſt eſteemed friend; he gaue her aduice to receiue a little potion when ſhee went to bed, which ſhould cauſe her to ſleep for more then 30. houres, ſo that ſhe ſhold be verily ſuppoſed to be dead. She boldly aduentured on his counſel, & her parents imagining her to be dead indeed cauſed her to be buried in the Tombe or vault belonging to the houſe of her predeceſſors. From thence the Friar purpoſed to fetch her, at a certaine houre of the night, & to conduct her (in the habit of a Nouice) to baniſhed *Romeo*, who liued in the land of another iuriſdiction, yet no far diſtance from the city. All this was poſsible & eaſy to be performed, for it was and is a common cuſtome there, not to burie deceaſed bodies in graues, as it is obſerued among vs, but in Grottes or vaulted caues. While theſe things were framing themſelues according to premeditated purpoſe; it fortuned that a ſeruant belonging to *Romeo* came to *Verona*, to bring Letters of recommendation to *Iulietta*, & being returned back to his maſter, reported the certaine tidings of her death, and that himſelfe was preſent at her interring. *Romeo*, confounded with greefe & extremity of paſſions, found the meanes (in a diſguiſed habit) before the ſhutting vp of *Verona* gates, to enter the city. In the dead time of night alſo hee compaſſed his intent, entering the Church with a lighted Torch in his hand, hauing opened the doores by the help of his ſeruant, and alſo the tombe wherein ſhe lay incloſed. Hauing commanded the abſence of his ſeruant, he entred into the vault, & after kiſſes infinitly beſtowed by him on *Iulietta*, whom he verily conceited to be dead, he dranke a moſt deadly poyſon, which hee had formerly bought of a very needie Apothecary, and which immediately fel to operation, ſo ſlept hee (for euer) by the body of *Iulietta*. After her drinke hadde wrought his full power, ſhe awaked; and by meanes of the burning Torch perceyued her *Romeo* to bee quite dead: whereat enraged with greef, and ſnatching a ponyard that hung at his girdle, ſhe preſently there ſlewe her ſelfe. The honeſt Fryar came, and (as he thought) at ſuch a conuenient houre, when *Iulietta* ſhold awake from her artificiall ſleepe, that truely repreſented the ſhape of death: but when he beheld that tragicke wofull ſpectacle, let his ſorrow be cenſured bythem of beſt iudgement. On the morrow after, the death of theſe two Louers was diſcouered, and all matters rehearſed by Fryar *Laurence*, for ſo was the Cordelier nam'd. All which mournfull diſaſter happened, becauſe *Iuliettaes* father would not ſuffer her to marry when reaſon required. Now I will declare another French Hiſtorie, which happened within the compaſſe of mine owne memory.

Damoiſelle Geneuiefue, Daughter vnto *Monſieur Megrelin*, a Gentleman in ordinary in the Court of King *Frances* the 2. eſpouſed her ſelfe by word onely, & without knowledg of any in hir fathers houſe, to one that was Schoolemaſter vnto her brethren, named *Medard*, a *Piccard* by nation, borne in *Laon*, a yong man of paſſable handſomnes, and of indifferent knowledge for his time, being about 23. yeares old. She found her ſelfe to be conceiued with child, and fearing the diſpleaſure of her mother more then the frowns of her father, becauſe ſhe was a very ſeuere woman, forſooke her Fathers houſe, and the goodly city of *Paris*, accompanied vvith none but her troth-plighted husband the ſchoolemaſter. Trauailing thorow the countrey, they made their ſtay in a great Borrough town of *Champaign*, where likewiſe he becam ſchoolmaſter, taking great paines to ſupply their neceſsities. Within ſom few months after their reſiding ther, *Medard* dyed; and ſhe fiue dayes after the death of her husband, one Euening after ſupper, in a publike place, declared to all ſuch as gaue fauour to heare her, the whol Hiſtorie of their fore-paſſed Loue, her marriage by promiſe, her extraction, want of gouernement, and the iniurie done

Conference betweene the holy Friar & Iulietta, what was to be don in ſuch an vrgent neceſsity

The comming of a ſeruant of Romeos to Verona, in the interim of theſe ſerious affaires.

Romeo commeth himſelfe to Verona, & dyed in the graue of Iulietta.

The death of Iulietta, after ſhe found Romeo dead.

Friar Laurẽce related the whole maner of the tragedy

The hiſtory of a yong Gentlewoman of Paris.

The Gentlewomans departure from her Fathers houſe.

The death of Medard the ſchoolemaſter

The desperate death of Damoiselle Genieſue.

done by her to her ſeruants, deſiring (very heartily) pardon both of God and thē. So, feigning as if ſhe intended to goe to bed with her young infant, which was about ſix weekes old; ſhee went and hanged her ſelfe that night, on a beame end of a poore Cottage, which they had taken vpon hire; of which miſhap, the people of the Towne ſoon aduertiſed her parents. For mine owne part, in the ſame manner as I haue ſet it downe, it was reported to me by the forenamed *Monſieur Megrelin*, who made no ſmall account of my friendſhip, and dyed with verie great greefe; often ſaying vnto many, that this misfortune thus fell vnto him, by refuſing his daughters marriage with a yong Aduocate, one of ſufficient wealth, and that had requeſted her many times to bee his wife, which ſtill hee denied, intending to beſtow her on a Gentleman.

The death of her Father.

The hiſtory of Paulo and Lucrecia, two Roman louers

In the Citty of *Rome*, no long vvhile ſince, there was a young maiden (named *Lucrecia*, daughter to a rich Marchant) ſecretly eſpouſd to a yong man, called *Paulo*, ſonne alſo to another Merchant, the two fathers beeing vowed enemies, and both alike enuious of each others Fortune. The father of *Paulo* perceiuing how faſt aged yeares came ſtealing on him, determined a marriage for his ſon, acquainting him therewith, that he hadde made choiſe of one meete for him, commaunding him alſo to faſhion himſelf to good liking thereof, becauſe hee would haue it accompliſhed within very few dayes. The ſonne deferred it off ſo long as vvell hee could; yet to declare ſome obedience to his father, hee craued reſpite to conſider thereof: but in the mean while, it was generally noiſed thorow the City of *Rome*, that *Paulo* muſt be married vnto another. Theſe newes comming vnto the eares of *Lucrecia*, ſhe diſſembled her inward conceyued diſpleaſure, verily imagining the matter to bee already done. *Paulo* comming, as oftentimes he did when fit time fauoured him, to viſit his *Lucrecia* in the night time, ſo iocond and merry as at no time more; after accuſtomed kindneſſes paſſed betweene them, *Paulo* fell into a very ſound ſleep. *Lucrecia* beholding him in that fearleſſe eſtate, with a great Knife ſhe gaue him ſo many ſtabbes and deepe wounds, both in the breſt and belly, that he fell downe ſtarke dead, and afterward committed the like violence on her ſelfe. This act, ſo full of ſorrow and ſadde miſchance, came to the eare of Pope *Paulus* the fourth, who would not allow them to haue Chriſtian burial. But a learned diuine, a *Iacobine* by Religion, made ſo excellent an Oration to the Pope, againſt the vnkinde parents of the deceaſed Louers; that Obſequies were granted, & buriall giuen them. And an aged woman, a ſeruant to *Lucrecia*, who had beene the meanes of their priuate marriage, was (by authority of Iuſtice) burned aliue, becauſe ſhe had not aduertiſed the parents thereof.

Another marriage purpoſed for Paulo by his Father.

Affection is too full of too light credulity

Lucrecia, a Daughter of Rome, ſlewe both her huſband and her ſelfe.

How all theſe dangers might haue bin preuented in all the alledged hiſtories.

If theſe Emperors, Kings, Gentlemen and thoſe of meaner condition, had obſerued the Law of the Rhodians, which I haue alledged in the beginning of this chapter; they neuer had falne into thoſe dreadfull miſcheefes, which theyr owne wilfull folly brought vpon them. They may alſo ſerue as a good warning to Fathers at this inſtant, and ſuch as ſhall bee heereafter, how to auoyde ſo enorme an error. I will giue aduice likewiſe to ſuch Maidens, as hauing paſt the age of fiue and twenty yeares, if either auarice, or any other bad humor in their parents doe make them negligent of their marriages, when men of meet match and quality are offered to them, to be bold of their owne liking and choiſe in marriage; prouided, that they firſt make it knowne vnto theyr parents. And then if they will not yeeld conſent, they may proceed on further: alwayes prouided, that they are equall in quality, and no way infamous. And leaſt their Fathers ſhould diſinherit them, the Emperor ordained thus in the authentical rule; *Sed ſi poſt. C. de inofficioſa teſta.* The like ordinance is to bee found in the French *Code*, in the chapter of clādeſtine Marriages, made by king *Henry* the ſecond. And there may bee noted another inconuenience, which vnaduiſed fathers do incurre themſelues, that in due time, and vppon iuſt reaſon, will not yeelde to theyr daughters marriages.

Aduice giuen to maidens of theſe times.

A law againſt diſinheriting maidens, that make theyr owne choyſe when their parents will not.

CHAP.

CHAP.V.

That Tyrants do liue continually in feares: and that their ends are most miserable.

Tyrants at all times and in all places are full of feares.

THE life of a Tyrant is full of hatred; euery man deteſteth him; all are offended at him, and he is ſubiect to infinite perils. What was the life of *Ariſtippus*, to whom the very walles were dreadfull? VVhat that of *Alexander Phæreus*, who liued in an hourely ſuſpition of his owne wife? What that of *Dyoniſius* the *Syracuſane*, who neuer durſt truſt his Barber, for feare leaſt in trimming his beard, hee ſhould cutte his throat. Hee had the carnall knowledge but of two women onely, *Ariſtomada* and *Dorida*, and yet he would neuer let them come neere him, vntill they had put off all their garments. The Chamber wherein he vſed to ſleepe, was round engirt with a wide deepe ditch, and there was no entrance to it, but onely by a draw-bridge.

All things whatſoeuer, are continually ſuſpected ſo much by Tyrants, that it was not ſpoken without good aduice; *That Tyranny is the Nurſſe of feare.* For it commonly cometh ſo to paſſe, that ſuch as liue till men feare them, doe alſo feare them by whom they are feared. This kinde of life, ſo full of care and dread, *Dyoniſius* the Tyrant diſcouered to his Oratour *Damocles*, of whom the Hiſtory followeth in this manner.

Tyranny is the Nurſſe of feares. *Cicero in Tuſcul. lib. 5.*

Damocles defending in an Oration, which hee deliuered in the preſence of king *Dyoniſius*; that neuer was any man more happy then he, for his inumerable wealth & treaſures, beſide the abundance of all things in his kingdome. *O Damocles* (inſtantly ſaid the Tyrant) *ſeeing my life is ſo well liked by thee, I deſire that thou woldſt preſently but taſte and experiment my fortune.* Whereto *Damocles* conſenting, the *Syracuſane* king cauſed him to ſitte vpon a ſtately & ſumptuous bed, richly embroydered with gold: and before him ſtood Tables and Stooles in magnificent manner, all couered with veſſels of Gold and Siluer. He was ſerued by many young children, endued with ſingular beauty, & the ſeruice was extraordinarily magnificient, with all kindes of delicious and exquiſite viands. The golden Hall, which gliſtered round about him, was perfumed with vnguents of excellent odors, beſide Flowers, Chaplets, and curious Noſegayes. To be ſhort, in this ſo triumphant and royall furniſhment, *Damocles* helde ſuch a proud, enflated, and ſwolne vp countenance, euen as if in Maieſty Royall: King *Dyoniſius* called to him, and bad him lift vp his head, to behold what was inſtantly ouer it. There he ſhewed him a fayre bright Sword, which he had cauſed to be faſtened to the plancher, directly ouer the head of *Damocles*. He ſeeing the naked Sword, which hung but by one haire of a horſes maine, ready to fall on the leaſt occaſion; conſidering thereon with deliberation, and perceiuing that death was his preſent companion; he began to diſpraiſe the royalty and riches of the King, deſiring to bee deliuered from that kinde of felicity.

The Hiſtory of Dyoniſius the Tyrant, & his flatterer Damocles.

Damocles in all his pompe and pride was diſmaied with a ſuddē ſight.

Heereupon *Dyoniſius* ſaid vnto him, *Doeſt thou not ſee, O* Damocles, *how greatly thou art deceiued in thine owne opinion? Such is our life, which (not long ſince) thou heldſt to be ſo happy: but now thou plainly perceiueſt, that eminent death is alwayes attending.* By which example we may eaſily iudge, that he can neuer be happy, that is daily afflicted with feare. To this purpoſe *Horace* writ theſe verſes.

Dyoniſius his words to Damocles.

Not the fine fare of Sicily,
Will ſauour ſweet and daintily,
Nor the rare ſound of the Lyre,
Nor the ſweet Birdes in their quire:
All theſe affoord no pleaſure can,
To that wofull wretched man,
That beholds aboue his head,
A naked Sword to ſtrike him dead.

Verſes tranſlated out of Horace.

And as *Iob* ſaith, *The ſound of feare and dreadful affrights is alwaies in his eares:* and although peace be certaine, yet is hee daily doubtfull of cloſe ambuſhes. Tyrants loue not any body, and therefore (vpon iuſt occaſion) learned men tearmed them to be cruell beaſts, and plagues to mankinde. In the human figure of whō is ſo much ſauage cruelty, that *Salomon* ſaide directly; *A wicked Prince is a roaring Lyon, and an hunger-ſtarued Beare ouer poore people.*

Iob 19,14.

Prouer. 17,12

And

Malach. 2,9. Iob 22,8. Hoſea 6,10. Eſay 50,7.

And yet God hath and ſometimes doth permit, that Tyrants ſhall reigne, for the chaſtiſement of wicked men, ſaying; *I wil take vengeance on mine enemies by mine enemies. God* (ſaith *Iob*) *maketh the hipocriticall man to reigne, in regard of the peoples ſinnes.* And in *Hoſea* God ſpeaketh thus: *I will giue thee a king in my fury.* And in *Eſay*; *Aſhur is the rod and ſtaffe of my fury, I will ſend thee to a deceitfull people.* Neuertheleſſe, they are not acceptable to God, who throwes them at length into the fire, as a father doth the rod, when he hath therewith beaten his childe. And it hath alwaies ſo falne out, that all theſe Tyrants, or the moſt part of thē, haue ended their liues miſerably, & oftentimes by violent death, cauſed by their owne friends; and approoued by conſent of all the people. But becauſe the examples of tragicall endes in ſuch Tyrants, are handled in a number of other Treatiſes, & experience hath made it daily manifeſt vnto vs; I may the ſooner conclude this Chapter.

Miſerable & violent deths of Tyrants.

CHAP. VI.

A moſt horrible cruelty vſed by the Numantines *againſt the* Romanes; *and in the end vpon themſelues.*

Extremities are the occaſion of deſperate vowes & promiſes.

Scipio hauing continued ſiedge before the Citty of *Numantia* in *Spaine*, the ſpace of a yeare and ſeuen Moneths, and neuer ceaſſing: munition and victuals began to fayle among the beſiedged, ſo that very many died with famine. Wherupon they made a vow to the Gods, that the firſt morſell they would eate euery day, ſhould be the fleſh of ſome Romane: and that they would drinke neyther wine nor water, till they had ſwallowed the blood of ſuch as they ſlew.

Extremity ſtill waiteth vpon extremity, and begetteth daily worſe and worſe courſes.

The *Numantines* hauing all ſworne to this vow, they iſſued foorth of the Citty, and like men, more then deſperate, chaſed the *Romanes*, euen as if they had beene brute beaſts: and ſuch as they ſlew or ſurprized, immediately they killed and broyled inhumanely, or being ſliced in peeces, they ſolde thē by weight in the Shambles or Butchery. So that a Romane taken by them, or ſlaine, was of farre greater price and eſtimation, then to liue and pay his ranſome. Finally, the *Numantines* perceiuing, that they had no more meanes of ſupportation, beeing oppreſſed with famine, and encloſed on euery ſide: they conſulted among themſelues to kill all their aged people; yea, all the women & children in the Citty; which (without any feare or reſpect at all) they put in execution.

When they had done thus, all the wealth and mooueables of the Citty, the Iewels & Treaſures of the Temples, were broght together in ſpacious places, & there conſumed with fire, yea, and all parts & quarters of the Citty, without leauing a houſe ſtanding, ſuffered the very ſame conſummation; and euery man tooke a ſudden & ſpeedy diſpatching poyſon, whereby they might the ſooneſt dye. Thus the Temples, houſes, goods, and perſons of the *Numantines*, which had continued in proſperity foure hundred, ſixty & ſixe yeares, had finall concluſion all in one day. A ſight moſt horrible it was to behold, that the *Numantines* did thoſe things liuing, ſo full of gaſtly terror, and not be remooued from them at their houre of death. For they left not to *Scipio*, any goods as booty or pillage, nor ſo much as a man liuing, for a Trophee or Triumph.

The proſperity of 466 yeares conſumed all in one day.

Scipio ſeeing *Numantia* flaming, and afterward entring thereinto, beheld all the buildings demoliſhed, and turned one vpon another, all the Inhabitants burned; he grieued very greatly, and being vnable to containe himſelfe from teares, cryed out thus: *O moſt happy* Numantia, *to whom the Gods appointed, that thou ſhouldſt rather remaine deſtroyed, then conquered! Numa Pompillius*, king of the *Romans*, cauſed this Citty of *Numantia* to be builded, & *Scipio* the *Romane*, being aged then but two and twenty yeares, ſaw the ruine of it.

The words of Scipio on ruined Numantia.

CHAP. VII.

That a valiant Generall or Captaine, ought firſt to embrace wiſedome & prouidence, before he do make experiment of his fortune: and alſo that after victory, he ſhold be milde and pittifull.

TO be a Captain or Generall, is an Office very honorable, but yet attended by

The dangerous Office of a Captaine or Generall.

by many dangers. For notwithstanding he shall performe but what hee may and ought, yet if misfortune be present in giuing the battaile, and returne him off with out victory; hee shall neuer satisfie the vulgar, but the people will hold him in bad reputation, although it value his life in the aduenture. Let euery man bee of what quality and wisedome hee may, or would wish to be, & vse the best carriage he can possibly deuise; yet we shall neuer heare a conquered Captaine called wise, or him temerarious, that gets the victory. It is a good thing that Captaines should be wise, but yet much better to be fortunate.

The saying of Scipio Affricanus.

Scipio Affricanus vsed to say; *That all things ought to bee essayed in warre, before they lay any hand to weapons.* And (in truth) he saide well, because there is no greater victory in the world, then that which is wonne without effusion of blood. *Cicero* writing to *Attica*, saith; *That the Captaine which conquers his enemies by councell, ought to be no lesse esteemed, then hee that did it by the sword. Silla, Tiberius, Caligula*, and *Nero*, they neuer knew any other course, but to command, and kill: whereas contrariwise, *Augustus, Titus*, and *Traiane* knew no better way, then to entreate fairely and pardon, so that by pardoning, they conquered more, then the other could do by bloody fighting. If Captaines would but consider these things, perhaps they wold not be so ready, in opposing their Armies to such multiplicity of dangers: whence oftentimes ensueth, that in thinking to be reuenged on their enemies, they (in the ende) become vanquished themselues.

Cicero ad Attic.

A great difference in mens natures.

Theodosius the Emperour, when hee besiedged any Citty, he would not suffer his Souldiers to erect any scaling Engines, or make any battery, vntill ten daies were fully past: during which time, hee offered no offence to the Cittizens, but daily admonished them, saying. *I grant ye the tearme of ten daies, wherein yee may preuaile with mee by fauour and mildnesse, rather then hazard the triall of my power.* When great *Alexander* saw the dead body of *Darius*: *Iulius Cæsar* the head of *Pompey*; when *Marcellus* burned *Siracusa*, and *Scipio* beheld *Numantia* flaming; and in our later times, when that heroycall *Emanuell Philebert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, & Prince of *Piedmont*, beheld the illustrious & magnanimous Prince *Frances* of *Burbon*, Duke of *Anguien*, lying dead vpon the ground at the taking of S. *Quintins*: All these great persons could not refraine from teares, although the other were their deadly enemies. For albeit their generous soules were well satisfied with obtayning victory, yet notwithstanding, such great and weighty losses did much discontent them, considering their cases might haue beene the like.

A noble mind in the Emperour Theodosius.

A signe of a most honorable dispositiō in such Generalles.

Pitty and clemency neuer lost the victory in warre; but on the contrary, the Captaine bloodily minded, cruell, and reuendgefull, hath eyther beene slaine by the enemy, or betrayed by his owne followers. Therefore it was not without great reason, that *Iulius Cæsar* carried immortall renowne among all Princes and Captaines of the world, not for beeing more faire, more strong, more couragious, and fortunate; but onely because far greater was the number of enemies, to whom he frankly affoorded pardon, then those that hee had vanquished and slew with the sword. The famous Captaine *Narses*, who subdued the *Gothes*, vanquished the *Bactrians*, and domineered ouer the *Allemaignes*, neuer vndertooke a daies fight against an enemy, but the night before, hee kneeled and wept to himselfe in the Temple. *Trogus Pompeius* recordeth, that the most signale victories of the Romanes, were not wonne in regard that their Armies were mighty and strong; but because their Captaines were dexterious, actiue, and gallant, in all seruices they vndertooke.

The reason why Iulius Cæsar was so highly renowned.

He was Generall to the Emperour Iustinian.

It is expedient also, that the Generall or Captaine (aboue all other things) should be vigilant, & procure, that among the Captaines of his Army; affaires (concerning warre) should be kept secret: because the highest enterprizes neuer can haue good successe, when they are discouered before they can be effected. *Suetonius* declareth, that it was neuer heard said to *Iulius Cæsar*; Must wee do this to day, or shall we do that to morrow? Only he would answer; *Doe this instantly, & to morrow wee shall see what is then to bee done.* *Plutarch* writeth in his Moralles, that *Lucius Metellus* beeing requested by one of his Captaines, to know on what day he would giue the battaile; made him this

Secrecy is most necessary in martiall affaires.

Sueton. in vit. Iul. Cæsar.

Plut. in Moral.

this answer. *If I wist that my shirt knew the least thought of the things my hart intendeth, I would immediately burne it.* It is wel done to consult on matters of war with many: but the resolution of them is not, neyther ought to bee imparted but to very few; otherwise, they may bee published before they are fully concluded. And especiall care is to be taken, that no consultation be had with such men, as are eyther obstinate in their councels, or rash and headstrong in their actions: for in cases which happen sometime in war, it is lesse harme to retire, then run wilfully on losse.

Few councellers in occasions of warre are fittest, and what men are to be shunned

Alcibiades, a valiant Captaine among the *Grecians*, vsed to say: *Men of magnanimity and courage, should sometimes rather flye then tarry; because honour commands attendance, and wisedome wils flight.* For in greatest perils, it is better that men should submit themselues to reason; then that they should be commanded by fortune. A Captaine ought to be councelled in all things, except when he meetes with a dãger not foreseene. For many Captaines at diuers times in warre, haue lost themselues by no other occasion: but because at such time as they should haue brought to effect some notable deed, which admitted not the least minutes trifling; they stood then musing, & idely called a councell to no purpose. It is necessary also, that a wise Captaine, after he hath obtained a victory, should vnderstand how to vse and enioy it. For if *Hannibal*, on the day at *Cannas*, could haue told how to haue vsed his fortune, *Scipio* the *Affricane* had neuer conquered him.

A worthie saying of Alcibiades, and not vnmeete to be obserued.

How to make vse of a victorie.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Salique Law, the originall thereof, and who were the first Authors and Inuenters of it.

See a Tract written by Iohn Ferald, and I.C. theron.

IN the time of Pope *Boniface*, the first of that name, and of the Emperor *Honorius*, in An. 420. the *Franconians* hauing forsaken their Country, came to inhabite along the Riuer of *Rheine*, which hauing passed, they remained for some time at *Treues*. Now as these people were of barbarous manners, liuing vnciuilly & without law; *Pharamond* their first king, Son vnto their Duke *Marcomir*, chose foure cheefe and principal men of the *Sicambrians*, who by their councel and determination, might giue a law to the people. The names of those foure men, were *Vasucast*, *Lozocast*, *Salgast*, and *Visogast*, who by authority of the king and people, set downe a Law in writing, which *Pharamond* approoued and published, causing it to bee called *Salique*; eyther by the name of the place *Salethani*, wher it was made, as some say, or else by the name of the said *Salgast*, who was Chauncellor to *Pharamond*, and cheefe of the foure.

How the Law came to be called Salique.

This Law contained the forme of succeeding in the kingdome of *France*, & the manner of reigning; and it hath euer since bin obserued by the kings of *France*, and their people vntill this present. Among other articles therein contained, women are declared vnable to rule the kingdome, and depriued of succession to the crowne, although they are the sole & only daughters to the King: nor can they haue any portion of inheritance in the *Gallician* Lands, but onely vse and profites by the owners consent, implying necessarily, that after their deaths, those allowances returne to the Crowne againe. And this Law is conformable to the Roman Law, cald *Voconia*, which was made at the time betweene the second & last war of the *Romanes* with the *Carthagenians*, and which was pronounced by *Voconius*, Tribune of the people. And *Aulus Gellius* saith, that there is nothing more profitable to the common-wealth, then the said law, which debouteth women from succession; which *Tit. Liuius* saith, *Marcus Cato* (a graue mã) perswaded in an Oration made by him.

The namre and condition of the Salique Law.

The Law Voconia among the Romanes.

Aul. Gel. in Noct. Attic.

Titus. Liuius. Dec. 2. cap. 1.

And althogh it may be said concerning this Law, that it containeth no equity, because it toucheth the succession of priuate persons: yet on the behalfe of the kingdome, for which it was ordayned, it is iust and reasonable, and by disposition of womens right, they ought not there to succeed in the kingdome, nor rights of the crowne, except there be some priuiledge or custome to the contrary. So noteth *Iohn de Imola*, on the Chapter *Grandi, tit. de simplici neglegen. prela.* to the sixt. And for this was made the tenth chapter, *Qui feoda poss. §. hoc autem. C. dilecti, de arb.* *Baldus*

This Law containeth no equitie for women.

Iohn de Imola in cap. Grandi.

Baldus is of the ſame opinion, ſpeaking expreſſely concerning the kingdome of *France*, and ſaying, that the king of *England*, Sonne to one of the daughters of *France*, in regard of this law, might not pretend any right to the Crowne, and ſaith, it is cleare and certaine, as hee quoteth on the firſt law. *ff. de Sena*. And as I haue formerly ſaide, it hath euermore bin ſo obſerued and held in *France*.

Baldus in Leg. de Sena.

The ſucceſſion in the Crowne of France, after the death of Lewes Hutin, in a continued deſcent.

For example, when *Lewes Hutin* deceaſed, he left one daughter, wife to the Count *d'Eureux*: *Philip le long*, his Brother, ſucceeded him, (neuertheleſſe) as well in the Crowne, as in all the Landes thereto belonging. And after the death of *Philip le long*, although hee left foure daughters; yet *Charles le Bel* (his brother) ſucceeded him, as well in the Crowne, as other inheritances. And after the deceaſe of *Charles le Bel*, notwithſtanding hee left one daughter, named *Blanche*, wife to *Philip*, Duke of *Orleance*, his couſin: yet *Philip de Valois* ſucceeded him. In like maner, after the death of king *Charles* the eight, *Lewes* Duke of *Orleance*, his couſin ſucceeded him, before Madame *Anne* of *France*, his Siſter, wife vnto the Duke of *Bourbon*, and this was king *Lewes* the 12. who although (by his deceaſe) he left two daughters, *Claude* and *Renee*: yet neuertheſſe, *Frances* Duke of *Valois* and of *Angouleſme*, the very neereſt in the line collaterall and maſculine, ſucceeded him as well in the Crowne, as alſo in the Dukedome of *Orleance*, albeit the ſaide *Lewes* the twelfth, *Charles* his Father, and *Lewes* Duke of *Orleance* his Grandfather, had held the Dukedome of *Orleance*, by the gift and inheritance which *Charles* the 5. had made to the ſaid *Lewes*, Duke of *Orleance* his Sonne.

Coucerning ſuch lands as are once vnited and incorporated to the Crowne of France.

For right and iuſtice requireth, that all Lands which are once vnited and incorporated to the Crowne of *France*, ſhall be of the proper nature, quality and condition as the ſame Crowne is; as well in regard of ſucceſſions and acquiſitions, as other cauſes. For at all times, and as often as a Land is vnited to the Crowne, it taketh the nature of the kingdome, and muſt be gouerned in all things, according to the conditions thereof. For the kingdome is an vniuerſall thing, which comprehendeth many other in particular: as it is ſaid in the Law *Peculium. ff. de Legatij.* And not onely the Salique Law is kept in *France*, but alſo it is found in many ſtatutes in *Italy*, and elſewhere, prohibiting women to ſucceed, which is done, ſaith the Text of the Law,* *Fauore agnationis conſeruandæ, vt dignitas familiarum ſalua ſit*. And *Baldus* ſaith, that a woman is not the head or Prince of the Family, but the ende thereof.

*Lib. 1. ff. vi public. ff. de ventre inſpic.

Paulus de Caſtro, on the Law *Maritus. C. de procur.* ſaith, that the linage and family beginneth in the males, and is conſerued by the males. And ſo it ſeemeth, that the Etimologie of the word *Soror* declareth, which *Labeo Antiſtius* giueth in *Aulus Gellius*. *Soror appellata eſt quod quaſi ſeorſum naſcitur ſeparatùrque ab ea domo in qua nata eſt, & in aliam familiam tranſgreditur.* That is to ſay. *A ſiſter is ſo called, as ſhe that is borne almoſt apart by herſelfe, and is ſeparated from the houſe wherein ſhee was borne, and changing the place, goeth to dwell in another family.*

Paul. de Caſt. in lib. 9.

Aul Gellius in lib. 13. cap. 10.

CHAP. IX.

Examples of ſome Letters contayning ſecrecie, and ſent in ſuch manner, as they might not be knowne, but onely to ſuch whom they eſpecially concerned.

A Letter ſent in the belly of a Hare.

HArpagus writing to *Cyrus*, concerning the treaſon of King *Aſtiages*, hauing cunningly vnbowelled a Hare, put his Letter therein, and after hee had ingeniouſly ſowed it vp againe, deliuered it (with the Hayes or Nets) to one of his Huntſmen, the faithfulleſt of all his houſhold, and hee carried it to king *Cyrus*.

Writing on the skull-skin of the head.

Hyſtyæus, deſirous to write to *Ariſtagoras*, did ſhaue the head of one that was his truſtieſt ſeruant, and wrote vpon the skull-skinne what hee would, containing three or foure Carracters, and afterward kept him in his houſe, vntill the haire was growne ouer as thicke as before, and then he ſent him to *Ariſtagoras*, willing that he ſhould cauſe him to be ſhauen againe, ſo ſoone as he was come vnto him, and ſo he vnderſtood the others minde.

Aulus Gellius reporteth, that *Iulius Cæſar*

How Iulius Cæsar wrote his Letters of especiall intelligence.

Cæsar sometimes sent him Missiues, when he had any vrgent occasion, and to some peculiar places: and in them were letters formed onely, without any sillables annexed to them. So that when they were lookt on and questioned, no word could be collected to any purpose, but by himselfe, and him to whom they were intended, being a mute and secret inuention, yet familiar to such as vnderstood them.

Frontinus in lib. 3. cap. 13.

Many (saith *Frontinus*) *being desirous in actions of warre, to send their letters missiue secretly, to haue their inuentions known, and yet to auoide all meanes of discouery, haue written within the Scabbards of their Swords, and sent them as acceptable presents whereby they haue cleanly escaped.*

Small Tablets of wood couered with Waxe.

Demaratus desiring to make knowne to the *Lacedemonians*, how king *Xerxes* was armed and prepared for his iourney against *Greece*; did write the councell of the king in small Tablets of wood, which he couered ouer with waxe, and in that manner sent them to the *Lacedemonians*, who taking off the waxe, read all the contents there written.

The cunning of Hirtius in conueighing his Letters.

Hirtius the Consull sent letters written vpon Lead (but not knowne how to be read, being intercepted) to *Marke Anthony*, besiedged at *Modena*; they were carried by an honest Soldiour, who wore them as bracelets about his wrists, & with them swom ouer the Riuer *Scultena*. The same *Hirtius* likewise tyed letters about the necks of certaine Doues, which hee kept close lockt vp in a conuenient place, where no light was to bee seene, neyther did he giue them any food; that when he should let them loose neere to the walles of the Citty (as easily he could doe) they being greedy of light and food, might mount aloft vpon the houses, where beeing taken by *Brutus*, and by the meanes of food, purposely appointed there for thē, he vnderstood what he desired.

A Letter sent into the enemies Campe by an arrow.

Paradine, in his history of our times, writeth, that when as *Rhodes* was besiedged by the Turke, a traytour named Friar *Andrew de Meraill*, a knight of *Portugall*, making a shew of carefull looking to the Watch; shot a letter (bound about an Arrow) into the enemies Campe, wherby he gaue them aduertisement, in what estate the Citty stood.

Frontinus in lib. 3. cap. 13.

Frontinus hath many other examples of secret Letters, in matters of loue, of which I will relate two only, remembred by *Aeneas Syluius Picholiui* Pope *Pius* the second. *Pachorus* a young man (saieth he) sent a loue-letter in a Nosegay of Violets to *Lucretia*, whom hee dearely affected. And finding no succesſe, wrapt another in a pellet of waxe, which he couered as a snow-ball, and so threw it in at his Mistresses Window.

CHAP. X.

A Discourse concerning the originall of the Normanes, *what valiant actes haue bin performed by them: and of* Robert Guiscardo.

THE *Normanes* are anciently descended of the *Gothes*, and vsurped that great half-Island, somtimes called *Dania*, and since *Dacia*: whereby the kings of that Prouince, were named kings of the *Danes*, and of the *Gothes*. They had a custome, that the kingdome came to the eldest Sonne, and therefore sent the other Sonnes to seeke their fortune. It came so to passe, that *Lutrocus* their king (who was not a Christian) hauing two Sonnes; according to the precedent custome, sent the youngest named *Biergostus*, out of the kingdome, albeit he loued him very dearely, and therefore cōmitted the care of him to a Gentleman of his Court, named *Astengus*, to whom he gaue in charge, that he should furnish him with a troope of valiant men.

Vide Sabellicus Ennead. 9. cap. 2.

Biergostus sent to seeke his fortunes abroad.

An indifferent Army beeing giuen him, they came vppon the confines of *France*, and entring *Picardy*, possessed thēselues of most of the Townes and Bourroughs, burnt Saint *Quintins* and *Noyon*, and for the space of forty yeares, did infinite harmes to the Realme of *France*. For after that *Biergostus* was dead, they elected (as their cheefe Commander & Captaine) a very valiant and gallant Knight, called *Rollo*, who made three Campes, which entered *France* on three seuerall sides: the one mounted vp the Riuer of *Seyne*; the other along the Riuer of *Loyre*; and the third by the Riuer of *Gerunda*, sometime called *Garona* at *Bourdeaux*, and so

The death of Biergostus, & the election of Rollo.

A peace made betweene Rollo and Charles the Simple.

* That which is now called Normandie.

Rollo is baptized and named Robdert, marying with the daughter of King Charles.

Duke Robert performed his homage in homely manner.

The Duke diuorced his Wife, and put her to death.

William Long-sword the baſtard ſonne to Rollo, became his ſucceſſour in his Dukedome.

The line and ſucceſſion from Willam Long-sword.

Three Engliſhe Kings of the Normans race.

Triſtram Ciſtello Captaine of the Normans.

ſo ſcattred thẽſelues throughout *France*, rauaging and burning whereſoeuer they came. Which being perceiued by *Charles* the third of that name, and called the ſimple king of *France*, and knowing alſo, that he had no meanes to reſiſt them; he treated a peace betweene *Rollo* and him, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Roane*, named *Franquon*, which was concluded neere to the Riuer of *Epta*, the King being on the one ſide of the Riuer, and *Rollo* on the other. Therein was an appointment made, that *Charles* ſhould giue his Daughter, named *Giletta*, in mariage to *Rollo*, to whom he aſſigned as her Dowry, and an inheritance for the children borne in this marriage, and not otherwiſe, the Prouince of * *Neuſtria*, which *Rollo* cauſed afterward to be called *Nortemania*, which ſignifieth a Northerne people. For *Nort* (in the *Dacian* tongue) is as much to ſay as *North*, and man implieth *Homo*, ſo interpreted of it ſelfe, from whence, by a corrupt kinde of ſpeech afterward, it was called *Nortmandie*.

The king created that Country to be a Dukedome, and gaue his Daughter in marriage to the ſaid *Rollo*, as formerly it was concluded, yet with this condition, that *Rollo* ſhould become a Chriſtian: whereto he condiſcending, he was baptized in the yeare 900 and 12. & by *Franquon*, Arch-Biſhop of *Roane*, beeing then named *Robert*, by *Robert*, Count of *Poictiers*, who was Godfather to him at the Font. And by the example of *Rollo*, all the *Normans* that were *Pagans*, cauſed themſelues to be baptized; which cauſed Duke *Robert* to do homage to king *Charles*, for the Country of *Neuſtria*, then conuerted to be *Normandy*.

Hiſtorians doe report a pleaſant and ridiculous acte, which *Rollo* did on the day when hee came to performe his homage to the king, for ſome aduiſed him to kiſſe the feete of his Maieſty, according to a cuſtome in that caſe obſerued. But hee diſdayning to fall on his knees, tooke the kings foot, lifting it vp to reach his mouth, and ſo ouer-high, that the king fell backward from off his ſeate. VVherat the *Normanes* fell into a great laughter; but the *French* were offended and vexed, taking this behauiour in very ill manner. Neuertheleſſe, this deed was imputed to ſimplicity, becauſe *Rollo*, in making his excuſe, auouched, that ſuch kinde of kiſſing the foote, had beene an ancient cuſtome in his Country. About a yeare after, *Rollo* ſeeing himſelfe peaceably poſſeſſed of all *Normandy*, repudiated his wife *Giletta*, & put her to a pittifull kinde of death, not hauing any childe by her; in which reſpect as well by right of forfeiture, as by other conditions contracted in the marriage, without all queſtion, the Country and Dukedome ſhould haue returned to the Crowne of *France* again, as at the firſt.

Long time before *Rolla* became a Chriſtian, hee had carnall knowledge of the Daughter to *Berengarius*, Earle of *Beaunais*, ſhe beeing named *Pompeia*, by whom he had a Sonne called *William*, that afterward was tearmed *Long-Sword*. Hee being borne in vnlawfull and ſinfull copulation, out of marriage, and the acte committed by a Chriſtian with a Pagane, was conſequently diſabled from ſucceeding in the Dukedome. But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, the *Normanes* finding thẽſelues ſo ſtrong and dreadfull; poſſeſſed this *William* of the Dukedome, and the kings of *France* were enforced (by reaſon of hauing ſo ſlender meanes in thoſe times) to endure and ſuffer all. So that the Succeſſors of *Rollo* or *Robert*, enioyed ſtill that Country, though by corruption of faith, and no true tytle thereunto.

Of this *William* came *Richard*, ſirnamed *Long-ſhankes*; and of that *Richard* a ſecond *Richard*; and of this ſecond *Richard* a third *Richard*; who was Father to *Robert*, that was Father to *William* the Baſtard, which conquered England. VVhereby it very plainly appeareth, that of the fore-named *Rollo* or *Robert*, the Dukes of *Normandy*, and three Kings of England receiued originall.

Now concerning *Richard*, the Sonne to *William*, Sonne to *Rollo* or *Robert*, hee had two Sonnes, the one named *Robert*, and the other *Richard* alſo, who beeing deſirous of glory and fame, went into *Sicily* with great troopes of men, and there they made war ſucceſſefully many yeares together. Theſe two brethren beeing dead, the *Normanes* beeing then in pay to the Duke of *Salerne*; made choiſe of a new cheefe Commaunder or Captaine named *Triſtam Ciſtello*, who hauing ſlaine a Serpent, and beeing in-

Tancred and his 12 ſonnes, all worthy Warriors.

fected with her poyſon, dyed thereof. After him ſucceeded *Raymond*, and ſome other (afterward) elected for their Captaine, *William Ferrabach*, Sonne to *Tancred*, *Conte de haute ville*, who had twelue Sonnes, to wit, *Sarno*, *Godfrey*, *Drogon*, *Tancred*, *William*, called *Ferrabach*, that is to ſay, *Armeſtrong*, *Haufrey*, *Robert*, ſirnamed *Guiſcardo*, *Roger*, *Piccard*, *Godfrey* the ſecond, or younger, *Frumentino*, and *Maloger*.

Tancred with his twelue Sonnes, continued among the *Normanes* in the exerciſe of Armes, and *Michael Catalaicus*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, held then by vſurpation *Pouilla* and *Calabria*, vnder the gouernment of *Malocco*, one of his Captaines, and Lieutenant for him in thoſe Countries. Some other places alſo were inuaded by the *Sarrazins*, who poſſeſſed *Sicily*, continually moleſting the ſaide kingdome. The valiant and generous *William*, being created Captaine of the *Normanes*, made a league with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerne*, and alſo with *Malocco*, Lieutenant to the Emperour. All theſe paſſed together (with their Armies) into *Sicily* againſt the *Sarrazins*, and hauing vanquiſhed and expelled them thence, diuided the prize equally among them. But *Malocco* ſurrendred the lands of that Iſle to thoſe Gouernors which the Emperour had ſent thither before the warre. Whereat *William* being offended, yet diſſembling his anger and intentions, marched with his Army towards *Pouilla*, where hee poſſeſſed himſelfe of many places, and entring *Melphes*, there ſtrongly fortefied himſelfe.

The Sarazins conquered & expulſed out of Sicily.

Melphes ſurprized by William.

When *Malocco* heard theſe newes, he departed from *Sicily*, and ſuddenly went with his Army to *Melphes*; but *William* being come foorth of the Towne, gaue ſuch a valiant aſſault vpon *Malocco*, that killing the better part of his followers, & chaſing him from the greateſt iuriſdictions of *Pouilla*; hee fully enioyed it, and made himſelfe Earle thereof. After the death of *William*, *Drogon* his Brother obtained the Seigneury of *Pauilla*, and being a man of great valiancy, as alſo very well experienced in Arms, fought three times in one day againſt the *Grecians*, and ouercame them, encreaſing his Countries daily more and more.

The ſucceſſion of William in the County of Pouilla.

About ſeuen yeares after, *Drogon* died, and *Haufrey* or *Hunfroy* his Brother ſucceeded; and after him, *Godfrey*, who left *Balegard* his Sonne ſucceſſor in the Earledome. But *Robert* being a moſt valiant young man, diſpleaſed that his Brother *Godfrey* had not left the place to him after his death; expulſed his Nephew by force of Armes, and ſo helde the Counties of *Pauilla* and *Calabria*; annexing alſo *Troy* thereto, which (till that time) had continued ſubiect to the *Romanes*. This is that *Robert*, who for his excellent ſpirit & witty prouidence, was ſirnamed *Guiſcardo*, which in the *Norman* Language, ſignifieth ingenious and cunning: although ſome others ſay, that ſuch a ſirname ſignifieth errant and wandering, becauſe the *Normanes* went wandering thorough many Countries. Afterward in the time of Pope *Nicholas*, ſecond of that name, hee was created the firſt Duke of *Calabria*, & of *Pouilla*, in the yeare one thouſand and ſixty.

Robert expelleth his Nephew Bagelard.

The valiant Robert, ſirnamed Guiſcardo Duke of Pouilla and Calabria.

In the ende, *Robert* hauing by his proweſſe, and with his Brethrens helpe, wonne (in eighteene yeares) the whole Iſle of *Sicily*, and many other Regions in *Italy*; ſought moreouer to make himſelfe Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, for which he leuied a mighty Army, and fought with the *Venetian* and Imperiall Armies twice, and vanquiſhed them. But being retired to *Caſsiopolis*, a Promontory in the Iſle of *Corfue*, and there ſurprized with a moſt violent Feauer, hee finiſhed his dayes in that place, in the Moneth of Iuly, in the yeare one thouſand, eighty two, hauing liued glorioufly (and won many victories) for the ſpace of threeſcore yeares.

Robert ſoght to make himſelfe Emperor of Conſtantinople.

This moſt noble Family of the *Normane Guiſcardoes*, had a lamentable ending, in the yeare one thouſand, one hundred, ninety fiue, in *William*, whom the Emperour *Henry* the ſixt cauſed to bee guelded, to the ende hee ſhould haue no ability of producing any more iſſue by him. And moreouer, he made him to loſe the ſight of his eyes, by Baſons extremely heated, which hee conſtrayned him to looke vpon ſo long, vntill the reuerberation of the heat, had vtterly depriued him of ſight. This impiety, and more then barbarous cruelty, did the Emperour vſe vnto him; becauſe none of that race (afterward) ſhould hinder his enioying the kingdome of *Sicily*.

The finall cõcluſion of the Norman Guiſcardoes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of two young youthes of Paris, *that trauailed to the* Indiaes, *to cure themſelues of the* Neapolitane *diſeaſe, or French Pox.*

The Chapter heere mentioned, is inſerted hereafter.

ANthony du Verdier, Lord of *Vaupriuaz*, in his Booke of diuers Readings, hath well deſcribed the originall of the *Neopolitane* diſeaſe, otherwiſe called the great pox, & how it was brought from the Countries of the new found world, diſcouered firſt by *Columbus*, in thoſe Iſlands which the *Indians* call *Haity*, and *Quiſqueia*. And as this diſeaſe is very familiar in thoſe lands; ſo is the remedy therof alſo found there, by the meanes of a wood, called *Guyaicũ*, whereof there are diuers Foreſts, and by the vſe thereof it is eaſily healed. Many people in theſe parts, who haue read the fore-named Chapter, haue highly contraried it: eſpecially ſuch as haue had, and yet at this preſent, do finde no eaſe thereby, albeit they haue drunk euery morning and euening of that decoction, hauing afterward ſoundly ſweated twice a yeare, in thoſe two temperate ſeaſons, the Spring time, and fall of the leafe, nay moreouer, haue drunke no other drinke (with their meate, and without) for a whole yeare together.

From whence firſt came the Neapolitane diſeaſe.

Contradiction made againſt that Chapter.

For mine owne part, I dare maintaine, that the ſaid Lord of *Vaupriuaz*, hath ſaid nothing but the truth, and if the greater part of ſicke perſons, infected with that diſeaſe, haue found no remedy by the wood; the fault is in ſuch as ſell it, & haue not wel ordered it, not hauing knowledge what kinde of *Guyaicum* ſhould be vſed, nor the place, nor the climate, nor by whom it is brought thence, being ignorantly perſwaded, that there is but one kinde thereof onely, againſt the opinion of ſome that will meddle with preſcriptions, not hauing bin in the country where this wood naturally groweth. Wherefore I purpoſe to make good what I write, by a hiſtory of two *Pariſian* youths, who were healed by the vſe of *Guyaicum*; not ſuch as is brought hither to vs, and how it hapned, I will ſet downe the whole diſcourſe.

The authors iuſtification of Verdier.

Many haue bin deceiued in the Guyaicum heere ſolde.

I being at *Paris*, in the yeare 1563. I had great familiarity with the two youths, being both borne in the Citty, of good and worthy houſes; but I conceale their names, by reaſon of their infection with that veneriall contagion, it beeing moſt commonly taken by diſhoneſt dealing with leud women, and ſo by conſequent, carrieth ſhame with it. This ſicknes they concealed ſo long as they could, but in the end, it made it ſelfe to be knowne, by loſſe of their haire, by red puſhes appearing in the fore-head, by aches in the bones, both of their armes, legs, thighes, and ſhoulders, as alſo in the former part of their heads, from the beginning of night, till break of day the next morning, with other ſuch like ſignes; as paine in the throate, being ſcarſely able to ſwallow any food. Now, albeit that all theſe euidences are not ſeene, in all ſuch perſons as are touched with that diſeaſe: yet it plainly appeared, that in both theſe young bodies, all the fore-named teſtimonies, and many more beſide (which I let ſleepe in ſilence) were apparantly noted.

The Author ſpeaketh this Hiſtory of his owne knowledge.

Outward apparances of that wicked diſeaſe, whereby beſt note of the ſicknes is obſerued.

In regard of theſe rehearſed accidents, which were ſo manifeſt, the Parents to them both had intelligence, that they were touched with this diſeaſe; and yet for more certaine aſſurance therein, they cauſed them to bee viſited by very skilfull Phyſitions and Chyrurgions, who performed all that which arte could permit, and yet they were not able, neither could they cure them. A ſecond time, other Phyſitions were called to this buſineſſe, who applyed likewiſe the vttermoſt of their knowledge; but all in vaine, and the diſeaſe it ſelfe grew worſe and worſe, riſing into knots and tophies in the foremoſt part of the head, and in the bones of the armes, thighes, and legs, they procured inſupportable nightly paines. For when night drew neere, and all the time while it continued, they cried and complained inceſſantly, ſo that the neighbors (on all ſides) heard their pittifull lamentations, by meanes whereof, their bodies became wholly dried vp.

Helpe ſought for to skilfull Phyſitions & Chyrurgions.

A ſecond attempt by phyſicke, but preuailing like the firſt.

The Phyſitions alleadged, that there was ſome great extraordinary matter in

Night time a great enemy to the diſeaſe.

Parties of diuers complexions may haue all one diſeaſe.

the diſeaſe. For theſe two young men came nothing neere to one another in conſanguinity, but were of diuers temperatures and complexions. For the one was delicate, ſoft, merry, whitiſh, and of tender diſpoſition: but the other was of blackiſh coulor, ſtrong, hardy, and many times addicted to penſiueneſſe. Neuertheleſſe, contrary to the common order of nature, and all the Apiomes in the arte of Phyſicke; their diſeaſes ſeemed conformable, which neuer hapneth to other perſons, offended with the ſame contagion, becauſe ſome haue accidents farre different and contrary to other. Heereupon the Phyſitions referred the cauſe of this diſeaſe (ſimpathizing ſo directly, yet in ſuch different bodies) to the venome of ſome paillardizing women, that had infected them.

The iudgement of the Phyſitions concerning their diſeaſe.

But to make ſhort, after theſe youthes had endured much extremity of paines & anguiſh, as well by Phyſitions and Chirurgions, as Empericks that had charge of them: the harme had extended ſo farre in expences, and no meane heart-greeuing of the Parents, al which notwithſtanding, they were giuen ouer as incurable, & becauſe there was no likely-hood of theyr healths recouery, they daily deſired the ſeizure of death. Matters ſtanding in this lamentable eſtate, God tooke compaſſion on them and their Parents, becauſe they were deuout perſons, & gaue almes very liberally to the poore daily, preſenting them remedy in this manner. The Lord of *Chantonnay*, a Gentleman of *Burgundy*, and of the *Franche Comte*, was ſent (by the King of *Spaine*) Ambaſſadour to *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, who ordinarily made his reſiding at *Paris*. This Ambaſſadour was lodged directly ouer againſt the houſe, to one of the Fathers of the ſicke yong men, and both their chambers being outward, on the ſtreetes ſide; it cauſed the ſaid Lord Ambaſſadour (who was none of the ſleepieſt men) to heare the greeuous moanings, which the poore ſickly *Neapolitan* continually made, wherupon hee entreated his Hoſte to informe him, whence proceeded thoſe wofull lamentations, thus nightly made by the ſick young man. His Hoſte hauing tolde him nothing but the truth, the Ambaſſadour wrought ſo by his Hoſte, that hee might come to ſee the ſickly youth; which accordingly he did, in the company of his Mother.

The young men giuen ouer, as no way to be cured.

When the hope of man is at the weakeſt, Gods helpe is then ſtrongeſt

The Lord of Chantonnay heareth one of the young mens hourely complainings

The Ambaſſador goeth to viſite the ſicke young man.

The Lord of *Chantonnay*, well vnderſtanding whence the diſeaſe proceeded, & thoſe nocturnall heauy greeuings, ſaid, that he had ſeen many in diuers Prouinces, as in *Bourgundy*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, & *Spaine*, afflicted with the ſelfeſame ſickneſſe; and notwithſtanding all curious and carefull attending, yet they could not any way be cured, but onely by going to the *Indiaes*. For inſtance hereof, he called for his Secretary, who preſently came thither, and had (as wel as his Lord) paſſed the voyage, therefore hee was the better able to confirme his ſpeeches, and related at large, how euery thing happened.

Cure obtayned by going to the Indiaes

The Mother to the ſicke youth, after ſhe had thanked the Lord Ambaſſadour for his aduice, withdrew herſelfe, and acquainted her husband (who was Maſter of the * Chamber of Accounts) with all that the Lord of *Chantonnay* had ſaid vnto her. He being a very learned and wiſe Gentleman, conferred further (concerning this matter) with the Secretary to the ſaid Lord Ambaſſadour; whom hee found to be a man of good iudgement, & one that had paſt through the Pikes, as we vſe to tearme it.

*The Exchequer or Chequer Chamber.

The Sonne to the Maſter of the Accounts, imparted this matter vnto his ſickly Companion, who aduertiſed his Mother alſo therof, and ſhe her husband, who was a Merchant trading in ſilkes, and furniſhed the houſe of the Queene, *Catherine de Medicis*, then Regent in *France*; and heereupon both the Fathers conferred together. In breefe, they concluded to hazard their Sons in the performance of this voyage, perſwading themſelues, that ſeeing they reputed to bee incurable; it might ſo fall out, that changing the ayre of the climate, and by their paſſage vnder the * Equator, vnder which, ſuch as ſayle, doe oftentimes become ſicke, and dye in the voyage, making the Sea their graue, as the moſt part doe, of them that aduenture to the *Indiaes*, to which fortune they freely committed their Sons. But if it came to paſſe, that they might there be cured, as diuers others formerly had beene; they ſtood bound in the greater thankfulneſſe to God. For they being daily in their ſight ſo diſeaſed, to their no

The matter fully related and acquainted to both ſides.

* Or equinoctiall Circle, equally diſtant from the 2 Poles.

no little diſcontentment and ſhame, beſide the charges attending thereon; they could not determine on any eſtate for them, neyther make mention for their marriage, the reaſon of their ſickneſſe being ſo noyſed quite through the Citty of *Paris*. Thus theſe two Fathers reſolued to ſend their Sonnes to the *Indiaes*, eyther for their vtter loſſe, or healthfull recouery.

A ſtrange reſolution in two Fathers.

Now becauſe it was not lawfull for any to paſſe thither, without permiſſion from the King of *Spaine*; Queene Mother, vnderſtanding by her Mercer (Father to one of the ſicke youthes) the purpoſed voyage of his Sonne; wrote vnto her Daughter, then Queene of *Spaine*, for her aſſiſtance to the poore paſſengers, to fauour them with Paſſe-ports, and recommendations vnto the Kings Lieutenants in the *Indian* Countries, to ſuch as were Captaines of the Seas, and other. Being aſſiſted by two men, who had formerly voyaged both by Land and Sea, and peace being accorded with the Proteſtants and Catholiques, they trauailed to *Spaine*, and there preſented their Letters.

No paſſage to the Indiaes, without the King of Spains permiſſion.

The Queene immediately ſollicited their licence and diſpatch: but firſt they were viſited, to know whether they were Spyes or no. For it was no long time before, that the *Spaniards* had ſlaine all the *French*, which were to be found in that part of *Breſile*, called by thē *Tououeinambouts*, ſaying, that all the *Indiaes* appertained to them, by due right granted to them by the Pope. When they were found to bee diſeaſed perſons, they were diſcharged, and going on to the Port of *Siuill*; fortune was ſo fauourable to them, that there they found a Fleet of Shippes, ready charged with men of warre & Merchandizes, bound alſo for that part of the *Indiaes*, whereto theſe ſicke men intended to go; which was the Iſlands of *Haity* and of *Quiſqueia*, named by *Columbus*, *Hiſpaniola*, and afterward the Iſlē of Saint *Dominico*.

The arriuall of the young men in Spain

All the Frēch in Breſile ſlaine by the Spaniards.

Good fortune in ſo great neceſſity.

They went aboord a Merchants Ship, hauing agreed for threeſcore Ducates, both for their paſſage thither, and their returne backe againe. The voyage ſucceeded ſo well, that although it contayned aboue eighteene hundred leagues by land; yet within two Moneths, they arriued there, landing in the Iſle of S. *Dominico*, where the Vice-Roy lay. To him they preſented their Letters of fauour and recommendations, who gaue charge to a Gentleman of his Court, to ſee that the young men and their company ſhold be kindely entreated, ſending them vnto Phyſitions, that remained there in the Country at the Kings pay. But they thought it more conuenient for them to paſſe thence to another Iſland, which was called Saint *Iohn de Porterico*; where the women there dwelling, were verye skilfull in curing that malady, and when they were come thither, thus it ſucceeded to them.

The arriuall of the two ſicke young men in India, and their courteous entertainment there.

Their remoouing to the Iſle of S. Iohn de Porterico.

First, the Gouernour of the Iſland, by commaundement giuen him from the Vice-Roy of the *Indiaes*, lodged the young men ſo well as hee could in that ſauage Country: which was in a Lodging made with paliſadoes, or a wall of Pales, which beeing but badly ioyned together, was filled vp with bundles of leaues.

The manner of their lodging in S. Iohn de Porterico.

The Roofe conſiſted of leaues of Trees, ſo were their Beds alſo, and in ſtead of Feathers, they were filled with Cotten: their Sheetes being of plaine Fuſtian, and all their vtenſilles of wood, or of earth.

Their ordinary feeding was on Cowfleſh ſomewhat tender, of great Serpents roaſted, which ſerued highly to their healing, and alſo on ſtrong Tortuiſes, as great as an indifferent Porket.

Their ordinary viands in the Iſle of S. Iohn.

Their bread was Biſcuit, and is much better in that Country, then elſewhere; for within the ſpace of foure and twenty houres, it will grow mouldy, and if it be eaten hot, it is indigeſtible. But howſoeuer it were, the *Spaniards* gaue them courage, not to greeue themſelues, and brought a Muſitian vnto them to delight them, whoſe Inſtrument was made of the bone of a mans thigh. They likewiſe ſent a woman to attend them, that made little or no account of them; but tolde them, ſo ſoone as they were cured, ſhe did aſſure herſelfe, that they would very well content her.

The kindneſſe of the Spaniards to them.

This Woman ſo affrighted our young *Pariſians*, that they could verye willingly there haue dyed, as neuer hoping of any helpe by her meanes. For ſhe went ſtarke naked, her skin being of an

The deſcription of the beauty of a ſauage womã.

Oliue-coulour; flat noſed, like to a little dog: her breaſts hung dangling downe, like to the dugs of an olde Sow. Her head was ſhorne cloſe before, but behinde, the hayre hanged ſo low as her heeles, all friſled, and like to the tayle of ſome ill-fauoured Cow. The nayles of her hands and feete, exceeded halfe a fingers length, and were bowing crooked. She had no haire where nature commonly affordeth, neyther in her arme-pits; and her teeth looked of a hew betweene red & yellow, long, cleare, and wide enough aſunder. At each of her eares hung a Stone of violet coulor, the leaſt of them weighing aboue two ounces: her vpper lip was ſlit in the midſt, in the top whereof ſtood another ſtone of grayiſh coulor, and thence paſſed her ſpettle continually. All the other parts of her body were round & fat, and in indifferent faſhion, ſweete, faire, & affable enough for a ſauage creature.

Such a ſight could be ſcãtly pleaſing to ſickneſſe, and in a place ſo deſert and vncouth.

A drink made of Guyaicum, or Pockwood, by the ſauage woman.

This woman prepared a drinke, which ſhe made of the little loppings of a yong Guyaicum tree, hauing firſt bruiſed them betweene her goodly teeth, thẽ afterward ſhe boyled thẽ in an earthen veſſell, without any thing to couer it, and contrary to all courſes obſerued in our Countries. This drinke ſhe cauſed them euery morning to take, each of them to the quantity of a * *Paris Chopine*, at two or three draughts. Then they muſt walke a while, exerciſe Fencing, or ſome other cheerefull ſtirring of their bodies; or elſe trauell to a Mine of gold, which was not far off frõ the Village, ſo to weare out the ſpace of two houres. Then returning backe againe to the houſe, all ſweaty, they would change onely their ſhirts; and going to dinner, they muſt drinke of no other water, but of a much-troubled ſtanding Poole, wherein was nothing but raine-water. The *Spaniards* would offer them *Gallypands* or Cocks of *India*, which they did eate ſodden for the moſt part. But after they had bene vſed to it eight or ten dayes; they could eate Toads, Serpents, and Lizards euen as well as other, and found them very ſauory meate; beſide diuers kindes of fruites, the like whereof hath neuer bene ſeene in theſe parts. About three houres in the euening, they muſt drinke as much of the Guyaicum, as they did in the morning, and vſe the ſame exerciſes. And without any other cere-

* The Pariſian halfe pinte almoſt as big as our whole pinte.

Their manner of giuing Phiſicke in the Indiaes.

Cuſtome brought them to the Countries dyet.

mony, remedy, or deuiſes vſed to them, they found themſelues to bee throughly healed, iuſt within the ſpace of ſix weeks: onely their gums excepted, which were become ſwolne and enflamed. But they were made ſound, with a ſharpe-pointed bone of a Fiſh, by pricking and piercing them therewith in many places, and they thus healed, were perfectly recouered. The knots and bumps on their bones, vaniſhed away, all their nightly afflictions ceaſſed wholly within fifteene daies: appetite came afreſh to them both, and their haire being loſt, was reſtored againe in more firmer manner then before. And now there remained, not ſo much as the print of any puſh or blaine, eyther in their fore-heads, or on their breaſts, likewiſe all vlcers which they had in their ſecret parts, dried vp and were gone.

The young men were cured in the ſpace of ſixe weekes, and their former ſtrength perfectly recouered.

They perceiuing themſelues to be thorowly cured, were willing to content the woman with golden coyne, as hoping they did well therein: and this they did, by the aduice of a cunning crafty *Spaniard*, relegated to that place, and to worke in the Mines. He very well knew, that the *Indians*, making no account of Gold or Monie; purpoſed to begge it of her, not doubting but eaſily ſhe wold giue it him. But it fell out farre otherwiſe, for ſhee refuſed the Gold, and would by no meanes touch it, but ran into the houſe, and took a Bow and Arrowes, intending to kill them, but that they fledde away from her. Perceiuing this, they called another *Spaniard*, who had alwayes made ſignes of amity towards them, and cauſed him to ſpeake to the woman, becauſe they vnderſtood not her language. Conference by ſignes hauing paſt betweene them, the *Spaniard* learned of her, that ſhee would be payed in ſome ſmall wares or trifles. They not knowing where they ſhould ſo prouide themſelues, the *Spaniard* tolde them, that there dwelt a man in the Village, who made profeſſion of ſelling ſuch things; and of him, for the value of two Ducates (which amount heere but to twenty Solz) they bought theſe following trinkets. Six very bigge Combes, ſix little kniues, ſold for a Sol a peece in *Paris*, with their ſheathes, ſix ſmall looking-glaſſes, a dozen of points, ſixe needles, a glaſſe ſpoone, & a dozen of Ballads. Wherwith ſhe was extraordinarily pleaſed, & tooke her-

Their gratefull intention towards the ſauage womã.

The danger of the cured young men, by the treachery of a Spaniard.

Trifles and matters of ſmall value, yet pleaſing to the eie, are beſt welcome to the Indians

her selfe highly beholding to them. She presently sung a Song, after her countrey manner, made them a Feast, wherin were serued foure small *Guinny* hennes boyled, two Toads very fat, vnbowelled and roasted. They dranke a Beuerage, made of Turky wheate, passable enough. And afterward, she gaue them halfe a dozen of Bowes, and some store of Arrowes, to beare away with them homeward; beside she gaue to each of them, fiue Hand-kerchers of Cotton, properly made.

The Sauage womans thankfulnesse to the two young men.

They returned thence to the Island of Saint *Dominico*, where they presented themselues vnto the Vice-roy, who was most ioyfull to see them recouered; and there they remained one moneth more, not feeling any sickenesse by the change of ayre, or of the climate, whereat each one greatly meruailed. In this time, the Merchants made them ready for their return, and some bands of soldiers, who went to refresh themselues in *Spaine*. Being entred their ship, within two other months they arriued happily in the Port of *Siuill*. Thence they went to *Madrille*, humblie to thanke the Queene, who gaue them Letters and Passe-portes, for their more secure arriuing in *France*. Being come to *Paris*, they were most louingly entertayned by their parents and friends, who did conceale their voyage and sickenesse, so much as in them lay.

Their returning vnto the Vice-roy at S. Dominico, & their sayling homeward.

Their coming to Paris, and welcomming by their parents.

It was my hap to finde them there, and to me they reuealed the whol aduenture, euen in such maner as I haue set it down; to the end, that such as fall into the like inconuenience, & being forsaken of Physitians heere, may trauaile for their recouery, as these two yong men did. At this day they are prouided of great and honorable Offices, the one being officer for the Finances, and the other a worthie Commander in Armes, hauing performed many signal seruices, in the last wars of the vnion to his Maiesty. And because this Chapter should not seeme ouerlong: I will heereunto adde another Discourse, concerning the Tree of *Guyaicum*, which healed these two young *Parisians*.

Their condition at this day in their owne Countrey.

CHAP. XII.

Why there is not found so much vertue in the Guyaicum *that is brought hither, as in that whereof the Indians themselues do make vse, against the Neapolitane disease, and the description thereof.*

AS God hath beene, is, and euer-more declareth himselie to bee good & mercifull, knowing the inhabitantes of the whole Countrie of *India* fore-named, to be naturally subiect to this infection of the Pox; so hath he giuen them the Tree of *Guyaicum*, by the meanes whereof they can cure themselues, which they attayned vnto, onely by experience; for they haue not anie knowledge of Letters. The Spaniardes which had conquered those countreyes, hauing co-habited carnally with the naturall Women there abiding; receyued from them this disease. For at certaine seasons, this malady possesseth the Indians; as Fellons or VVhitlawes, and Feauers do seize on vs. And hauing perceyued that they recouered themselues by *Guyaicum*, our Merchants brought some of it hither; which in the beginning rotted of it selfe, by reason they brought thence the very youngest: which to preuent, they brought then of the oldest that in regard of his solidity could not rotte or perish. And our Physitians (by their own report) appointed the receipt of that, to such as (in these parts) were so infected; but to little effect; for beside the breuage or drinke made thereof, they fayled in annointing (oftentimes) the diseased body, with hotte Oyntments, compounded with Quick-siluer, wherby some of good habitude, perceiued themselues to be cured, and others not.

The great mercy of God to the naturally infected Indian people

Spaniardes were the first th t tooke the pox of the Indian women.

The want of knowledge in som Phisitians

Now, by that which I coulde gather, from the discourse of these tvvo young *Parisians*, the olde *Guyaicum*, vvhich is broght hither to vs, is of the grosse trunk and strong bodie of the Tree, that hath no vertue against the disease, neyther doe the Indians any way vse it. And our deceiued Physitians, appoint the receipt of this

The Authors obseruation by report of the two Parisians.

There is but one kinde of Guyaicum onely.

this blacke *Guyaicum*, which is of those great trunkes, and call it, the heart of *Guyaicum*. They also perswade thēselues that there are two kindes of *Guyaicum*, to wit, one that is wholly blacke, and the other nothing blacke at all. Neuertheless, they are both of one tree, insomuch as that which hath no blackness, is of the branches, and euermore the oldest, albeit they take it for the yongest. These young *Parisians*, beeing of good and apprehensiue spirits, did well perceyue, that that which men brought hither to vs, had very little power or efficacy: for they had made many diets, without receyuing the least ease thereby.

Trial of Guyaicum by the Parisians experience both heere, and in India.

But the other of *India*, which was yong, somewhat tender, hauing hardly attained to two yeares growing, and no higher thē the stature of a man, did heale very easily. For in the making thereof, there would bee felte and perceiued, a very delicate and Grape-like gumme, pleasing vnto the heart, which is not to bee found in that made heere among vs. And they concluded, that the drinesse and coldnesse of the trunkes of the trees, then which there is no other brought to vs, is the only cause, why such an irkesome disease cannot bee cured.

Some vertue in the olde Guyaicum, & how it is to be applyed in that il disease.

Yet do I not inferre heereby, but that the aged *Guyaicum* brought hither to vs, hath some power and vertue: as in preparing the bodie (to receiue the vnguents fit for the disease) that is of a cold or melancholly nature, and hauing made vse thereof eight or ten dayes, then to take the Vnguents. Or else, when one is supposed to haue that sickness, and there remaineth paines or aches in some parts of the body, or some Vlcer is feared: some haue beene obserued, that by the vse of this old *Guyaicum*, within three weekes they haue appeared to be sound. Some also haue beene sore afflicted, yea, diuers times left in deploreable condition; yet hauing made vse hereof for a year or two, as in their ordinary drink, and their bread commixed with a decoction of *Guyacum*, and their meate boyled in like manner, they haue bene cured, and (among other) an Atturney of the Parliament at *Rouen*: but this is very rare and extreamly painfull.

Some forsaken, yet soundly cur'd by the olde Guyaicum.

The voyage to the *Indiaes* seemeth not so dolorous, nor yet so greatly chargeable: for these two young *Parisians*, of whome wee made mention in our precedent Chapter, it cost but three hundred Crownes betweene them, yet each had a man of honor with him, and a groome or seruant to attend them both.

The Parisians charges in their voyage.

The decoction of the *Guyaicum* which is heere among vs, doth not serue onely for the Pox, or those offended therewith; but likewise for all persons ouer-abounding in moysture, or that haue diseases caused by some cold humors. Also for such as haue opilations in the Liuer, Spleene, and other of the bowels, causing them to sweate after the receite. Many haue found great comfort and ease also thereby; as some touched with palsies; others that haue had swolne legs; others with vlcers subiect to certaine times; and defluxions, deaffer es, catarrhes, rheumes, and other imbecillities, they haue found themselues thereby to be released. But people offended with hectique Feauers, must keepe themselues from any way vsing it. I will now describe the forme of this Tree.

Concerning the decoction of Guyaicum, and how it auaileth for diuers other diseases beside the pox

A Description of the tree called Guyaicum according to the diligent paines of the Author

The Tree of *Guyaicum* is great and grosse, as are the Oakes in these our countries, hauing the Barke or Rinde of blackish coullor, thicke, gummy, and fat. The wood thereof is much harder then Ibony, and the rin'e separateth it selfe very easily from the trunke, when it is dry. The Leaues doe appeare like those of Plantaine, but they are much lesse, and more hard. It beareth a yellow flower, and the fruite is as big as a Nut, hauing within it stones, like to those of a Medlar: no vse hath beene made of the fruite, so farre as I can learne, and yet there must needs be some vertue in them. Thus you perceiue what I know, and haue vnderstood, concerning the Wood called *Guyaicum*, in the vertue whereof, many heere among vs haue found themselues to be deceiud; by thinking that it had the selfe-same faculties, as that which is young and tender, and found in the *Indiaes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that Graine or Corne is not so long time preserued in our Countries, as it hath beene, and still is in Egypt. *Also in what maner our Lands and Vines should be corrected and qualified, without dunging. With many remedies, for the preseruing of our Corn from corruption, and being eaten with diuers kinds of Vermines.*

Coniectures concerning the long Keeping of Corn in Egypt.

SOme haue supposed, that such seuerall kinds of corn as were kept for the space of fifteene daies, or thereabout (safe and soundly) in the royall Granaries of Egypt, by the aduice of *Ioseph*, to prouide agaynst the dearth of Graine, which should for seuen yeares after follow, according as he Prophetically foretold; came to passe as by matter of miracle, and extraordinarily. I must needs confesse, that there was there both great abundance, and as great sterrility of Corne, in the seuen consecutiue yeares, and all thorow the extraordinary power of God. But for the conseruation of them, it is a matter ordinary to Egypt, that Corne should be kept there fiue and twenty yeares in pure goodnes, yea much longer time. Alwayes prouided, that it bee not transported from place to place, and be not made subiect to any heating; neither that it should bee eaten by anie Vermines, as many times our Corne is heere in our Countreyes, and the cause thereof I will declare vnto ye.

The Grain or Corne of Egypt may bee kept sound 25 yeares and more.

The reason why our Corn cannot be preserued for any long time.

The reason for it, is, that the Egyptians neuer vsed to fatten their groundes, but contented themselues with such manurage, as the soyle it selfe, and *Nylus* ouerflowing them, onely affoorded: neuer vsing any dung, as heere we do, neyther Vrines, Leystals, and other excrements of beasts, which is the onely cause, vvhy our Graine cannot be preserued; but is subiect to Wormes, VVeeuilles, Mites, and other small creatures, that doe great harme thereto, whereby it yeeldeth no sauoury taste, neither can bee kepte in goodnesse for any long time. *Hippocrates* seemeth to be of the same opinion; affirming, that such as vse breade made of Corne, which any dunged ground hath yeelded, they cannot liue so healthfully, neither so long a time, as others, feeding on the contrary. *Hip in l. 3. c. 17.*

Some one may say vnto me, thē what shall we do in these countreyes, where if our fieldes be not manured and dunged, the Land will yeelde nothing, or (at the best) very little? Is it not apparant euery where amongst vs? That there are verie good meanes whereby to franke and fatten grounds, with other things then dung and filth, *Hesiodus* plainly enstructeth vs; for in his Booke of Husbandry, he sayth: *There is nothing better, to cherish & fatten a leane and meager Land, then the strong straw of** Lapines, *the chaffe of Chiches, of Beanes, of Tares, Lentilles, and other such like, vtterly reiecting all vse of dung, which many haue charged with blamefull imputations.*

Lands that are dunged, doe not yeeld such plenty of Corne, nor so sauoury, as others.

Hesiod in lib de Agricult cap. 5.

*A kinde of Pulse, so called

Of this opinion also, *Lieband* appeareth to bee, in his Booke called *Maison Rustique*, or the Countrey Farme, where he saith; *Insted of dung, they may vse the straw of Lupines, hackt or cut small: Or else to sowe the ground with Lupines, and other Pulses, and afterward when they beginne to grow, to labour then the land ouer and ouer, and this will serue for dung, much better then that of any beast.*

Lieband in 1. lib. de Maison Rustique, cap. 10

There is mention also made, of another kind of manuring the ground, which is not so good as the precedent, alledged by *Hesiodus*; but approaching somewhat neere it, as thus. To cut some store of Heath, Broome, Briars, and Thorns, and all other kinds of shrubbes that haue bushy stalkes, or vnder-woods, and then to couer all those Lands therewith, which are intended to be sowen: there let these seuerall matters ly drying about the space of ten or twelue dayes, or longer time if neede require it. Then in the night time, let them bee set on fire, and so carefully tended, that they may bee altogether reduced into ashes, by kindling the fire stil where it would not fasten. Afterward, let those grounds be Tilled after one maner onely, and then sowed and couered. This kinde of Husbandry wil cause great quantity of Corne, which the poore make vse of in many places, where they haue no Cattle:

Another maner of manuring ground, by Heath, Broome, Bryars, &c.

Cattle: and it causeth the earth to yeeld a great moyst graine, which is not subiect to corruption.

How the Egyptians doe manure their grounds that are not neere to Nylus.

Here it is to be remembred, that where I say in Egypt, the grounds are not manured: I meane none but those that lye along the current of *Nylus*, on eyther side three or foure Leagues in largenesse, or little lesse on either side. But in other parts, as in the mountaine countreyes, they manure their Lands, though they be greatly fruitfull: yet not with dung, but with straw of diuers Pulses, according as I haue formerly sayd. Howbeit they haue great Heards of Oxen, and Flockes of Sheepe, also their fields are almost couered with flights of Pigeons, which after their owne manner) manure the grounds, and it is verie excellent good in that Nature.

Dungs doe engender many wilde and vnwholsome hearbes by smothering the earth, rather then nourishing it.

As for the dungs heere in our Countreyes, they are very laborious to bee made: for some dung must lye rotting a whole yeare together, before it can bee well imployed. And then it is (oftentimes) full of seedes of wilde or sauage Hearbes, which fall into the Hay, that beasts of labour eate, and so passe thorow in their excrements vndigested, or else are found among the strawe, whereof they make their litter. Whereby ensueth, that the earth (oftentimes) produceth more store of bad Hearbes and VVeeds, then of good Corne; because they take away his true vertue of nouriture, and do meerely smother it.

Knowledge in the diuersitie of dungs, for their good nesse or badnesse.

Beside all these things fore-named, especiall care is to be hadde, in knowing what dungs are good or bad; and for certaine groundes, and for some peculiar seeds. For Horse-dung will serue well in one place; that of Oxen and Kine in another; and likewise those of other Cattle, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Pigeons, and others beside. It may not be forgotten also that some grounds are to bee fattened in certaine quarters of the Moone, and others in other seasons: which is not any way to be obserued, in those other kindes of manuring, whereof I haue formerly written.

Concerning the husbandrie fit for Vines.

Heere I must not ouer-passe, to write somewhat concerning the husbanding of Vines, which some vse to dung, albeit to much lesse purpose, then grounds bearing Corne. As about *Paris*, in the lower *Lymosine*; about *Lymoges*, and else-where. The dooing heereof is a great deale lesse tollerable, because it is a matter very difficult, that a ground nourished and made fat with dung; should not still retaine in it, the sauour of the sayde Dung, and so (in the end) impart it to the wine. For, our people are verie ill aduised, to charge their Vines euery yeare: by reason it is the cause, that their wines (for the most part) haue an vnpleasing tast, and becomming fat and Oyly, are easie to turne of themselues. Moreouer, dung maketh our Vines to waxe aged immediately, and soone to grow barren; because they are too liberall of their goodnesse in the first yeares.

Dung is verie hurtfull for Vides.

Seruius hath lefte written vnto vs, in those Commentaries which he made on the ninth Booke of the *Æneides*, that the man was named *Pituuius*, who inuented this manner of manuring groundes by dung. And therefore he was called *Sterquilinium*, that is to say, a dung-hill carrier. It is to be presumed, that he was bred in the Latines countrey, in some place that was neuer fertile. These few notes I haue selected out of verie good Authors that did well vnderstand themselues in Husbandry, concerning the manuring of grounds & Vines, but they neuer approued the vse of dung.

Seruius in Com. sup. Eneid cap. 7

The Authors excuse on their behalfe, that despise his Councell.

Now, because I know verie well, that whatsoeuer *Hesiodus*, those other authors and my selfe also haue written, that our grounds and Vines should no longer bee manured in such stinking, foule, and grosse manner, but to follow those other instructions, most sweete and wholesome: in excuse of their neglecting so good aduice I will say with them, that that which hath taken roote for so many thousandes of yeares, can hardly be taken away vppon the sodaine.

Therefore, I wil now set downe vnto you some certaine receipts and aduices, for the long conseruation of our Cornes safe and soundly, and that they may not bee any wayes bitten or eaten with Vermine, because it will bring exceeding great healthfulnesse vnto the people. For, without all doubt, when Corne and other nourishments of life haue any corruption whatsoeuer, they doe dailie encrease and augment diseases amongst the people.

First

Of bringing Corne in sheaues into the Barne.

First of all then, men ought to be very circumspect, that before they bring their Corne in sheaues into the Barne, the said sheaues be very dry, and free from al moisture. Next, not to lay them on the earthen floore, without there bee some dry boords betweene the Corne and it. Then that there bee no muck-hill, or Iakes, eyther in the Barne, or neere it: for ill sauor will soone communicate it selfe to the Corne; and aboue all, let the Barne bee very well ayred. If it be in such a place, where they haue no vse of Barnes, as in the most part of *Languedocke*; then order must be taken, that the Stacke of Corne be (at least) so wel couered and enclosed, that no raine may get power of entrance, for otherwise, the Corne will sprouteit selfe, and afterward rot, corrupt, and putrifie.

Of places where no Barnes are vsed.

What care is to be vsed for prouiding a good Garner, or Corne-loft.

After that the Corne is threshed, and meete to bee laide vp in the Garner or Corne-lofte, choise must be made of one that receiueth the bright splendour of the East, breathed also moderately with the North and West windes: but the Southerne blasts, and those leaning that way, by no meanes to enter it. The couerture ouer head, need no great costlinesse, For the roofe. because of the ayres easier entrance thorow the Tyles, or other sheltring, that the Corne may not be heated or chafed. The floore may bee of earth, or pauing tyles; For the floore and walles. and the walles of whited morter. You must bee respectiue, that your Corne-heapes bee not great or thicke, to auoyde Corne-heapes ouer-heating; remouing and changing them from place to place, at two Months and two Moneths. The Garner must be farre enough from moist places; especially from houses of office, which yeeld a noysome sauour, or any such vnfit being; Scituation of the Garner. from Stables of Oxen, Horses, Swine, & such like.

The planchers and walles of the Garner, wherein you purpose to house your Corne, must be washed with vineger, or such water, wherein hearbes, or some bitter drugs haue beene boiled: as Wormewood, Southernwood, the leaues of wilde Cowcumbers, the pithe or graine of Coloquintida, or of Lupines, or Oxe gaules; without all question to the contrary, these haue bene truely tried, that no Weeuils, Mites, or Wormes can bite or touch the Corne, where they haue bene vsed. And How to auoyd vermine that do great harm to Corne.

they that scorne to take this paines, may lay some wormwood vnderneathe, aloft, and about their Corne-heapes, or Southernewood, or dried wilde Marierome. Or else annoint the walles and planchers of the Garner, with Lye made of the oyle of Oliues; or if it may not be had, with Sheeps vrine. To salt-powder the ground vnderneathe the Corne, with ashes made of Oaken wood, it is the present killing of all Mites and VVeeuils.

An easier way for such as can take no paines.

Now to keepe the Corne from heating or warming, ouer and beside our forenamed remouing, let there bee layde vnder euery ten Bushels of Corne, one of Millet; or if it be mingled therewith, it is easily separated afterward with a raunging Siue. Salt-Niter and the scum thereof, is very good for Corne-heapes, and preserueth them wonderfully, as also frō sprouting: many Sea-Merchants haue made vse thereof, to their no meane profite. In breefe, a good and charitable man shall neuer stand in need of so many remedies, if he keepe his Corne with intention, to helpe and lend to the poore, and without interest. For God saith by his Prophet *Ezechiell*, That hee will preserue the goods of them that keepe them to helpe the poore. And contrariwise; That he will suffer them to rot, and their Corne shall bee eaten with vermine, that hoorde them vp, to get great gaine by them, and hurt the people vexed with famine.

How to preserue the Corne from heating and chafing.

Ezek. 37, 10.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the great difference, which both Ancient and Moderne Writers haue obserued to be, betweene the Royall title of a King, and the disgracefull name of a Tyrant.

A necessary obseruation in the Author.

BEfore I begin to describe the difference, that is betweene a King and a Tyrant; I hold it to bee a matter most conuenient, to set downe a definition both of the one and other, to the ende, that the deportments of them both, may the better be knowne.

A King is such a man, that yeeldeth himselfe as obedient to the lawes of Nature,

The definition of a King, or him that holdeth the estate and dignity Royall.

ture, as he desireth his Subiects to bee towards him: forsaking naturall liberity, & a propriety in the goods of any man. I obserue in this definition, that Subiects ought to bee obedient to the Royall Monarch, to declare thereby, that in him consisteth Soueraigne Maiesty. The King also ought to bee obedient to the Lawes of nature, that is to say; to gouerne his Subiects, and to guide his owne actions by naturall iustice, which maketh it selfe to be seene as cleare and brightly, as the splendour of the Sunne. It is likewise a Royall marke or note, when the Prince sheweth himselfe as milde and plyable to the lawes of nature; as hee wisheth his Subiects to be obeysant to him. Which he may easily do, if he feare God aboue all things, be pittifull to the afflicted, prouident in his enterprizes, hardy in exploits, modest in prosperity, constant in aduersity, firme in his word, wise in his councell, carefull of his subiects, succourable to friends, terrible to enemies, courteous to good men, dreadfull to wicked persons, and iust to all.

The note or marke of royalty.

What things are possible in a King.

The definition of a Tyrant, & what the signification of the word Tyrant implyeth.

A Tyrant is such a man, as defileth the lawes of nature with his feete, abuseth the liberties of free-borne Subiects, euen as if they were his slaues, and maketh the goods of other men to be his owne. The name or word Tyrant, is Greeke in his owne propriety, and was honourable, signifying nothing else in times of antiquity, but a Prince that had possessed himselfe of the State, without the consent of his Cittizens and Subiects, and of a companion, had made him his Master. Such a man was called a Tyrant, althogh he were a most wise and iust Prince. In like manner, *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the Tyrant, gaue him this quality as his honour: *Plato* to *Dyonisius* the tyrant, health. The returne and answer was: *Dyonisius* the tyrant, to *Plato* greeting. And to declare that the word tyrant, was as well attributed to iust & good Princes, as them that were wicked, it euidently appeareth heerein: because *Pittacus* and *Periander*, two of the seuen Sages of *Greece*, were called tyrants, for hauing seized the Estates of their Countries.

Who were called tyrants in elder times.

But such, as eyther by power, or else by cunning had inuaded and obtained the Soueraignty, perceiuing that their liues were exposed to the mercy of their enemies; were constrained (for the better security of their liues and goods) to haue Guards of strangers about their persons, & strong Garrisons in Castles, for whose paiment of wages and maintenance, great tributes & impositions were leuied. And when they saw, that their liues could not be secured, hauing but poore friends, and potent enemies; they did eyther put to death, or banished some, to please and enrich others: and they that stood in desperate condition, they made rape both of their goods and wiues. And this was the reason, that tyrants were extremely hated and malliced. For wee reade, that *Dyonisius* the elder tyrant, of one part of *Sicily*, had daily ten thousand Soldiers for his Guard, and ten thousand horsemen, and foure hundred Gallyes, readily hyred and armed. And when he could not make vp this account among so few Subiects as were vnder his seruice; he wrung & griped his people in so small an Island, whereof hee gouerned but in part onely, and contained no more then six hundred and sixteene Italian miles in all.

Gryping and insulting Tyrants were compelled to entertaine Guards for their owne safety.

The cause why Tyrants were mortally hated.

Now because euery one hath not the iudgement to distinguish a good King from a Tyrant, calling him a Tyrant, that (for great store of good reasons) maketh himselfe formidable, and stood in awe of, beside that which I haue already sette downe, I will make him some-what more easily to be knowne.

Weakenesse in some iudgements betweene a good King & a Tyrant.

The most notable difference betweene a King and a Tyrant, is; that the King cõformeth himselfe to the lawes of nature, and a tyrant trampleth on them with his feete, that one maintaineth piety, iustice, and faith, the other hath neyther God, Law, nor Faith. The one maketh whatsoeuer he doth, serue for the weale publike, & tuition of his Subiects: the other doth not any thing, but for his owne particular profite, reuenge, or pleasure. The one enforceth himselfe to enrich his Subiects by all the best meanes he can deuise: the other will not build his owne house, but with the ruines of theirs. The one reuengeth the iniuries of the publike Estate, and pardoneth his owne: but the other reuengeth cruelly his owne iniuries, and pardoneth them that are done to others. The one spareth the honour of modest women: & the other triumpheth in their shame. The one taketh pleasure to

The apparant and best noted differences betweene a Royall King & a Tyrant, in very signall obseruations.

Of publike benefit.

Pardoning iniuries.

Of womens honour.

to be aduiſed in all freedome and liberty, and will be wiſely reprehended when hee faileth; but nothing is more irkeſome to the other, then the counſell of a graue and vertuous man.

Of generall vnity. The one ſtriueth to maintaine his Subiectes in peace and vnitie; but the other mooueth dayly diuiſions, to make the one part ruinate the other, and then to fatten himſelfe with their Confiſcations.

Of affability. The one, delighteth to bee ſometimes ſeene, and heard of his Subiectes; but the other euer-more hydeth himſelfe from them, as from his enemies.

Of Loue. The one, maketh reckoning of his Subiectes Loue, but the other of their Feare.

Of Feare. The one, neuer feareth, but for the wel-fare of his people: but the other dreadeth nothing more then them.

Of Taxations The one, will not charge his ſubiects more then needes muſt, remembring alwayes the publique neceſſity; but the other drinketh their blood, gnaweth theyr bones, and ſucketh the verie Marrowe of his people, onely to weaken them.

Of honeſt ſeruices. The one ſearcheth out men of beſt condition, to imploy in publike Offices; but the other imployeth none but Theeues, and moſt wicked perſons in his ſeruice, like to Spundges.

Of free-giuing Offices. The one maketh free gifte of eſtates and offices, to auoide concuſſions, and crowdes of people; but the other ſelleth them at as deare rates as hee can, for their better meanes of enfeebling the people by Thefts; and then (afterward) cuttes the Theeues throates for theyr vvealth, becauſe he would be reputed a good Iuſticer.

Of Law. A King meaſureth his actions and maners, by the foote of the Law: but the tirant maketh the Law to ſerue his maners.

Of peoples loue. The one is beloued and reuerenced of his people: and the other generally hated of them all.

Of Warre. The one hath no other recourſe in war, but to his ſubiects: but the other, will make no warre but with them.

Of Guardes. The one, hath no Guards or Garriſons but of his owne people: but the others defence is onely in ſtrangers.

Of Peace. The one delighteth in an aſſured repoſe and tranquility; but the other languiſheth in perpetuall feare.

Of happy life The hope & expectation of the one, is euerlaſting life in bleſſednes: but the other cannot auoid eternall puniſhment.

Of a happy death. The one is honored in this life, & deſired again after death: the other is infamous in this life, and torne in peeces with ſhame after death. But becauſe the continuation of this chapter might ſeeme ouer-tedious to the Reader, if I ſhould verify al theſe relations by hiſtoricall examples, I wil referre ſuch as are willing to take the paynes, to reade the hiſtories themſelues, both in Greeke, Latine, & other languages, wher they ſhal find that to be moſt true, which hath bin ſpoken of Kings and Tyrants.

The Concluſion.

CHAP. XV.

In what high account and eſteeme, Philoſophers, & other men of knowledge (in what Sciences ſoeuer) were held in elder times, by Emperors and Kings.

WE need not now complaine, that in theſe dayes of ours, there is ſuch want of excellent ſpirits, in all kindes of Arts and Sciences: but if we ſuruey with more wary iudgment, we ſhal plainely perceiue, that there are learned men enow, who may iuſtly find fault, that neither they are in ſuch eſteeme, or any way ſo well recompenced of Princes in theſe times, as many worthie men vvere heretofore, by Emperors, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, in thoſe famous daies of reuerend antiquity. Inſted of concluding, and acquainting yee with the iuſtice of their reaſon, I will lightly paſſe ouer; & inſted of long ſpeaking, onely remember ye with ſome hiſtories and examples of Famous Potentates in former ages, who wer Friends, and Nurſing fathers to Philoſophers and Schollers; to the end that their actions beeing compared with thoſe of theſe dayes, it may bee knowne, whether they haue cauſe to complaine, or no, in a caſe ſo highly importing.

A great cauſe of diſcouragement to learned men.

Potentates & Princes of elder times.

And firſt of all, I will beginne with the excellent and renowned Captain *Pompey*, who (as we read) after he had vanquiſhed the puiſſant king *Mithridates*, & obtained many other victories and aduentures in war, coming to *Athens* with al his warlike furniſhment, ſuch as the *Roman* Conſuls and Captaines vſed to haue borne before thē: he was aduertiſed that *Poſſidonius* the

Pompey, his victory againſt Mithridates.

Philoſopher lay ſicke in his bed. Being deſirous to go and ſee him, he would not onely honor him with his perſonall Viſitation; but when he came neere the door of the houſe, he cauſed his Standards and Imperial Enſigns to march in before him. For it was euermore his saying; *That Kingdomes and Empires ought to obey vertue and Learning.* Thus he behaued himſelfe to this poore learned man, which hee would not haue done to the greateſt Potentate then liuing.

Dyoniſius the Tyrant, king of Syracuſa.

Dionyſius the Tyrant, king of *Syracuſa*, hauing obtained of *Plato* the excellent diuine Philoſopher, that he would come & ſee him in *Sicily*; when hee heard of his neere approching, he went to meete him on the way, cauſing him to ſit with him in his owne Chariot, drawne with white Horſſes. Such was the reputation which wiſe and learned men had in thoſe times.

Alexander the Great.

When *Alexander* the Great, had determined the vtter ruine & ſubuerſion of the *Thebans*, he gaue eſpeciall charge firſt of all, that no man ſhould touch the houſe of the Poet [l] *Pindarus*, but to leaue it wholly ſtanding. If I ſhould tell yee, how highly *Virgill* was honored and eſteemed by *Octauianus*, it is a matter ſo perfectly known, that it needeth no report of mine. Accor-

l A famous poet of Thebs

Plin. lib. 7. Virgill was the moſt excellent of all Latine Poets, ſonne to Maro and Maia, and borne in Mantua.

ding to *Pliny* in his ſeuenth Booke, whenſoeuer he entred into the Theater, there to deliuer ſome of his Verſes, all the people would ſtand vp on their feet, and offer as great reuerence to him, as if it had bin to the Emperor. And that which is much more, *Silius Italicus*, a Spaniſh Poet, did yearly ſolemnize the day of his Natiuity, and with farre greater deuotion, then hee did his owne. The gifts and preſents daily giuen him by *Octauian*, *Mecænas*, and many more, were ſo great, that *Seruius* (who writeth of him) ſaith, that his goods (in very ſhort time) amounted to the value of ſixe thouſand *Seſtertiaes*, which ariſe vnto two hundred and fiftie thouſand Crownes. He had in *Rome* a very honorable Palace; in regard whereof, *Iuuenall* in his 7. Satyre ſaith, *That he was one of the richeſt men in thoſe dayes.*

Seruius in lib. 6 cap. 4.

Iuuen. in Sat. 7

Vpon a day, in the preſence of *Octauian*, and *Liuia* his wife, the mother vnto [m] *Marcellus*, *Virgill* vttered certaine Verſes of his bookes *Æneidos*, and comming to the end of the ſixt Booke, where hee diſcourſeth moſt elegantly of *Marcellus*, lately dead before; the hart of the mother became ſo ſtrangely and paſſionately moued thereat, that ſhe fell into a ſwound, not hauing any power to heare the reſt. But being reuiued to her ſelfe againe, ſhe cómaunded, that for each of thoſe whereof ſhee had loſt the hearing, *Virgill* ſhoulde haue ten *Seſtertiaes* giuen him. The remainder (which ſhe heard not) being one and twenty verſes in number; the valewation of his reward, contained the ſumme of 5000. Ducates, of our inſtant money.

m Not he who had bene fiue times Conſul, but young Marcellus, that ſhould haue bin heyr to Octauian.

It is found faithfully recorded, that the *Syracuſanes* had ſome *Athenian* priſoners, that could rehearſe (by heart) certayne verſes of [n] *Euripides* the Greeke Poet, and dayly pronounced them; by which occaſion only, and in honor of the Poet, they were deliuered, & permitted freely to go home to their owne countrey. *Scipio* the *Affrican*, during his life time, had alwayes with him (in his wars) the Statue of [o] *Ænnius*; and when he died, he tooke eſpeciall order, that it might be buried in his owne Sepulcher with him. The Emperor *Domitian*, cauſed [p] *Silius Italicus* (an excellent Poet, and borne in *Spaine*) to bee made three times Conſull of *Rome*, as *Martiall* witneſſeth in one of his Epigrams, beginning, *Auguſto Piathura.*

n An excellẽt Tragical poet in the time of Archelaus, K. of Macedon.

o An olde Latine poet, borne at Tarentum, and brought vnto Rome by Cato the Cenſor

p A woorthie poet, borne at Italica in Spaine. *Mart. in Epig.*

But I know not what to ſay, of our moderne and later times; or what our late liuing Princes haue done, either to *Politian*, *Pontanus*, or *Sannazar*; and to ſpeak of our Modern Frenchmen, as *Ronſard*, *Bellay*, and other excellent Poets. But perhaps you will anſwer me, their hopes may bee to come heereafter, becauſe ſome of them are yet liuing, young in yeares, but old in wiſedome and vnderſtanding, and worthy to bee equalled with many of former times. But becauſe I ſee ſo little reſpect, let vs goe backe againe to thoſe renowned Ancients. King *Mithridates* held *Plato* and his learning in ſo high reputation, that being deſirous to haue his ſtatue; ſent to find out [q] *Syllanion* to performe it, becauſe he was a moſt excellent workeman. For in thoſe dayes, the greateſt honour that could be, was (in publike places) to erect Figures & Statues: yet none might be permitted, except it were of ſome worthy man, made famous, and knowne by ſome vertuous deeds, or for his dignity in learning. For this cauſe the men of *Athens* made one of *Demoſthenes*, with a title of the

Poets of moderne & later times, wherof ſome are yet liuing, or died very lately.

The loue of K. Mithridates to Plato, & his learning.

q A famous Caruer.

The honour done to learned men in elder times.

the very greateſt honor that euer had bin giuen vnto any other; and theſe were the words of the inſcription. *If the power and ſtrength of Demoſthenes had bin equal to his ſpirit, wiſedome, and learning: the King of Macedon could neuer haue ſurmounted the Greekes.*

The inſcription on the Statue of Demoſthenes.

Ioſephus the Iew, being one in number amongſt the captiues of *Ieruſalem*, was brought priſoner to *Rome*; & yet notwithſtanding, in regard of the Bookes hee had made of the Iewes Antiquities, they reputed him worthy to haue a Statue. The *Athenians* conſidering the wiſedome of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ſcholler vnto *Theophraſtus*, cauſed his ſtatue to be erected in thirty places of this City. Now if men of merit were ſo highly honoured, doubtles they were as well rewarded. For *Atheneus* writeth in the 9. book of his *Gymnoſophiſts* that *Ariſtotle* for his Booke *de Animalium* receiued of *Alexander* 800. talents: which of the currant money now in *France*, valeweth foure hundred & foureſcore thouſand Crownes, which is verified by *Pliny* in his eight book. There he declareth, that *Alexãders* deſire was ſo great to haue this book performed by *Ariſtotle*, that he ſent many thouſands of men thoroughout all *Greece* and *Aſia*, with letters and expreſſe commandement, that they ſhold be obedient to whatſoeuer hee required, touching the manner of hunting and flying of Fowles, Fiſhes, and all the like exerciſes, becauſe they ſhould know & vnderſtand, the nature and properties of all kinde of Beaſts, Birds, and Fiſhes, & then to aduertiſe *Ariſtotle* thereof. Vndoubtedly if *Homer*, the very beſt of Greek Poets, had liued in the time of *Alexander*, it is to bee preſumed that he wold haue bin as bountifull and beneficiall to him, as hee was to *Ariſtotle*. Becauſe when a cheſt or Casket was preſented vnto him, wherein K. *Darius* kept his moſt precious Vnguents, the Cheſt being very pleaſing to him, he ſaid; *I will make this Cheſt the keeper of far richer treaſure:* and preſently hee did put thereinto the Workes of *Homer*, which he euermore tooke great delight to reade in continually.

Ioſephus was brought priſoner to Rome.

A notable Philoſopher, that for his vertues gouerned the Athenians ten yeares.

Atheneus in Gymnoſo. lib. 9.

Rewards giuen to lerned men.

Plin. in l. 8. ca. 3

Alexanders earneſt deſire of Ariſtotles book of creatures.

Homer the beſt of all the Grecian Poets.

The words of Great Alexander, of Homers Iliads.

The Emperor *Traiane*, in regard of his learning onely, did ſo eſpecially honour the Philoſopher *Dyon*, that when he rode abroad in the fields to take the Ayre; hee would haue him to ſit neereſt vnto him in his owne Chariot, and ſo ride on along with him thorough *Rome*, making it as his triumphall entrance.

A famous Philoſopher of Pruſa, a towne of Bythinia by Olympus.

In the warre which the Emperor *Octauius* made in Egypt, againſt *Mark Anthony*, hee ſayde; *That hee did forbeare to deſtroy Alexandria, for the reſpect hee bare to Alexander, that builded it; but much more for his loue to the Philoſopher* [a] *Arrius.* The ſame Emperor alſo, made *Cornelius Gallus* Tribune of the people; onely becauſe hee was a moſt elegant Poet.

a Whoſe birth place was in Alexandria.

Suetonius in the life of *Veſpaſian*, ſheweth, what rewardes were anciently giuen to the Learned. For he ſayth, *Although Veſpaſian was taxed with couetouſneſſe: yet notwithſtanding, he greatly fauoured exerciſes and Artes, and gaue aſpenſions to each Maſter of them, ſuch quantity of golden peeces, as beeing reduced to the ſummes of our moneyes* (according to *Beroaldus* and *Budæus*) *their ſtipends valewed two thouſand and fiue hundred Ducates*, but as ſome ſay Crownes.

Sueton in vit. Veſpaſ. Of the Emperor Veſpaſians rewards to Learning.

By the Teſtimony of *Pliny*, in his ſeuenth Booke, and the ninth Chapter, writing of [b] *Iſocrates* the Greeke Orator, a man may very eaſily perceyue, in vvhat account and eſtimation the learned were then. For hee ſayeth, that this *Iſocrates*, hauing made an Oration for a certayne man; hee rewarded him with twelue Talents, which valew (according vnto our preſent computation) twelue thouſand Crownes.

Plin. in l. 7. c. 9.

b A famous Oratour of Greece, Scholer to Plato.

Wee finde it likewiſe written, in the life of the Emperour *Antoninus*, Sonne vnto *Seuerus*, that hee gaue to *Appian*, ſo many Ducates of Gold, as there were number of Verſes in a great worke which hee had (at that time) made, concerning the Nature and property of all kindes of Fiſhes.

Sueton. in vit. Imp. Antonin.

The Emperour *Gratian*, knowing that [c] *Auſonius* compoſed well in Verſe: gaue him (onely for his deſert that way) the Conſulſhippe, which was the verie greateſt dignity, nay euen next to that of Emperour.

c Not the ſon of Vlyſſes and Calipſo, but an Italian Poet borne.

Domitian, albeit hee was a moſt wicked man, yet he gaue great honors & gifts to the Poet [d] *Euſtathius*. And in a ſolemn Feaſt, hee cauſed him to ſit at his Table, Crowned with a Garland of Lawrell; where-with all our graue Elders vſed to Crowne theyr Poets. *Seleius Baſſus*, a Lyricke

d Hee wrote the Hiſtorie from Eneas, to Anaſtaſius the Emperor.

rick Poet, was much commended by *Veſpaſian*, with no leſſe honourable wordes then others, and alſo had in gifties great ſummes of money. [h] *Arrianus* for the hiſtorie which hee wrote in Greeke, of the actes of *Alexander* the Great, but more eſpecially, becauſe he was a very Learned man; was made Conſull of Rome by *Adrian* and *Antoninus*. Nor were theſe learned men thus honoured during their life time, but alſo after their death. As may bee noted by *Ptolomy*, who was King of Egypt, who made a Temple and Statue to *Homer*, as he did to his other Goddes. For *Virgil* likewiſe, there was a Statue erected in *Mantua*, long time after he was dead. The excellent Poet *Horace*, althogh we are not certaine how wealthy he was; yet notwithſtanding, he had great dignities of *Octauius* in *Rome*.

I could produce many examples vnto this purpoſe, which I forbeare, onely to auoide prolixity. But heere, if any man ſhall obiect vnto me, that wiſe and Learned *Seneca* dyed by the command of *Nero*; I anſwere, it was moſt bloodye *Nero* that did it, not any defect in his learning, and before his death, he attained to great dignities and honours in *Rome*, onely by the meanes of his Learning. It is an olde, but a true Prouerb; *That Honors and gifts, are both the makers and maintainers of Arts.* Therefore wee finde, that in thoſe times when Emperors and Kings fauoured ſtudies and learning; there wanted then no ſtore of Learned men. As in the daies of *Octauius*, *Claudius*, *Adrian*, *Veſpaſian*, and *Antoninus*. For our modern times, when the Emperor *Sigiſmund* liued; *Robert* king of *Sicily*, Pope *Nicholas* the fift, King *Alphonſus* of *Naples*, and *Matthias* King of *Hungarie*, beſide thoſe of the houſe of *Medicis* in *Florence*. The flower of vvhich Stemme, yet liueth at this day crowned in *France*, imitating the moſt gracefull ſteps of his euer-famous foregoers: but eſpecially of good King *Frances*, in whoſe moſt happy time, *France* reached vnto ſuch a height for Learning, that it might meritoriouſly haue bene ſtyled, another *Greece* or *Athens*.

h He is ſaid to be very familiar with Cicero.

Honour not onely during life, but after death alſo done to learned men.

An obiection and anſwere concerning learned Seneca.

A true prouerbe.

Learned men liuing in ancient times.

Thoſe of more moderne dayes.

CHAP. XVI.

That Learning is not onely neceſſary in Kings and Princes: but alſo for Generalles, Captaines, and Commanders, that follow the Exerciſe and Art Military.

I Could alledge manifold Hiſtories, beſides true, good, and ſufficient Reaſons, that Princes (in ancient times) found no better forme, or directe rule for their orderly gouernment, then Learning, and Knowledge. And becauſe the euidence heereof remaineth ſo plaine and pregnant vnto vs, I will obſerue ſome fewe examples, tending to this purpoſe. When King *Phillip* vnderſtood the birth of his ſonne *Alexander*, and knowing *Ariſtotle* to liue then in *Athens*, he ſent a very notable Letter vnto him (recorded by *Plutarke*, and *Aulus Gellius*) wherein hee thanked the Goddes, not ſo much for the ſafe birth of his ſonne, but becauſe hee was borne in the life time of *Ariſtotle*. By which few words, may be apparantly diſcerned, how much the King thought lerning and knowledge fitte for his ſonne, to the end, he might proue to be ſuch a King and Captaine, as hee was indeede afterward. Whereupon, when hee grew vnto yeares meete for the embracing of ſtudie; he made *Ariſtotle* his Mayſter, ſent him great gifts, and (in meere loue to his ſon) builded a Cittie, which he had formerly deſtroyed, and erected alſo a Schoole (admired for coſt and curious worke manſhip, ſuch as no time before had afforded) wherein his ſonne might receiue inſtruction.

Antigonus, King of *Macedon*, knowing how needfull a thing Learning vvas, for his owne good gouernment: and beeing mightily prouoked by the continuall renowne of [k] *Zeno*, a ſingular Philoſopher, and Prince of the Stoickes; deſired earneſtly to enioy his company, which hee further laboured by Letters, and manie Embaſſies. Of which Letters, *Diogenes Laertius* reciteth one, in this manner following.

The manner of Princes gouernement in old times.

Plutark. in vit. Alexand. Aulus Gellius in lib. 15 cap. 3.

Some doe repute this citie to be Alexandria, ſo called after the nam of Alexander

k A man of great account in Athens, & Author of the Stoicke ſect.

¶The Letter of King Antigonus, to Zeno the Philosopher.

A notable testimonie, of loue to learning, in so mightie a potentate.

ANtigonus *a King, sendeth greeting to* Zeno *the Philosopher. I know very well, that in worldly goodes, fauours of Fortune, and the reputation of such things, I doe farre exceede thee. Neuertheleſſe, I know withall, that in true felicitie, knowledge, discipline, studies and liberall Artes, thou reachest a higher pitch then I can doe. In regard whereof I desire, that thou wouldest come and liue with me, which I pray thee to yeelde vnto; that I may enioy thy company and conuersation. In the doing whereof, be well assured, that thou not onely shalt be maister of me; but shalt also be a teacher to all my Macedonians. For he that instructeth the King, making him to become vertuous and good: teacheth those vertues likewise to all his Subiects. To prooue the trueth heereof, it is commonly seene, that such as the King is, such are his vassailes, and such as the Captaine, such his Souldiours.* Farewell.

Words beseeming a vertuous King.

Theſe Letters being receiued by the venerable Philosopher; in regard of his deepe steppe into age, it was not possible for him to condiscend thereto, or (in person) to satisfie the Kings earnest request. But he sent him two of his Schollers, excelling the rest in knowledge & learning, by whom he was worthily taught and instructed.

What the philosopher himselfe could not doe, he did by his Schollers.

The learning of *Aristotle*, vnder whom *Alexander* was tutourd fiue whole yeares together, tooke such roote and efficacie in the Scholler; that he became so excellent a King, as no one in the world was able to compare with him. Being in the midst of his Armies, he would not giue ouer study, but euermore layd (with his Sword) on the pillow of his bed, the *Iliades* of *Homer*, and other bookes. And it appeared, that such was his loue to Learning, that he could as easily apprehend it, as he conquered kingdoms by force of Armes. *Plutarke*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Themistocles* doe affirme, that *Alexander* had published certayne bookes of naturall Philosophy, whereof he had been an Auditor vnder *Aristotle*; in regard whereof, he wrote a Letter vnto him.

Alexander was Scholler to Aristotle fiue yeares together, and loued Learning earnestly.

Plutarc. in vita Alex.
Aul. Gellius in lib. 15. cap. 3.
Themist. in Alex.

The Letter of great Alexander, to his Maister *Aristotle.*

A louing reprehension of his Maister, and declaring his affection to Learning.

TRuly Aristotle, *thou hast done ill, in publishing those Bookes of speculatiue Philosophie, by thee composed. For, in thine owne iudgement, wherein can I possibly excell other men, when the Science wherein thou hast instructed me, commeth to be common to all men? I would haue thee to know, that I more couet to preceed all men in Learning and Knowledge, then in riches, pompe, power and dominion.*

Farewell.

When this was vnderstoode by *Aristotle*, to comfort and please so puissant a Prince, he commanded that his Bookes (formerly common) should be so obscured, that it was not possible to vnderstand them, but by his owne interpretation. *Pirrhus* that excellent Captaine, and king of the *Epirotes*, who maintained great warres against the *Romaines*, and diuerse times ouercame them; did exercise himselfe, not onely in the reading of the Sciences: but also composed sundry books, among which was his precepts of warre. As the like hath beene done lately in our time, by that famous man, *Guillaume du Bellay*, Lord of *Langey*.

Pirrhus king of the Epirotes, an excellent louer of learning, and a publisher of Bookes.

What shall we say of *Iulius Cæsar*, the first Emperour, and (without all comparison) the very best Captaine of all them that had the managing of war? We may truely say of him, that he was no lesse inclined to Learning, then to Armes. For he made himselfe a Scholler, before hee was a Souldier: and afterward as often as he had any leysure, he frequented the Academies of the Poets, and in walking, he would both reade and write. Vppon a time, being at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, to saue himselfe from an imminent perill, he aduentured swimming, bearing the bookes which he had written in one of his hands; declaring thereby, that he affected them as dearely, as his owne life: hauing as much care to saue the one, as the other; and what his learning was, his Commentaries (yet remaining with vs) can sufficiently witnesse.

Iulius Cæsar the first Emperour, as famous for learning, as for armes. *Tam Marti, quam Mercurio.*

Cæsar loued learning as dearely as his life.

The care of the Romanes for their childrens lerning

Not onely *Cæſar*, but all the *Romanes* alſo, do beare witneſſe of that which wee ſay, who (in my poore opinion) were reputed and knowne to be good Captaines and Gouernors. For, the firſt thing which they vndertook for their children in their infancie, was to haue them well enſtructed, and therefore prouided good ſcholmaſters for them, which they chargeably ſent for out of Greece. Both the *Catoes* were knowne to be excellent ſchollers, & ſoldiers. The great *Cenſor* was wonderfully addicted to learning, as the Bookes written by him do plainely teſtifye: hee was a worthy Orator, Hiſtorian, and endued with many vertues, and euen toward the ending of his dayes, hee learned the Greeke tongue. The other *Cato*, ſtyled of *Vtica*, though he was not of ſuch a ſharpe and ingenious ſpirite in apprehenſion of Sciences; yet notwithſtanding, hee kept company with moſt excellent Schoolemaſters; among whom was the Philoſopher * *Antipater*. And he gaue his minde ſo much to ſtudie, that *Cicero* ſayth, in his Booke *De Finibus*, he did nothing elſe but reade; yea, whenſoeuer he ſate in the Senate houſe, hee alwayes had ſome Booke or other about him, to reade at all times when he pleaſed.

Cato Cenſorinus

Cato Vticenſis.

* A Philoſopher and Poet of Sidon, a City of Phænicia, by the ſea ſide, not farre from Tyre.

Cicero in Lib. de Finib.

Scipio Affricanus, the victorious triumpher ouer *Hanniball*, was extreamely addicted to Learning, and euermore had the Poet *Ænnius* with him. After all his Victories, he gaue himſelfe againe afreſh to Learning and reading. *Hanniball* his Competitor, although he was of *Affrica*, had alwayes bookes with him in his Tents and Pauillions: in the time of warre, hee would not giue ouer reading, but in one place or other (howſoeuer it were) hee would haue *Silanus* and *Saſylas* (two lerned *Lacedemonians*) with him, by whome he was well inſtructed in the Greek Language. We haue formerly read, that *Dionyſius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, had *Plato* to be his Schoolemaſter, and kept company alſo with many other learned men. Afterward, when hee was expulſed out of his kingdome, one (in mocking manner) demanded of him, whereto now ſerued the Philoſophy which he had learned of *Plato*, to whom hee returned this anſwer, *It ſerueth mee to ſupport my preſent neceſsitie with patience.* *Themiſtocles*, a moſt excellent Captaine, declared himſelfe to be no leſſe diligent in learning, then hee was in Armes: his Maſter was [a] *Anaxagoras*, the *Mileſian*. *Epaminondas*, and the other Captaines of Greece, were all ſtudious and worthy Orators. *Mithridates*, in the warres which he had againſt the *Romanes*, for the ſpace of forty years together, notwithſtanding all the furious aſſaults, deſiſted not from his ſtudying, hauing euermore diuers ſchoolemaſters and Philoſophers with him.

Examples of ſoldiers affecting learning. *Scipio Affricanus.*

Hanniball.

Plato ſchoolemaſter to Dionyſius the Tyrant.

A notable anſwer.

a A Philoſopher of noble bloode, but more noble in vertue and wiſedome.

Octauius Auguſtus, limited to himſelfe certaine houres in the day, onely for ſtudy; and when he was in warre, yet he kept his times of ſtudying ſtill: hauing therefore diuers worthy Maſters with him, as *Apollodorus* of *Pergama*, the Philoſopher *Aſperarius*, *Aſinius Pollio*, *Valerius*, *Meſſala*, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and many other. And before this Emperour, there was a famous Captaine, named [b] *Lucius Lucullus*, who during the wars, gaue himſelf to ſtudy; & when the wars ceaſed, hee applyed all his diligence, in cheriſhing and maintaining learned men. *Paulus Æmilius*, victorious ouer the king of *Perſia*, ouer & beſide his beeing a very learned man, endeauoured alſo that his children might bee the like; ſo that at his inſtant requeſt, the *Athenians* gaue him [c] *Metrodorus* to bee their Schoole-maſter. But wherefore do I take ſo much paines, in naming ſo many one after another? *Pompey*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, *Marcus Brutus*, *Traiane*, *Adrian*, and *Marke Anthonie*, were al learned men, and compiled Bookes, Orations, and Letters of great learning, and memorable example.

The loue of Octauius Auguſtus to lerning.

b A Noblemâ of Rome, famous for lerning, martiall proweſſe, and exceeding great riches.

c A Philoſopher, Scholler to Epicurus.

In briefe, if I erre not greatly in my iudgement, it may plainly appeare, that few Captaines are found of ancient times who were excellent in nothing ſo much as by their learning. There are two only, of whom wee finde nothing remayning written, expreſſing whether they were lerned, or no: the one being named *Caius Marius*, and the other *Marcus Marcellus*. And yet I reade, that *Marcellus* highlie loued and fauoured men of knowledge: whereby it is to bee credited, that ſurely himſelfe was learned, though nothing (to that effect) bee written of him. And it may the more manifeſtly appeare, by the prohibition he made (as we haue formerly alledged) at the ſurprizall of *Syracuſa*, that *Archimedes* ſhould not bee ſlayne.

No Captains in elder times but they were famous for Learning.

Caius Marius and Marcus Marcellus.

And

And althogh he miſcaried, notwithſtanding his ſtrict command to the contrary: yet it was not without great greeſe of the ſaid *Marcellus*.

The Authors aduertiſemẽt to the Captains of theſe dayes.

Let then the Captaines of theſe our dayes, ſay what they liſt, that learning is not ſo expedient for them (I meane ſuch as thruſt the ſtile of Captaines on themſelues) coueting with their owne opinion, or rather obſtinacy, to cloud and couer their dulneſſe and ignorance. It is ſufficient for vs, that wee ſee how highly our graue Predeceſſors eſteemed Bookes and Learning, equall with the courage and manhood of infinite Captaines, worthily affected and addicted to learning; as we finde it vnpartially ſet downe, in that iudicious Booke of warre, written by *Robertus Valturinus*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of diuers ſecret naturall properties, being in the Viper: and how he may be fed on, and eaten, without any danger.

THE Viper is a kinde of Serpent, ſufficiently knowne to many: and although it bee little, yet notwithſtanding it is very venomous, for with a little pricking, it can kill a man. But as our Lord God made not any thing but to profitable vſe: euen ſo this creature, with al his venome, ſerueth man for diuers medicines and maladies, eſpecially for any paine in the throate. It is a thing very excellently good (by a ſecret property in nature) to beare the head of a Viper about a man: for liuing, it killeth, and dead, it healeth. Tiriacle, or Treacle, as we vſe to terme it, is properly good againſt venom: but in the making thereof, and in the confection, there is neceſſarily required ſome part of this beaſt, to the end it may be the more perfect, and of the greater efficacy. And it was named Tiriacle, becauſe that the worde *Thirion* in Greeke, ſignifieth a Viper, or venomous Beaſt. Some (and not vnfittingly) doe giue another etymologye, and reaſon for this name. But before we report the benefits enſuing by the Vipet, me-thinkes it were not amiſſe, to remember what is ſaid by *Pliny*, *Iſidorus*, and *Aelianus*. They report, that when this Serpent conceiueth, the Male putteth his head in at the mouth of the Female, whereby ſhee receiueth ſuch immeaſurable delectation; that with her ouer-ſharp teeth, ſhe byteth off the head of the Male, becomming thereby widdowed, yet violent in aſſaulting. The matter conceiued by her, groweth to bee Egges, which forme themſelues within her body, according as the ſpawne of fiſhes doth: and of thoſe Egges do Vipers enſue, at ſuch time as ſhe is to deliuer her young ones, yeelding euery day, one, till they amount to twenty. Now becauſe they are ſo many in number, they which remaine behinde, hauing no power to attend their fit time, do teare the belly of their Damme, ſo that by her death, they enter into the world, and liue. If it be ſo, ſurely it is a matter very maruailous: for it ſhould ſeeme thereby, that (euen naturally) the children do reuenge the death of their father.

Plin. in l. 8. c. 62 Iſidor. in lib. 11. de Etimolog. Aelianus in lib. de Animal.

The conception of the Female Viper and deliuery of her brood.

With this opinion of *Pliny*, do many other Authors conſent; as *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe againſt Scoffers. Neuertheleſſe, there are a great many other, who do contrary it, denying that the Viper dyeth in her teeming: with which opinion, I alſo reſt reſolued, becauſe the other ſeemeth to me not naturall; neyther haue I ſeene the experience thereof, or know any perſon that hath ſeene it. In like manner, *Philoſtratus* is flatly againſt it, in the life of *Apollo Thyaneus*, introducing *Apollo* himſelfe, who reporteth, that hee had ſeene a Viper, that after ſhe had fully yeelded all her young ones; licked them very louingly, and liued healthfully. As much may be gathered from the words of *Ariſtotle*, who ſetteth them downe thus. *The Viper onely (among all other Serpents) deliuereth her young ones, becauſe ſhe firſt formeth them in her body of Egges, as the ſpawne of Fiſhes is. Afterward, when they are formed, they remaine three daies wrapped vp in a tender thinne skin; which breaketh at the limitted time, and ſo affoordeth the young ones liberty* (in regard whereof, *Apuleius*, in his Apologie, calleth them *Ouiperes*, and not Vipers, as much to ſay, as engendered of Egges) *and very often it happeneth, that that wrapper breaking (of it ſelfe) in the Dammes belly; they iſſue foorth euery day one, to the number of twenty and more*: theſe are the very words of *Ariſtotle*. In another

Plut. in Tract. cont. Illuſor.

Philoſtratus in vit. Apol. Thyã.

Ariſt. in lib. 5. de animal c. 9.

His words concerniug the Vipers deliuery of her young ones.

Apuleius in apolog.

God made all things for the profitable vſe of man.

Of the vertue of Tiriacle or Treacle, and how at firſt it took name.

ther place, I meane in his third Booke of Beasts, speaking of the teeming of Serpents, he saith. *Before the Viper yeeldeth her young ones, she formeth them within her body of Egges.* And I am perswaded, that hence ensueth those speeches, of the young ones tearing the belly of their Damme. For it seemeth to them that stand in defence thereof, that when *Aristotle* speaketh of this first fawning or teeming: hee purposed to say, that they did then breake or teare the belly of their damme.

Aiist. in lib. 3. de Animal. c. 12

The Authors coniecture of this controuersed point.

But leauing these circumstances, I say that the viper, how dangerous soeuer it be, yeeldeth great helpe and succour to man. *Dioscorides* saith, that the flesh of a viper, being boyled or sodden, may safely be eaten: being very medicinable for the nerues, and for the sight. But in preparation to the eating thereof, the head and taile must be taken away: then being fleaed and well dressed, it is to be tempered with strong Annise-seedes. He saith also, that there is made of this flesh, a certaine kinde of Salt, or salt-powder, excellently auailing to procure a good appetite, being prepared in this manner. You must take a new earthen pot, and put the viper thereinto, vsed as formerly hath beene declared; then put Salt and stamped figges to it, with a competent quantity of hony, and the pot being well couered, let it boyle and bake a long while in an Ouen. Which being done, beate and reduce it into a powder: and whosoeuer afterward will make vse thereof with his other meate, shall finde it very pleasant and profitable for the stomacke.

Dioscor. in lib. 2. cap. 2.

How the flesh of the viper may be safely eaten.

A Salt or pouder made of the viper to procure a good appetite

Paulus Aeginet. in lib. 1. cap. 14

Paulus Aeginetus saith also, that the flesh of a viper is singularly good against leaprousie and meazeldnesse; making therefore great esteeme of the Salt-powder fore-mentioned, and affirming with *Plinius*, that a certaine nation in India, eateth the flesh of the viper. *Dioscorides* auoucheth, that whosoeuer will eate the flesh of the viper, shall liue long time, and very healthfully. Against the byting of this Serpent, there are store of remedies, whereof *Theophrastus* maintaineth one, saying, *Whosoeuer is bitten thereby, mellodious sounds and songs doe greatly benefite him*, because Musique is very medicinable, as we haue already, and shall prooue heereafter. *Galen* saith, that this beast eateth not any thing all the time of winter: but hideth her selfe (as dead) in the earth; and whosoeuer then findeth, toucheth, and handleth her, she cannot bite him: but when summer cometh, she then resumeth all her forces. The like affirmeth *Plinie*, of Lizards, Snakes, and all other kinde of creeping creatures.

Plin. lib. 8. ca. 27.

Theophrast. in lib. de reb. ca 9.

Galen in lib. de Simpl. cap. 4.

Aristotle saith, that they containe themselues three or foure moneths, without feeding on any thing. *Aelianus* auoucheth, that those vipers which breed in the Prouinces of *Arabia*, although they doe bite, yet their biting is not venimous; because they doe feede on the Baulme tree, and sleepe vnder the shadow thereof. *Aristotle* further saith, that they are very desirous to drinke wine; and many people doe take them, by setting vessells of wine in the places where they resort: for they will become drunk by drinking, and after they take them sleeping. There are many things more to be spoken, concerning the qualities and properties of the viper, which I doe purposely omit for breuities sake.

Aristot. in lib. 8. de Animal. ca. 5.

Aelianus in libr. de Animal. 10. cap. 4.

Aristot. in lib. vbi supra.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the admirable property of a little creature, the biting whereof is healed by the sound of Musique: likewise of many other infirmities, which are onely holpen by the same Medicine.

THat which we haue sayd in our precedent chapter, vnder the authority of *Theophrastus*, concerning the biting of the viper, and that it may be cured by *Musique*; will make our present report to be the better credited, because it tendeth to the same purpose. *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, in his book of Veniall dayes, and *Petrus Gellius*, a moderne Authour, doe affirme and say, that in *Apulia*, a Countrey of *Italie*, there is a kinde of Spider, which the Inhabitants doe tearme *Tarantula*. *P. C. Rodianus* calleth it **Phalangium*, which at the beginning of summer is so venimous, that whosoeuer is bitten or stung thereby, except he be very suddenly succoured; he looseth all

Alexander Alexand. in lib. 1. de Vi. Gen. c. 16

Petrus Gellius in lib. de Rebus. 9. cap. 5.

P. C. Rodianus in libr. 4. cap. 7.

* A kinde of Spider that hath three ioynts or knots, whose sting is perillous & deadly.

all ſenſe and vnderſtanding, and dyeth inſtantly. But if any one (being ſo bitten) chance to eſcape death: yet he remaineth inſenſible, and wholy voyd of any capacity; for which dangerous inconuenience, experience found out a remedy, and that is *Muſique*.

The affirmation of good Anthours as eye-witneſſes.

The iudgement of Authours hereon, ſpeaking as eye-witneſſes, and hauing ſeene the proofe thereof, is thus. So ſoone (ſay they) as any one is bitten or enuenomed, the beſt helpe is, to bring inſtantly before him, ſuch as vſe to play on Vialles, Flutes, and other Inſtruments, to play diuers Leſſons, & ſing many Songs: which Muſique being heard by the party wounded, he will preſently begin to daunce, deliuering variety of geſtures and motions with his body, euen as if all his life time he had well inured himſelfe to dancing, in which fury and power of dancing, he continueth, vntill ſuch time as the venome be diſſipated. *Alexander Alexandrinus* proceedeth farther, affirming, that he beheld one wounded by this Spider, to dance & leape about inceſſantly, and the Muſitians (finding themſelues wearied) gaue ouer playing: whereupon, the poore offended dancer, hauing vtterly loſt all his forces, fell downe on the ground, as if he had bene dead. The Muſitians no ſooner began to play againe, but hee returned to himſelfe, and mounting vp vpon his feet, danced againe as luſtily as formerly hee had done, and ſo continued dancing ſtill, til he found the harme aſſwaged, and himſelfe entirely recouered. Heereunto he addeth, that when it hath happened, that a man hath not beene thorowly cured by Muſique in this manner; within ſome ſhort while after, hearing the ſound of Inſtruments, hee hath recouered footing againe, and bene enforced to hold on dancing, and neuer to ceaſſe, till his perfect & abſolute healing, which (queſtionleſſe) is admirable in nature.

Alexander Alexand. in lib. 1. de Die. Gen. cap. 17.

A ſtrange and wonderfull working in nature, by the power of Muſique.

* *Aſclepiades* writeth, that the ſound of Inſtruments, and voyces ſweetly ſinging to them, hath wrought extraordinary cures on Lunaticks and mad men. We reade alſo, that * *Eſmeneas* the *Thebane*, healed many diſeaſes and infirmities, only by his ſweete and melodious playing on Flutes. *Theophraſtus* and *Aulus Gellius* ſay; that Muſique appeaſeth the paine of the Sciatica, and of the Gout. We likewiſe finde it recorded in the ſacred Scripture, that *Dauid* (by Muſique) eaſed *Saul* of the paſſiō, which the euill ſpirit wroght in him: ſo great is this property, proceeding from the entire amity, which the nature of man beareth to Muſique. And if good conſideration be made heereof, wee ſhall not account it ſtrange, that infinite infirmities haue bene cured by the means of Muſique. For it hath euidently beene ſeene, that there are diuers beaſts and other creatures, that kill by laughing, others by weeping, and others in ſleeping; according as *Plutarch* writeth of *Cleopatra*, and as diuers other good Hiſtorians haue faithfully affirmed.

* An excellent Phyſition of Pruſa in Bithynia.

* A Muſitian of Thebes.

Theophraſtus in lib de Reb. 9. c. 7 Aul. Gellius in lib. 9. cap. 9.

1 Sam. 16, 23.

Many infirmities cured by the meanes of Muſique.

CHAP. XIX.

Of a ſtrange medicine, whereby Fauſtine *of* Rome, *wife vnto the Emperour* Marcus Aurelius, *was cured of an infirmity of diſhoneſt loue: and of many other remedies againſt that powerfull paſſion.*

CONcerning that affection, or impriſonment of the will, as we may iuſtly terme it, which ordinarily is ſtiled by the name of Loue; whether it be a powerfull paſſion, working wonderfull effects in the ſoule or no: there need no further queſtion to bee made, but examination of ſuch mens iudgements, as (by good experience) haue knowne it, and whoſe examples remaine notorious to vs. More eſpecially, of very worthy and excellent perſons, who haue ſuffered their wils to be ſo ſtrangely tranſported thereby, that extremity of death hath enſued thereon. *Iulius Capitolinus*, among diuers other examples, reporteth what happened to *Fauſtine*, Daughter to *Antonius*, and VVife to the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, who became ſo exceſſiuely enamored on a Fencer or Sword-player; that by ouer-abounding in deſire to enioy his company, ſhee fell into ſuch a conſumption, as very greatly endangered her life.

Loue is the thraldome of the will.

Iulius Capitolinus in lib. 4. de Mem. cap. 3.

The Empreſſe extreme in affection to a Fencer.

This beeing vnderſtood by *Marcus Aurelius*, immediately hee aſſembled a great number of Aſtrologers and Phyſitions, to finde ſome aduice and remedy for

Councell giuen by Aſtrologers and Phyſitions for a ſtrange remedy.

for this extraordinary folly. In the end, it was concluded, that the Fencer ſhould be put to death, and ſome of his blood bee ſecretly giuen to *Fauſtine* to drinke, and after ſhe had thus ignorantly drunke thereof, the Emperour her husband ſhould company with her in bed. This remedy wrought very wonderfully, for it quite tooke from her that fantaſticke affection, ſo that (neuer after) ſhee did ſo much as once remember him. And the Hiſtory ſaieth, that of this her companying with the Emperor, *Antoninus Commodus* was begotten, who became ſo cruell & bloody, that he reſembled rather the Fencer, of whoſe blood his Mother had drunke before his conception; then any iote of *Marcus Aurelius*, to whom he was Sonne indeed; in regard wherof, *Commodus* was a daily companion with the *Gladiatores* or Fencers, as *Eutropius* witneſſeth, in the life of the ſaid *Commodus*.

The conception of the bloody Emperour Antoninus Cõmodus.

Eutropius in vit. Commod.

Phyſitions among the *Greekes* and *Arabes*, do reckon this diſeaſe of Loue with the moſt greeuous infirmities of the body, and thereupon haue diſputed many remedies. * *Cdamus* the *Mileſian* (according as *Suidas* reporteth, in his Booke of Collections) wrote a Booke diſcourſing on perticular remedy, whereby vtterly to expell this dangerous ſickneſſe of loue: as *Ouid* alſo hath ſaide ſufficiently, in his remedies againſt loue. Wherefore among all other remedies, which Phyſitions haue aduiſed againſt this infirmity, this is one; that the patient endangered, ſhould vndertake ſome great affaires, importing highly his owne honour and profite, onely to this end, that his ſpirit being buſie about diuerſity of things; hee may the better retire his imagination, from the party by whom he is offended. They do moreouer wiſh him, to ſhun and forſake all embracings, or ouer-kinde conuerſation with other women. *Pliny* ſayeth, that againſt this enflaming heate, it is very good to obſerue where a Mule hath tumbled or wallowed, and to gather the duſt of that ground, which muſt bee caſt vpon the amorous party, and powder his garments therewith, or elſe with the ſweate of a well heated Mule, as *Cardanus* alſo auoucheth, in his Booke of Subtilties.

* A worthy Writer of Miletum. *Suidas in lib. 3. de Collect. cap. 8.*

Ouid in Remed. Amor.

Remedies aduiſed againſt fond and fooliſh Loue.

Plin. in lib. 10. cap. 14.

Cordanus in lib. 3. de nat. ſub.

Phyſitions likewiſe haue taught the meanes, whereby may be obſerued, which perſon is beloued of the amorous party. And that is the ſelfe-ſame rule, whereby * *Eraſiſtratus*, Phyſition to king *Seleuchus*, vnderſtoode the loue that *Antiochus* did beare to Queene *Stratonica*, his ſtep-mother. For hee beeing ſicke, euen to the vtmoſt extremity, and affecting much rather to dye, then any way to diſcouer the cauſe of this diſeaſe, and that it proceeded from the loue he bare vnto his Fathers wife: Vpon a ſudden ſhee entred into the Chamber, euen as the Phyſition was thẽ feeling the pulſe of his patient, which mooued ſo ſtrongly vppon the Queenes entrance, that *Eraſiſtratus* euidently gathered thereby, that not onely he was enamored of her, but alſo, that it was the maine cauſe of his deſperate diſeaſe. Heereupon, he practiſed how to acquaint the King therewith: which at length (by good and acceptable means) he did, that would require too long time heere to relate, becauſe the Hiſtory is ſufficiently knowne.

* An excellent Phyſition of the ſtock of Ariſtotle.

The extreme loue of Antiochus to Stratonica his ſtepmother.

The caſe being likewiſe experimented by the Father himſelfe, and he perceiuing the danger wherein his Son was; thought good (although it went quite againſt his Sonnes intention, who deſired death, rather then to bee recouered by his Fathers loſſe) to depriue himſelfe of his Queene, and giue her vnto his ſickly Sonne. And to ſpeake vprightly, the age, beauty of the Lady, and equality for marriage, agreed much more conformably with the youthfull Sonne, then the ouer-aged Father. And this was the cauſe, that *Antiochus* liued healthfully and pleaſantly (for many yeares after) with his beſt beloued *Stratonica*; as the Hiſtory more at large declareth, being recorded by *Plutarch*, in the life of *Demetrius*. And this is the reaſon, why Phyſitions do aduiſe to taſte the pulſe of any amorous perſon, and to recount diuers names to him or her, among which, may be the name of the party affected: for ſo ſoone as that is once vnderſtood, the pulſe wil beate apace & ſtrongly, by which meanes, the party beloued is knowne. By diuers other ſignes, it may be perceiued, when any one is in loue, and to whom the affection tendeth: which ſigns I ceaſſe to ſpeake of, becauſe they are knowne to too many.

The king himſelfe made triall of the Phyſitions iudgement.

Plut. in vit. Demetr.

Why Phyſitions haue thought meet to feele the Pulſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of the ſtrange and furious loue of a young Athenian: *and of the ridiculous loue of King* Xerxes: *and how Beaſts haue many times affected both men and women.*

FOR a man to loue a woman, and a woman a man, it is a matter conformable to nature, and worthy to be beleeued and embraced: but whē blinde-fold folly attaineth to ſuch a head, as thoſe things wherof I am inſtantly to ſpeake; it may well appeare to be impoſſible, and no way deſeruing any credite. Very learned and good Hiſtoriographers, haue written and recorded for truth, that in the City of *Athens* there liued a young man, deſcended of an honeſt parentage, of competent wealth, and ſufficiently knowne; who hauing oftentimes earneſtly obſerued a Marble Statue, moſt curiouſly and ingeniouſly wrought, and erected in a publike place of *Athens*; became ſo extremely enamored thereof, as he had no power to abſent himſelfe frō the place where it was fixed, but would hugge and embrace it very affectionately, & alwayes when he was not by it, hee found himſelfe very ill and ſickly diſpoſed. At length, this paſſion grew to ſuch extremity, as hee ran to the Senate houſe, and there before the reuerend Senatours, he made very liberall offers of money, humbly entreating thē ſo much to fauour him, that hee might haue the Statue in his owne poſſeſſion. This ſeemed no way pleaſing to the Senate, neyther could their authority ſtretch ſo farre, as eyther to giue or ſell a publike Statue. VVhen he perceiued his requeſt to be denied, hee became much afflicted with greefe and anguiſh of minde, & repayring to the Statue, enriched the head thereof with a Crowne of gold, and the body with garments and iewels of vnvaluable price. This being done, hee would ſtand amorouſly beholding it, and many times fall on his knees before it, offering all worſhip and adoration thereto: and ſo long he continued in this vnreproueable folly, till (being ſtrictly commanded the contrary by the Senate) he ſlew himſelfe before it with rage and anger.

Naturall loue is euer allowable.

The Hiſtory of the young Athenian.

A ſtrange kinde of doting loue, yet agreeing to ſuch inſolēce, that it came to the Senate.

Folly exceeding all compaſſe of beleefe.

A deſperate concluſion of a brain-ſicke loue.

Doubtleſſe, this was a caſe very admirable, and yet I muſt acquaint yee with another, much more ſtrange & ridiculous, yet credibly auouched by ſo many good Authors, concerning the loue of King *Xerxes*; as it may well be ſaid, that hee exceeded all men of the world in folly. He grew enamored of a Platane, or Plane-tree a Tree ſufficiently knowne, except in ſome few parts; and he would kiſſe & embrace it with like affection, as if it had bin a beautifull woman.

The ridiculous loue of King Xerxes to a Tree.

If theſe acciendents haue happened among men endued with reaſon; what ſhall we ſay then of brute Beaſts, that haue affected both men and women, and the ſame confirmed by great and famous Hiſtorians? As of *Clauce* ſo extremely affected by a Ramme, that it would neuer bee from her: and Dolphines alſo haue bene very admirably affectionate towards mē. *Ælianus* reciteth in his Booke of Beaſts, a matter well deſeruing to be related. He ſaith, a Dolphine eſpying young children playing on the Sea-ſhore; one among all the reſt, which ſeemed to him the moſt louely and beautifull, hee became ſo enamored of, that at euery time when the Dolphine ſaw him, hee would draw neere to the Banck, and ſhew himſelfe vnto the childe, who (at the firſt) was much affrighted, and fled away from him. But afterward, by the perſeuerance which the Dolphine vſed from day to day, expreſſing manifeſt ſignes of entire loue to the child; he grew the leſſe timorous, and by the paſtimes which the Dolphine continually made before him, hee waxed bold and hardy, and would venter into the water to him, not fearing to mount vpon his back, making a ſigne, and commanding (as it were) the Dolphine, to ſwim a great way into the Sea with him, and then (vpon a contrary ſigne or command, and when he was weary) to returne backe againe with him to land. In this pleaſure and paſtime, diuers dayes were ſpent, for the Dolphin euermore would be ready at the Bancke, when as the childe came to make vſe of this delight.

Of brute Beaſts enamored of men and women.

Aelianus in lib. 4. de animal. cap. 10.

The ſtrange affection of a Dolphin to a childe.

The childe ſeemed to haue power & command ouer the Dolphine.

But one time, the moſt vnhappy of all other, the childe would needs put off his cloathes (as formerly hee had not done) becauſe he purpoſed to ſwimme farre into

There is ſildome any delight, but it hath ſome dāger attending on it.

to the Sea, and being not carefull in seating himselfe on the Dolphines backe, or how to sit for his safest holding on; it chãced, that one of the sharp-pointed finnes, which riseth out of Dolphines wings (for so are they tearmed by *Pliny*, and others) ran so far into the childes belly, & wounded him in such sort, that instantly he fell downe dead in the water. Which when the Dolphine perceiued, and the blood of the dead childe trickling downe his sides; he tooke vp his deare lou'd childe so well as he could, and returning backe to land suddenly, euen as if hee intended to reuenge this offence vppon himselfe; hee swam furiously on land out of the water, and presently dyed by the childe.

The childe slaine most vnhappily.

The death of the Dolphine.

This Historie is also recorded by *Pliny*, with many other examples of Dolphines, that haue declared great loue and kindnesse to men. Particularly hee reporteth one, in the time of the Emperour *Octauius*, that a Dolphine (in the very like manner) tooke delight in an infant, on the Sea-coast, neere to *Puteoli*, and whensoeuer this childe, beeing named *Simon* (for it is said, that Dolphines will suddenly runne to the very sound of that name) came to the shoare; the childe would mount vpon his backe, and be carried into the Sea, passing and returning alwaies safely to land. He saith moreouer, that the childe dying by sickenesse, & the Dolphine often comming to the vsuall meeting place, & not finding the childe there, dyed with greefe and sorrow. The younger *Pliny*, Nephew to great *Pliny*, declareth many meruailes of a Dolphine, in the 9. Booke of his Epistles: especially in that Epistle which beginneth, *Indici in materiam veram.*

Plin in lib. 12. *cap.* 14.

Another History of a Dolphines loue to a childe.

Plin secund. in 9. Lib. de Epist.

CHAP. XXI.

Of a man, that by receiuing a wound at his enemies hand, was deliuered from a deadly danger, wherein he had long time liued: With sundry other examples to the same purpose.

WEe haue formerly related, that Musique hath beene the meanes of curing some diseases, and no way to be reputed incredible: considering, that wee finde by other stranger meanes, very great infirmities haue likewise beene holpen. *Plutarch*, in a notable Treatise by him composed, declaring how men may deriue profite or benefite from their enemies, reporteth; that a man had a certaine enemy, named *Promotheus*, who hated him extremely, and sought all the meanes he could deuise to kill him. It fortuned, that meeting with him on a day, hee gaue him diuers hurts, and among the rest, hee chanced to wound an olde vlcer, that had long lyen in the flesh, couered ouer with skinne, a matter of great danger to his life, and (for which) all helpe was vtterly denyed him. Neuertheless, this wound prooued the onely meanes of his helpe, and safe deliuerance from the former dãger: for in thinking to kill him, and so to quench his malice, hee gaue him life and soundnesse of health. *Valerius* reciteth the very same history (among other noteworthy matters) in his Booke of miracles: but he affirmeth the mans name that was healed by this wound, to bee *Iason Phereus.*

Plut in tract. de benific. aduer. cap. 7.

An enemy may somtime do a man good against his will.

Valer. Max. in lib. de Miracl.

Pliny writeth of another man, named *Phalereus*, who had an incurable disease, in regard of a fluxe of blood, continually flowing out at his mouth, caused by breaking a veine within his body. And finding himselfe in desperate condition of any curing; he entred suddenly into an Army, without any Armes for his defence, that being there slaine among the enemies, his hope and helpe might both finish together. It came to passe, that receiuing a dangerous wound vpon the breast, there issued forth such an abundance of blood from that hurt; that the fluxe (hauing formerly his vent at the mouth only) ceassed, and Chyrurgions afterward, with the aduice of skilfull Physitions, consolidating the broken veine, hee remained soundly healed of all harmes.

Plin in lib. 13. *cap.* 11.

Where helpe is least expected, there it soonest happeneth.

I finde it also recorded of *Quintus Fabius*, that he hauing had a Feauer quartane for many yeares together; giuing battaile one day to the * *Allobroges*, now named *Sauoyans*, the extreme heate in desire which he had then to fight; quite expelled the Feauer, and it neuer toucht him afterward.

Macrob. in lib. 2. *cap.* 5.

* People of Sauoye and Daulphiny.

I my selfe can testifie, that I both saw, and

A matter testified on the Authors knowledge.

and well knew the man, who had receiued a wound in his thigh, whereof he became starke lame, and voyde of all hope of any remedy, happening afterward into an vnexpected quarrell, he receiued an other wound vpon the same thigh, and iust in the place where the former chaunced. The Chirurgions in dressing this latter harme, did very well perceiue that the nerues which had beene cut before, beganne to stretch and restore themselues in such sort, that being cured of this second hurt, his thigh was soundly recouered, and hee went as vpright as euer hee did, and without the least limping. So did it happen to *Telephus*, one of the sonnes to *Hercules*, and King of *Mysia*, who being wounded in his owne Countrey by *Achilles*, could not any way be cured, till eight yeres after, he was wounded agayne by the same *Achilles*, and in the selfe same part of his body, before *Troy*, then besieged, and the rust of the same Speare that formerly had hurt him, prooued to be his onely help.

A king of Mysia, Hercules son by Auge.

CHAP. XXII.

Who vvas the first that planted the Vine: And vvho beganne to put vvater into vvine. To vvhom, and in vvhat maner the Romaines did prohibite Wine: With many other notable things tending to the same purpose.

Wine the profitableſt of all other liquors

IF all the fruites which the earth yeeldeth (I mean those wherof liquor is made) there is none (in my iudgement) more profitable then good wine; prouided, that it be temperately taken. For this cause was it that *Anacharsis sayd, *The Vine produceth three Grapes: The first of Pleasure: The second of Drunkennesse: And the third of Teares and Sadnesse*. So that hee which passeth the first Cuppe, that is to say, a little, and moderatly receiued; proceedeth on to shame and danger.

*A notable Philosopher borne in Scythia, who foũd the first Potters wheele.

Prophane Authours, that neuer had any vnderstanding of the sacred Scriptures, doe name vs diuerse inuenters of wine. *Diodorus Siculus*, in his fourth book attributeth the inuention of wine, and first planting of the Vine, to *Dionysius* the sonne of *Iupiter*, named *Bacchus*, and *Liber pater*, so styled, for the liberty of wine. For this inuention a Temple was erected to him, vnderneath the Capitoll at *Rome*: where they celebrated his Feastes, which were called *Dionysians*, or *Bacchanalians*, very dishoneſt, and full of great lubricity. That the inuention came from these *Dionysians*, *Virgill* giueth assurance, at the entrance into his second booke of *Georgickes*. Howbeit, *Marcianus Capellus* saith, that *Dionysius* only instructed the *Greeks*, in the manner of making wine. Others say, that *Icarius* father to *Erigone*, first taught the industry of making wine to the *Athenians*: and becomming afterwards drunke thereby, the people slew him. In *Italie*, they say, that *Saturne* did first plant the Vine there, and brought the yoong suckers and plants from the Isle of *Candie* thither. And *Plutarke* writeth, that *Arrus Hetruscus* brought Vines first into *France*. But the trueth of historie, is, that the first inuenter of wine, was *Noah*, and the first that made himselfe drunke therewith: whereof are Authours (besides that which is recorded in the ninth chapter of *Genesis*) *Lactantius*, *Firmianus*, and *Iosephus*. *Noah*, at his comming forth of the Arke, planted the Vine with his owne proper hand, and drunke the iuyce of the raisin, whereby he became drunke: and discouering his nakednesse in sleeping, it happened to him by his sonnes, according as we reade in the same chapter of *Genesis*.

Diodorus Siculus in lib. 4 c. 1. Of the first inuẽter of wine.

Vir. in Geor. l. 1 Marcian. Capel. in libr 4. Translated by the Gods into the signe in heauen, called *Virgo*.

Plutarc. in Moral. lib. 3. cap. 7

Gene. 9 21. 22 *Lactant. Firmian in 2. lib. de Instit diuin. Iosephus in 1. libr. de Antiq.*

Afterwards, men attayning to know the sauour of wine, did drinke it, at the first, wholly pure of it selfe, and without the commixtion of any water: for, as *Pliny* auoucheth, one named *Stasius* was the first that did put water into wine, to temperate and quallifie it. By the meanes of which aduice, great good and healthfulnesse ensued to the world: because, wine being so made moderate, procured verie good and excellent effects. In like manner *Plato*, alleadged by *Macrobius*, in his second booke, sayth: *Wine moderately taken, strengtheneth the vnderstanding of a man, augmenteth his force and vigour, maketh the heart chearefull and deliberate, and taketh away irkesome thoughts, and all offen-*

Wine drunke at the first pure of it self. *Plin. l. 7 ca. 56* Who first mingled water with wine.

Macrobius in libr. 2, cap. 16.

Plin.lib.23 c.1.

ſiue perturbations. Plinie ſayth, *The vſe of Wine, receiuing it temperately, multiplieth our forces, encreaſeth bloud and colour in the face: The nerues are fortified by wine, ſight ſtrengthened, the ſtomacke made vigorous, and appetite awaked: It prouoketh vrine, impeacheth vomiting, expelleth melancholie, maketh the heart ſprightly, and ſerueth for many other good things.* *Aſclepiades* the Phyſition, wrote a booke by it ſelfe, wholy concerning the vertues of wine. And ſaint *Paul* writing to *Timothy*? counſelleth him to drinke a little wine tempered, to ſtrengthen his ſtomacke.

He of Pruſa.

1.Tim.5.23.

Phyſitions do make vſe of wine in many medicines, becauſe wine reſtoreth all the humours, re-enforceth blood where it fayleth, gladdeth a melancholy diſpoſition, diſſipateth and dryeth vp flegme, humecteth and helpeth to purge choller. *Plato*, introducing *Socrates*, ſayth thus in commending wine; *Like as moderate rains doe encreaſe our hearbs, and tempeſts and inundations of waters doe rent them vp and deſtroy them: Euen ſo, wine temperately taken, cheareth the ſpirites, and fortifieth the vertues of the body; whereas contrariwiſe, oue: much, and intemperately receiued, deſtroyeth all.* Not ſo much as the very odour and ſmell of wine, but it is highly commended (beyond all other odours) by our naturall Philoſophers: becauſe it is very comfortatiue, giueth great vigour to the ſpirites, and is exceeding liuely and piercing. But yet wee muſt conſider withall, that the chiefe vertue of wine is euermore vnderſtood, when it is qualified and made temperate.

The vſe of wine by Phiſitions in many medicines.

Plato in Socrat.

The odour of wine commended by naturall philoſophers.

The ancient *Romanes* did wholly take away the vſe of wine from women and children: as *Valerius* ſayth, ſpeaking of the cuſtomes and lawes of the *Romanes*. So that, as *Plinie* affirmeth, at ſuch time as *Romulus* reigned in *Rome*, a husband ſlew his wife, becauſe ſhee had drunke wine; and in regard that the murder followed vpon this occaſion, *Romulus* pardoned it. The vice of drinking wine, was held to be ſo odious in women, that *Fabius Pictor* reporteth, becauſe a *Romane* woman had deceiued the Clarke of a celler, onely to drinke wine which was kept therein; her parents cauſed her to be ſtarued to death. And heereupon grew the cuſtome of fathers and mothers kiſſing their children on the mouthes; onely to perceiue therby, whether they had drunk wine or no. We finde it in good record, that *N. Domitius* being Iudge of *Rome*, he depriued a woman of her Dowry, becauſe ſhee had drunke more wine, then was allowed her for her health. *Salomon* in his Prouerbs ſayth, *It is not for Kings to drinke wine, or Princes ſtrong drinke, leſt he drinke and forget the Decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction.* And yet we reade, that the Kings of *Ægypt* were permitted to drinke wine, ſo it were moderately, and in a certayne meaſure.

Wine denied to women and children.
Valer. Maxim. in libr.2.
Plinli.14. ca.8.

Fabius Pictor in lib.3.cap.9.

Prou.31.4,5.

Vpon a time, *Romulus* beeing then King of *Rome*, and inuited to a bountifull banquet; he would drinke but very little wine, ſaying; *To morrow I am to determine a matter of great importance.* *Auicen* ſaith; *In giuing children wine to drinke, it is an addition of fire to fire.* *Ariſtotle* expreſſely forbad the giuing of wine to children, and likewiſe to the Nurſſes that gaue them ſucke. *Plato* by the laws which he made in his Booke, for the common-wealth, although he ſeemes in the firſt book, to admit a tolleration of wines, yet in the ſecond he ſayth; *A man ought to drink a litle, and well qualified.* This allowance ſtretcht not to any one, till he had attained to 18. yeares of age, and ſo to continue till hee were forty: but it muſt be alwayes doone in the preſence of olde men, to the end that he might be reprooued, when in the leaſt manner hee exceeded. From forty yeares vpward, hee permitted that a little more then hee had formerly demaunded, ſhould be giuen him; to make the colde and melancholy diſpoſition (of that age) the more temperate; and yet it muſt bee doone in a certayne meaſure too. It was his charge alſo, that ſeruants ſhould drink no wine, neyther Iudges, Magiſtrates, or any that held any publique iuriſdiction: and as for yong men that ſtudyed, he aduiſed them, not to drinke any. *Auicen* alloweth *Platoes* law, in this poynt, as a rule for Phiſicke: And thereto likewiſe *Galen* conſenteth. *Alexander Aphrodiſeus* ſayth in his Problemes, *Hee which drinketh nothing but water onely, hath his ſight and other ſences more liuely, then he that drinketh wine.*

The words of Romulus king of Rome.
Auic. in lib.3.

Ariſtot. in lib.9
Plato in lib.2. de Legibus.

Platoes allowance for drinking wine according to the yeares of a man.

Auicen vbi ſup.

Gal. in tract.7.

Alexan. Aphrod. in Problem.

Now, as concerning in what faſhion and maner, wine ſhould be tempered and qualified; there are many rules, and diuerſities

The cauſing of parents kiſſing their childrens mouths.

Iudges and Magiſtrates forbidden wine.

Concerning the mingling of water with wine.
Hesiodus in li. 3
Athenæus in l. 7

sities of opinions. *Hesiodus* the Greek Poet saith, That in one quarte of wine there should be three quarts of water mingled. *Athenæus* sayth, that the auncient *Greekes* vsed to put fiue partes of water into two partes of wine, and most times three parts of water, into one of wine, which is the rule of *Hesiodus*. Heere also is to be obserued, that the *Greekes* did not put water into their wine, but wine into water, and *Theophrastus* assureth vs, that by this way, both the one and the other are much the better mingled. Moreouer, auncient men did not onely moderate wine in this manner, but albeit it was thus tempered, they would drinke very little thereof. *Eubulus* the *Greeke* Poet doth affirme, introducing *Bacchus*, to speake thus vnto the Sages: *I will neuer make more then three giftes of wine: The first, for health: The second, for taste: And the third, for sleepe; the rest sauoureth of disorder and drunkennesse.* *Apuleius Paniasis*, who wrote of meates, deliuereth the like Iudgement, attributing this maner to three seuerall daughters. *The first, to the Graces: The second, to Venus: And the third, to shame and danger.* *Iulius Cæsar* was very temperate in drinking wine: as *Suetonius* witnesseth by the testimonie of *Cato*, who was vtter enemie to *Cæsar*. *Demosthenes*, the excellent Oratour, was the like. And *Apollonius Thyaneus* of whom so many famous things are written, did neuer drinke any Wine, or feede vpon flesh.

Theophrastus in Tract. 9. cap. 5.

Wine giuen for three seuerall purposes.

Apuleius Paniasis.

Suet. Lib. 6 ca. 3.

In our Christian Religion, temperance (in drinking) is much commended. Saint *Iames* the lesser, did neuer drinke wine, or strong drinke, nor did euer eate any flesh; immitating Saint *Iohn* the Baptist. Wee finde the like affirmed of Saint *Stephen*, King of *Portugall*. *Iosephus* in his Antiquities commending the holinesse of the *Essians*, (who helde one of the three Sects amongst the Iewes, whereof the other two were *Pharises* and *Saduces*) sayth: That the *Essians* did neuer drinke wine. In an Epistle Saint *Hierome* reprooued Priestes, that addicted themselues to drinke wine, telling them, That Saint *Paul* the Apostle did forbid it, and that in the ancient Law, such as serued in the Temple, did not drinke wine, or any other drinke that might procure drunkennesse.

Temperance commended in Christian religion.

Iosephus in lib. 8 de Antiquit.

Hieroni. in epi. 9

Such as are reamed good drinkers, vse to say, that good wine ought to haue foure properties, to answere foure sences or vnderstandings of the body: To the taste, by fauour: To the smell, by a perfect odour: To the sight, by a neate and cleare colour: And to the eare, by a good report of the Country where it was made. Of this good wine men vse to make vineger, which hath many good properties and inconueniences likewise: wherein I will be silent, because they are matters too vulgar and common.

Foure seuerall properties necessarily required to be in good wine.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of many dammages and daungers, which ensue by the immoderate drinking of wine. And how it hath beene held as a healthfull thing (by some Phisitions) to be drunke sometimes.

ALthough the liquor called Wine, be apt and wholesome for diuers infirmities: yet notwithstanding, so many harmes and annoyances do arise, from the excessiue immoderate taking thereof, that the euills doe superabound all the goods ensuing thereby. So that it appeareth, that it were better not to know it, but rather to content our selues with water, which God hath giuen vs for our drinke; because hee thought nothing meeter for vs, and all other creatures doe well content themselues therewith. Heereto also may be added, that wine hath beene the onely occasion, by which many haue become distracted in their sences; some haue lost their liues, and others not meanely endaungered the saluation of their soules.

All creatures but man onlie doe well satisfie themselues with the drinking of water.

Now, although the harmes ensuing to men (by Wine) are too apparently knowne: yet notwithstanding, they are so far from shunning & auoyding them, that they daily seeke after new occasions, and strange deuised appetites for drinking. And in our best *French* language, these new appetites are titled by some;

New deuises daily inuented to procure appetites for drinking.

A ſpur or prouocation to a cup of wine; by others, A ſhooing horne, to draw on a quart or two of good wine, ſo that a ſlice of a Gambone of Bacon, is held (in this caſe) for a precious relique, and few hours in the day or night doth paſſe ouer them, but the cup is kiſt with ſound deuotion in drinking; ſometimes taking fiue or ſixe cups more then are neceſſary. *Pliny* ſaieth, there are ſome men, who will drinke before they be thirſty, and wine onely (among all other drinkes) hath this property, to cauſe it ſelfe to be drunke, before a man haue any need of it. He ſaith moreouer, that ſome do drinke in ſuch ſort as they iuſtly deſerue; for it giues them (immediately) the due puniſhment to ſuch ſinne: for the vapour mounting vp into the braine, bereaueth them of all vnderſtanding, ſo that they remaine as mẽ ſenſeleſſe. And hauing plaid it off luſtily (as they vſe to tearme it) for ſome quantity of time: it plaieth with them as the Cat doth with the Mouſe, either kils them outright, or (at leaſt) engendereth ſo many harmes and infirmities, as are much worſe then death it ſelfe; as Gouts, Palſies in the head, hands and feete, imbrodering the eyes with a ſcarlet coulor, burning vp the Liuer, and fiering the face, beſide diuers other ſuch vndecent and ſcarſe-grace-full qualities, no way fit to be vſed among mẽ indeed.

Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 13.

The property of wine among all other drinkes. *Plin. in lib. vbi ſupra.*

The benefit of immoderate drinking.

Cato ſaid, *Drunkenneſſe is a voluntary folly.* And *Pliny* ſaith, *It confoundeth the memory, and procureth dreadfull dreames.* *Seneca*, writing to *Lucullus*, ſaieth: *Wine maketh the legges and armes impotent, and cauſeth men to become luxurious.* *Dyoniſius Areopagita*, alleadging *Plato* to haue ſpoken the words, ſaith: *Drunkenneſſe is a liuely and merry Minſtrill, and yet it makes our legges to faile vnder vs, giuing* (as wee vſe to ſay in *France*) *a trip to our heeles, and laying vs along on the ground.* Saint *Paul* writing vnto the *Epheſians*, aduiſed them to ſhunne wine, becauſe therein is luxury. And *Salomon* in his Prouerbs, among the imperfections of wine, ſaith; *It is a deceiuer, and whoſoeuer drinketh exceſſiuely thereof, cannot conceale a ſecret faithfully.* Heereupon then aroſe the ancient Prouerbe; *That wine walketh without any ſhooes*; that is to ſay, It treadeth ſecretly, ſoftly, and without any noyſe, becauſe no one ſhould perceiue the power thereof, nor how it diſcouereth our ſecret and vicious qualities. To this purpoſe the Poet *Æſchylus* ſaide: *A Glaſſe or Mirrour maketh knowne the geſtures of the body, and wine ſerueth as a Glaſſe to the ſoule & heart of a man.* *Plato* likewiſe ſaid: *Wine principally laieth open the manner and conditions of euery man.* We haue example thereof in *Noah* and *Lot*, for *Noah* being drunk with wine, diſcouered his parts of ſhame, whereby he became mocked and ſcorned. And againſt *Lot*, *Sodome* could haue no power; but wine ouercame him, & made him to lye with his owne Daughters: theſe are the benefits enſuing by wine.

The words of Cato. *Plin. in lib. 6. cap. 13.* *Seneca in epiſt. ad Lucul.*

Dyoniſ Arcopagit. in lib. 5. cap. 9.

Epheſ. 5, 18.

Prou. 20, 1, 10

The words of the Poet Aeſchylus.

Plato in lib de Legib.

Gen. 9, 22.

Gen. 19, 33, 34.

Among the Lawes which *Solon* (one of the ſeuen graue Sages of *Greece*) gaue to the *Athenians*; it was eſpecially ordayned, that the Prince, when hee became drunke, ſhould be ſlaine. *Pittacus*, another of thoſe wiſe men, ordayned, that a drunken man committing any delict or great offence, ſhould bee doubly puniſhed: once for the facte it ſelfe, and next for drunkenneſſe, which cauſed him to do it.

Solons law to the Athenians.

The law of Pittacus againſt drunkenneſſe.

Ariſtotle in his Problems, yeeldeth a reaſon, why ſuch men as are ouer-much addicted to wine, are greatly diſabled in the begetting of children: and likewiſe, why ſome drunkards are very pleaſant in their drinke; and others terrible, ſome ſad and weeping, others iocond and dancing.

Ariſt. in Prob.

Neuertheleſſe, ſome Phyſitions (among whõ are *Auicene* and *Raſis*) haue helde opinion, that it is a wholſome thing to be drunke ſometimes: but the reaſons which they giue in this caſe, doth not cõtent me any way, neyther doe I allow of their opinion. And yet I muſt needes confeſſe, that very great perſonages haue beene ſubiected to wine: whereas on the contrary, if they had ſtood cleare and free from it, their glory and renowne had bin farre greater.

Alexander the Great, was as greatly taxed with this vice, ſo that (as diuers good Hiſtorians do affirme) being ouercome with this fury; he ſlew one of his moſt intimate friends; and comming (afterward) to acknowledgement of his fault, he would haue ſlaine himſelfe. Beſide, it is further alledged, that the cheefeſt cauſe of his murders and ſlaughters, was onely this poyſon to all goodneſſe.

Alexander being ouercome with wine, ſlew his deareſt friend Clitus.

Marke

Marke Anthony one of the Romane Triumuiri.

Marke Anthony, who was one of the three cheefe Commanders in Rome, and married with the Sister to *Octauius* the Emperour: being addicted to wine, and (consequently) to lasciuiousnesse, with *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt; lost at length both his state and life, and was vanquished by *Octauius*, because hee suffered himselfe to be conquered by wine. The Emperour *Tiberius* was defectiue in many things; but in regard hee was a great drinker, it was the sole cause of all his other imperfections: and whereas his name was *Tiberius*, as a nick-name, they would often call him *Biberius*, and his ende was miserable.

Tiberius the great drinker called also Biberius.

Dionysius the younger.

Dionysius the younger, a Tyrant of *Sicily*, was so extremely affected to wine; that it did eate his eyes, and made him to become starke blinde. *Cleomedes*, King of the *Spartanes*, would needs pursue and imitate the *Scythians*, in excessiue drinking of wine: but in the end, he became a foole, quite insensed, and without iudgement. It is saide, that the Philosopher *Archesilaus* died in notorious drunkennesse.

Cleomedes King of Sparta.

Archesilaus the Philosopher.

Anacreon the Poet.

The Poet *Anacreon* was a very great drinker, and as he was drinking, he strangled or choaked himselfe, with the stone of a Grape or Raisin, which entred into his throate vnaduisedly.

Flauius the Bishop, an Historian of worthy credite, writeth, that the Emperor *Bonosus* was so addicted to wine, that *Aurelianus* said of him: *Hee was not borne to liue, but to drinke*. And heerein hee had an admirable quality, for notwithstanding the immeasurable quantity of wine, which he dranke daily, yet hee was neuer drunke. I guesse that this ensued, by his continuall auoydance of vrine, which went from him as fast, as hee tooke in his wine. Neuertheless, his ende was answerable to his deseruing, for beeing vanquished by the Emperour *Probus*, he was hanged or strangled. It is recorded, that King *Antiochus*, who was conquered by the Romanes, vsed to drink so much wine, that he slept the most part of his time. In regard whereof, he gaue the cheefest authority of his kingdomes gouernment, to two of his choysest fauourites, and because himselfe was addicted to banquets, and the amorous embracings of a young Gentlewoman: when he came to fight against the Romanes, his Army became broken, and vtterly vanquished. *Atheneus* writeth, that *Aeschylus* the Greeke Poet, would diuers times be drunk, whervpon *Sophocles* said vnto him. *Aeschilus, those things which thou diuinest or writest, are done by chance, or at aduenture: and not by any knowledge remaining in thee, or that thou dost rightly vnderstand them.*

The proofe of Sophocles to Aeschylus the Greeke Poet.

King Antiochus the great drinker and sleeper.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Certaine aduises and enstructions, against such forward affection to Wine. And some reasons deliuered, why two things doe appeare to bee three, to such as bee drunke.

SOme haue said (how certainely I know not) that there are diuers receits, whereby Wine, in how great a quantity soeuer it be taken and drunke, shall not procure those yrkesome effects, which are related in the former Chapter.

Plin in lib. 9. cap. 11. Iul. Solinus in lib. 5. cap. 7.

Pliny and *Solinus* do both of them affirme, that there is a blacke Stone, hauing Vermillion coullored veynes in it, and named *Dionise*, which hath such a property, as if it bee layde in water, it yeeldeth the perfect sauour and relliſh of wine; and whosoeuer drinketh of that water, euen so much as himselfe pleaseth, shall neuer be drunke therewith. Physitions say, that if a man will preuent drunkennesse; he must first eate Honye, or some other sweete things: And hee that is drunke, must be vrged to vomite, and then giue him a morsell of bread steeped in Honye, which will immediately recouer him, because Honye hindereth all vapours from ascending vppe into the Head.

The iudgement of Physitions for the preuention of drunkennesse.

Drusus, Sonne to the Emperour *Tiberius*, had a Physition, who gaue him very

admirable phyſick, to preſerue him from being drunke, albeit he daily drank more wine then any other one man of his time: for he could out-drinke all commers, yet neuer be drunke, or bereft of his iudgement. But in the ende it was knowne, that (vſually) before hee entred drinking, he would eate fiue or ſixe bitter almonds, whoſe power and naturall property was ſuch, as it impeached the wine from alienating his ſpirits. And experience thereof was afterward made, for when they abridged him from the meanes of eating bitter Almonds, and he vſing to drinke as formerly he did; he became as ſoon drunk as any other man. That theſe Almonds haue this peculiar property, *Pliny* affirmeth it, adding further; that eating a Raddiſh roote before hard drinking, auoideth drunkenneſſe. He ſaith alſo, that Colewortes eaten before hand, keepeth a man from being diſtempered with wine: and being eaten after drunkenneſſe, they remoue inſtantly the diſtemperature, as Saffron alſo hath the ſelfe-ſame power. Ther are many other remedies for this imperfection, wherein I will be ſilent; ſpeaking onely of one, recited by *Pliny*. He ſaith, that taking a quantity of wine, mingled with the egges of a Chough, and, beeing drunke two or three mornings together, he that drinketh it, will hate wine in ſuch ſort, as he will neuer after drinke thereof. Heereto he addeth, that a Swallow being taken and burned to aſhes, then beaten into powder and mingled with a little Myrrhe in the wine; whoſoeuer receyueth a draught of this potion, ſhall neuer be drunke, for this was experimented by *Horus*, King of *Aſſyria*.

Ariſtotle, in the third part of his Problems, and *Auicenne*, in his ſixt Booke of Beaſts, do yeeld a reaſon, why in drunkenneſſe, when a man looketh vpon any one thing, it appeares to him as if it were two, and albeit they doe both produce diuers reaſons, yet will I alledge but one from each of them. The firſt ſhall be *Ariſtotles*, who ſaith, that thorow exceſſiue heat of vapours in the wine, aſcending vp into the braine; the little nerues, called **Optici nerui*, which go on directly to the eyes, do worke and mooue with ſuch power, that the viſiall vertue, and the ſpirits of ſight (altering in their motion) do cauſe whatſoeuer drunken men gaze on, to ſtirre very ſtrongly and quicke; becauſe the Organe of ſight moueth it ſelfe in that manner, and maketh the common ſenſe to receiue the Images of things, in a multiplyed quality to the eye. For ſuch kinde of motion, maketh ſingle things to ſeeme double, and becauſe this motion is ſo ſudden and inſenſible, it cauſeth two things to ſeeme as one to the ſight. As any man may eaſily make tryall of, by laying his finger vpon his eye-lid, and then remouing it thence, it will appeare to him, that it is the thing remoueth it ſelfe, which he beholdeth. *Auicenne* deliuereth another reaſon, ſaying: *The vapours of wine, which aſcend vp into the head of him that is drunke, are moiſt, and becauſe the little nerues and muſcles which reach to the eyes, doe engroſſe or ſwell themſelues by this humidity; ſo much more the one (then the other) doe thereby mount themſelues, the one higher, and the other lower. From hence enſueth, that the viſible rayes do not equally diuide themſelues foorth-right from both the eyes, neither by a direct or right line: which is the cauſe, that the Images of things viſible, doe extend to eyther eye by themſelues.* In this reſpect only, things ſimple and ſingle, appeare to be double, the commō ſenſe receyuing & apprehending two images for one: and for the maintenance of this opinion, *Auicenne* yeeldeth the ſelfeſame example, as *Ariſtotle* did.

Druſus, his Phyſition, whoſe phyſick kept him frō drunkenneſſe

Bitter Almonds an eſpeciall helpe againſt drunkenneſſe.

Plin. in lib. 12. cap. 14. The Raddiſh roote.

Saffron.

Plin. in lib. vbi ſupra. cap. eod.

Ariſt. in Problem. part. 3. Auicene in lib. Animal. 6. cap. 9.

*The ſinewes which conduct the vertue of ſeeing to the eyes.

A prooſe eaſie to be made by any one.

Auicen in lib. 6 Animal. cap. 10. Of the vapors of wine mouting vp into the head of a drunken man

CHAP. XXV.

In what manner a man may know and meaſure, the rotundity or round compaſſe of the whole earth: and how much it is reputed to containe, in the circumference or circkling round about.



VII well I know, that the ſubiect of this Chapter, will hardly ſeeme pleaſing vnto all Readers; in regarde, that for the better vnderſtāding therof, ſom of the principles of the Mathematicks, are neceſſarily requi-

Principles of the Mathematical Sciences

required to be well apprehended. Neuertheleſſe, I am the more willing to ſpeake ſomewhat of the argument, onely for the delight and contentment of ſuch mindes, as are enclined to the Science whereof it diſcourſeth. Wherefore concetning our preſent purpoſe, it is needfull to preſuppoſe, the firſt and cheefe Elements of ſuch a Science: which becauſe they are common, ſhal require the leſſe labor to proue them. The firſt is that whereof wee are now treating, the greatneſſe of the earth, carrying with it both Land and Sea: becauſe God did diſpoſe them in ſuch manner, when he ſaid; *Let the dry land appeare*, for they both being vnited togither, made one body perfectly round. So likewiſe is it to bee vnderſtoode in all thoſe actions which are giuen to the earth, the Sea is alſo therein comprized: For, when a man ſayth, the earth hath ſo many degrees in roundneſſe, or it containeth ſo many degrees from one place to another; the ſea is therein as well vnderſtood as the land. So in like manner are conſidered the Eclipſes, heights and breadths, to hold one and the ſame certitude: and yet notwithſtanding, Mountaines, and Valleyes are not comprehended in this roundure, nor Woodes or Forreſts likewiſe, which the earth contayneth in it ſelfe; becauſe ſuch things are not woorthie of any account, with the greatneſſe of this wonderful bodie.

The chiefe Eleméts of the Mathematiks

Geneſis 1,9.

Actions attributed to the earth.

Eccliſpſes, heights, and breadthes, mountaines, valleyes, woods, and Forreſts.

This rotundity of Land and Water, is ſeated in the midſt of the circuite of Heauen, in ſuch manner, as the point & center of that round body, compoſed of Sea and Land, is likewiſe the center and number of the whole world, as well of heauen, as of the Elements. Ouer and beſide this definition, there is another, true and abſolute, to wit, that the land and water (in regard of the ſtarry heauen, which we call the Firmament) are ſo little; that all theſe two Elements ſerue thereto but for a center, and is euen but as a ſmall point, in reſpect of his circumference. So that in whatſoeuer part thereof a man beſt liketh to helpe himſelfe, by meanes of a Quadrant or an Aſtrolabe; his labour ſorteth to the like effect, as if hee made the ſame for the center of the earth. For in whatſoeuer place of the earth we are (prouided that it be not in any deepe or hollow bottome) we ſhall diſcouer the moity of heauen; which proceedeth by reaſon of the incomprehenſible diſtance, that is from hence beneath vp to the Firmament, with his incompareable greatneſſe. That this muſt needs be true, it is moſt euident, that the verie leaſt Starre which we diſcerne in heauen, is much more greater then the whole earth; and yet neuertheleſſe, it appeareth to vs but as a ſmall point, in regard of the heauens large ſpaciouſneſſe; by the leaſt of which things, a man may make proofe in ſufficient demonſtration, but it ſuffiſeth that experience hath apparantly ſhewne the ſame.

How the roũdure of Land and ſea is ſeated.

The Starrie heauen or firmament.

Helpe of a Quadrant or Aſtrolabe to a man in this caſe.

The leaſt Star is greater thẽ all the earth, by euident proofe.

Ptolomy approueth it, in the 10. chapter of his firſt booke of Geography; *Alphraganus*, in his fourth Difference, *Cleomedes*, in his firſt Booke; *Geber*, in his ſecond Book; and *Iohn de Sacroboſco*, as the like do all other that haue written on the Spheare.

Ptolom in lib. 1 de Geograph. cap. 10.
Alphra. Diff. 4.
Cleomed. in li. 1
Geber in lib. 2.
Io. de Sacr. lic. 1

This then being thus preſuppoſed, let vs imagine in our mindes, that the vvater and Land do make one round circkle, and that heauen is another, but much more great, as indeede it is; and that theſe two circles haue no other, but one common center within them. Which being ſo imagined, let vs lay two lines of equall greatneſſe, which may extend themſelues (in common) to the circumferences of al the two circles, according as *Euclides* enſtructeth, cutting and diuiding the two Circles by equall portions, each portion being iuſtly equalled, in regard of each one of them: that is to ſay, that if thoſe tvvo lines paſſe on right in ſuch manner, they will make eight parts of a great circle, and ſo ſhall make as much of the leſſer, I vnderſtand and meane each eight part, in reſpect of each ones greatneſſe.

How this matter may bee eaſily imagined in the minde of man

Euclides in lib. 4. de Element.

Our elders in former times, in theyr manner of meaſuring the world, gaue aduice to diuide the heauen into three hundred and threeſcore equall partes, which we do now cal degrees, & by conſequent, the roundneſſe of the earth into as manie parts, by imaginations of lines, parting from the center, and making the diuiſion in ſuch manner, that the like quantitie which each one of the degrees hath, in reſpect of the whole heauen; the verie like ſhal be that of each one of the degrees for the earth, hauing regard to the roundure and circuite thereof. And as theſe portions or degrees, if you pleaſe ſo to terme them,

The aduice of our Forefathers, for meaſuring of the world, by diuiſion of heauen.

them, are equal among themſelues, ſo that ſome one may appeare to contayne the ſcope of miles; the like may be eaſily gathered, by multiplying what diſtance is contained in all the reſt. To know then the nature of a degree, they made this obſeruation. The Pole is a fixed point in heauen, whereon the whole heauen maketh his mouing, yet it remaineth firme & ſtable. Therefore with an Aſtrolabe, or any other inſtrument proper therto, being in ſome apt vncouered place, they would take the height which the Pole contained aboue the Horizon, within the limite of the ſelfeſame ſight, and noting the place which appeared conuenable to the eleuation or height of the foreſaide Pole: they went directly on thereto, without wandering to the Meridian, vntill ſuch time (as with the ſelfeſame inſtrument) they found it in one degree more higher, then in the firſt place, and therby they knew, that they had gone one degree of the earth frō that place whence they firſt parted, iuſt to that ground where they were arriued, conſidering, that they had paced by the reſpect of heauen, in regarde of the fore-named rules of both the circles. Then they would meaſure that which this degree contayned, either by Stades, or thouſands of paces; and this being thus knowne by them, they would make their account after this manner. If one degree contained ſo many miles, the whole roundnes of the earth did containe as many: conſidering, that therein was to be obſerued three hundred and threeſcore degrees, ſuch and as great as the ſame were. This was the forme and manner by them obſerued, and it may wel bee continued to theſe times, for meaſuring of the whole earth, as being the moſt certaine and infallible.

Concerning the nature of a degree, and how our Elders obſerued the knowledg thereof, acording vnto the height of the Pole.

A meaſure of ground, containing 125. paces, al after fiue feete to the pace.

An infallible rule for meaſuring by degrees.

The greatnes of each degree within it ſelf, howmuch it containeth.

And yet neuertheleſſe we are to know, what greatneſſe each degree of the earth containeth in it ſelfe, and ſo (by conſequent) how much it tendeth to in the rotundity, meaſuring it according vnto the whole greatneſſe, anſwerable to the experience of both ancient and modern men, skilfull, and well ſtudied therein. The moſt common opinion of all other, is; that each degree or portion of three hundred and threeſcore, containeth fiue hundred Stades of ground, and euery Stade is valewed to ſix ſcore and fiue paces by our Geometricians, and according to theyr Geometrical paces, each pace containing as much as two of our common paces. So that the degree containes ſixty two thouſand and an halfe, which amount to ſixtie two thouſand Geometricall paces. *Ptolomy* auoucheth the ſame; as the like doeth *Martianus Capellus*, and the moſt part of the wiſeſt ancient Coſmographers: beſide, this is the opinion in common, of the greater part of our moderne men.

The knowledge of a Stade by Geometrical paces.

Ptolem. in lib. 1 de Geograph. Mar Capellus, in lib. 1. cap. 7.

Orontius Phineus holdeth the ſame iudgment, and ſayeth, that this may eaſily bee experimented by trauailing from *Paris* to *Tholouſe*. *Glareanus*, & *Anthony de Lebrix*, being both of them learned men, and diligent ſearchers into theſe matters: they do both affirme, that they haue made the like experience, holding the ſame for moſt certaine. Albeit *Eratoſthenes*, and ſome other *Græcians* hold opinion, that all degrees had ſeauen hundred Stades: wheerin (it may ſeeme) they were abuſed, by meaſuring their places ouerſhort. I ſay then, that each of their degrees, conſiſting of three hundred and ſixty, far off from fiue hundred Stades: the whol three hundred and ſixty, wil containe togither, twenty two thouſand, and fiue hundred thouſand paces, which do make an hundred and eighty thouſand Stades. By the which account, the round compas of the whole earth, comprehending therein the whole machine of water, beeing reduced to a thouſand paces, will containe twentie two millions, and fiue hundred thouſand paces. And if you would know how many French leagues or miles the whole Earth containeth, we muſt then allow vnto each League, the length of two Italian miles. Then, if we diuide twenty two thouſand, fiue hundred paces in twaine, we ſhal find that the circuite of the earth, contayneth eleuen thouſand, two hundred and fiftie Leagues of *France*. And if we diuide thē by foure; all the enuironing of the Earth, will containe fiue thouſand, ſixe hundred, and twentie fiue miles of Germanie; for four Italian miles, do make but one Germaine mile. Thus haue we diſcourſed on the earths dimenſion, according vnto the moſt common opinion receiued among men.

Oront. Phin. in lib. 2. de Geom.

Glar. in l. 1. c. 7.

The opinion of ſome Græcians concerning degrees.

An eſtimate of the whole compaſſe of the earth by paces, and by French miles.

Diuiſion according to Germaine miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the reason, why Snow (being couered with straw) doth preserue it selfe in his entire coldnesse, and warme water in his heate: considering, that two contrary effects are wrought by one and the selfesame thing: with some other secrets beside.

The works of Nature yeeld great benefite by their knowledge.

TO men of spirite, such as affect the contemplation of Natures workes, nothing can so lightly present it self, or appeare to bee of so slender esteeme; but some one notable matter or other may be found therein, to yeild contentment to their mindes, after they haue attained to the knowledge thereof. No doubt but there are many men, of whom if it were demanded, vppon vvhat occasion, Snow (beeing couered with straw) conserueth it selfe (for long time) in his true coldnesse, and without melting, they hardly knew how to make anie answer. Whereunto *Alexander Aphrodiseus*, that excellent Peripatetian, maketh this reply. *Straw hath no manifest or known quality at all, for it is neither hot nor colde; therefore diuers haue reputed and termed it, to be a thing without any quality.* For this cause, beeing a matter so singularly temperate and delicate, euen as reaching to such a degree, that it may well be saide to be neither hot nor colde; it easily conuerteth it selfe into the quality of anie such thing, as is thereto annexed. So that couering or laying Snow therein, which is colde, the straw apprehendeth the colde quality thereof, and by that means is holpen and assisted, in the true coldnesse of Snow: euen as a thing of one qualitie aydeth another, without yeelding any heate thereto, because it is not in it selfe. Therefore, snow being accompanied vvith his owne coldnesse, & defended against heat, which straw preserueth against the lest entrance; it is thus conserued in his entyre condition for long time, euen as if it were not couered with straw at all.

Snow couerd with Strawe, keepeth his naturall coldnesse.

Alex. Aphrodis. in lib. 1. cap. 5.

Straw a thing without any quality at all, yet apprehendeth the quality of any thing therewith conioyned.

By the selfesame reason, a contrarie effect happeneth in warme or hotte water; defending the ayre that it cannot coole it, for it being likewise couered with Strawe, the strawe immediately entertaineth the quality of the warme water; and being so sodainly heated, it helpeth & conserueth the water in his warmth, and keepeth the ayre off, that else would coole it. The same reason guides vs to vnderstand other doubts and difficulties, which some curious questionists may impose vpon vs, like vnto those before alledged. I am sure wee are not to learn, that ouer and beside our inward naturall heate, that which occasioneth our warmnesse in Summer time, is the ayre onely, which (in that season) is much more hot then in any other time of the yeare; so that the warmer the ayre is, so much the more are we sensible of heat. If it be so then, how commeth it to passe, that we feele more freshnesse and coolenesse, and lesse heate, when wee take the ayre in Sommer, and in mouing and walking to receiue it; considering, that (according to *Aristotle*) *Motion, or mooving, causeth our heate to be the greater?* For the ayre, by reason of this agitation, must needs cause the more warmnesse both in it selfe and vs, then if wee rested and sate in quiet.

The Ayre is more hote in Sommer, then all the yeare else beside.

Aristot. in lib. 2. de Anim. cap. 7.

The reason ensueth thus: VVee haue then more warmth in our bodyes, then there is in the ayre: as wel in regard of our owne naturall heat, as also that which the ayre worketh in vs. For the ayre coming with a fresh and coole gale (I speake this because it is more temperate then we are) it maketh vs some-what the more temperate: but being still and neere vs, it warmeth it selfe in our heate. Euen in the like manner as we haue spoken of straw; for so it conserueth (yea augmenteth) our heate in vs; albeit, when it is stirred, and freshly mooued, in comming more temperately vpon vs, then we our selues are; that temperature and difference which wee then feele of lesser heate, doth in the like manner qualifie and moderate ours in vs. This is the answere of the fore-named *Alexander*, but especially of *Aristotle*, vnto this question.

More heat in our bodyes in Sommer time then is in the Ayre.

How the quality in straw is alluded to our bodies.

Neuertheless, it is to bee noted, that if we find an ayre more hot then that wherin we dwell; agitation or stirring in such an ayre will not prooue so good as our owne, because wee shall there feele farre greater heate, as in diuers places oftentimes we do. An argument in this case, may

A contrary effect wroght by the same means to hot water, keeping it in his entire heate.

Difference of the Ayre in heat, & harme thereby ensuing.

may bee framed by hotte water, that if a man put his hand raſhly thereinto, he can hardly ſuffer or endure it. Notwithſtanding, let him hold it firmely therein, and it yeeldeth then leſſe cauſe of paſſion then if he mooued it vp and downe. In regard, that the leſſer part of the water enuironeth the coole hand, whereby it cauſeth ſome ſmall temperature round about it: but being plunged and mooued about the water, it reneweth freſh heate, and at each time appropriateth new power to it ſelfe; for the more potent, muſt needes worke nouelly vppon that which is much weaker.

Example of a mans hand in hot water, for heate or temperature.

It may be likewiſe demanded, for what cauſe it is more hot at the end of Iune, & all along the moneth of Iuly, the Sun being then the furtheſt off from vs, then it is at the beginning of Iune; conſidering we are then in the Solſtice of the Sunne, and more directly ſmitten with his beames? Heereunto anſwereth *Ariſtotle*, in his ſecond Booke of Meteors, and the ninth Chapter, that the heate of the Sunne is not the cauſe thereof, neyther is there any more heate felt by the Sunnes beeing neereſt to vs, then when hee hath longeſt time to abide ouer vs. For in the months of Iune and Iuly, hee hath a great length of time in approaching towards vs; as alſo in declining, hee cauſeth the greater heate, becauſe (in deſcending) he re-heateth that part and tract of the ayre, which hee formerly had well warmed in mounting aloft.

Of heate in the months of Iune and Iuly

Ariſtot. in lib. 2. de Meteor. ca. 9

CHAP. XXVII.

Of ſodaine death hapning vnto diuers great Perſons, that haue thereto bene wiſhed or threatned, by ſuch as they haue vniuſtlie put to death before, and their deaths haue enſued to them in ſuch manner, & at ſuch times, as haue beene aſſigned vnto them: With the notable hiſtory of an Archbyſhop of Mentz *or* Magonce.

God neuer failed in the iuſt cauſe of wronged innocents, to lend his help, when al power in man hath fayled.

WHen all helpe in man hath ceaſed, concerning ſuch to whom great wrongs and iniuries haue bene done; yet the powerfull arme of God hath neuer failed them. And albeit it hath not enſued ſo ſpeedily, or elſe ſo viſibly as they could haue wiſhed; yet GOD, who knoweth both how and when to be auenged on them that are the oppreſſors of innocents, hath wrought ſo graciouſlie for his own glory; that trecheries haue come to light in due and meete times, & mens falſe iudgements haue felt his ſeuere condemnation, and publikely enough for other mens forewarning. In this caſe wee could alleadge many memorable examples; but beeing loth to trouble you with ouer many, theſe few commendable Collections ſhall ſerue for this time.

I read of a Knight amongeſt the *Templers* (of whome wee haue ſpoken in our former Volume) who beeing (in the opinion of many) ſentenced to death verie vniuſtly; as the Officers led him towardes the place of execution, hee eſpyed Pope *Clement*, the fift of that name (by vvhoſe meanes he was condemned to death) looking out at a window; and by him ſtoode *Phillip le Bel*, then King of France. The Knight being an *Italian*, borne at *Naples*, beholding the Pope with an vndaunted countenance, with a lowde voyce ſpake thus vnto him.

The hiſtory of a Knight Templer, put to death vniuſtly.

Moſt cruell Clement, ſeeing that there is no Iudge in this world, before whome a poore innocent man may call in queſtion the vniuſt ſentence which thou haſt giuen againſt mee. I appeale from thee, a moſt vniuſt Iudge, to the vprighteſt Iudge of all other, Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, before whom I giue thee warning, and likewiſe King Phillip *there by thee, to make your appearance, to anſwere the falſe iudgement of death which you haue giuen againſt me. This appearance of yours before the Tribunall ſeate of God, I do aſſigne to bee made within leſſe then a yeare, to do me right there, where I may ſafely haue my cauſe determined, without any auarice or paſſion at all, as here you both haue dealt with me.* The poore Knights deſire ſorted with his wordes, for about the ſame limited time, the Pope being pained with a great greefe in his ſtomack, died; ſo did K. *Philip*: but howſoeuer it hapned, it was thought to proceed from the iuſt iudgement of God.

The Knightes lateſt wordes to the Pope, and King of France, as he was ledde to death.

The iudgement of God on the K. and Pope.

The very like fortune hapned to *Ferdinand* the fourth, King of *Caſtile*, who hauing cauſed two worthy Knightes to bee executed, more by his owne wrathfull & angry ſpleen, then any warrant of iuſtice, being

The hiſtory of Ferdinand the 4. King of Caſtile, & his cruelty to two Knights.

being no way to bee diſſwaded from this violent cruelty, either by teares, intreats, or earneſt ſolicitations; they (in very like manner) cited the King before the Tribunall of Ieſus Chriſt, and to make his appearance within thirty dayes. And it is credibly auouched, that on the laſt of thoſe thirty dayes, the King dyed.

Baptiſt Fulgoſ. in lib.2.cap 9. The hiſtorie of a Captaine belonging to the Geneweyes, who cruelly put to death another innocent Captaine.

The like lot alſo befell to a Captain of the Gallies, which belonged to the inhabitants of *Geneway*, whereof *Baptiſta Fulgoſo* maketh this report. This Captaine making a ſally forth vpon the Sea, tooke a Foyſt or ſmal Gally appertaining to them of *Cathelogna*; wherein there was another Captaine that neuer had done any iniurie to the *Geneweyes*. Notwithſtanding, in regard of the malice which the *Geneweyes* bare to the *Cathelognians*, hee gaue command, that this Captaine thus taken priſoner, ſhould forthwith be hanged. The Captaine, ſhedding many teares, humbly requeſted, that he might not ſo ſhamefully be put to death, conſidering that he had neuer offended him, or his Nation. But in the end, finding no fauour or mercy in him, he made his recourſe to the Diuine Iudge of al men, ſpeaking thus to the cruell Captaine; *Seeing thou wilt needes execute on me this moſt vniuſt ſentence, I haue no other friend but God to appeale vnto, who is the iuſt auenger of iniuried innocents. And therefore I humbly deſire, that (this inſtant day) thy ſoule may appeare with mine before him, to yeeld an account for the vvrong thou haſt done me.* Not many houres, after the *Geneway* Captaine alſo dyed, and doubtleſſe went to render a reaſon for his moſt extreme cruelty.

The wronged Captaines words before his death.

The ſodaine death of the Geneway Captaine the ſame day.

I could alledge many examples more, aptly ſuted to this purpoſe; but for the ſtrangeſt of all, I will relate what hapned at *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, which generally coſt moſt deare vnto the whole Citty, according as it is briefely reported by *Gontier*, that renowned Poet, who wrot the life and actions of the Emperour *Fredericke*, firſt of that name. *Conradus* alſo the Byſhop, declareth the ſame in his hiſtory, among many things hapning in the time of that *Fredericke*, and of *Henrie* the ſixt his ſonne; the Hiſtory enſueth in this manner.

Gontierus in lib de vit. Fred. Imperat. Conrad. Epiſ. in Hiſt. de Reb. diuerſ.

The hiſtory of Henry arch biſhoppe of Mentz in Germanie.

In the Citty of *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, in the yeare one thouſand, fiue hundred and fifty, little more or leſſe, ther liued an Arch Byſhop, named *Henrie*, a man ſingular in all vertues. This Archbyſhop, according to the duty and office of a faithfull Paſtor, as indeed hee was, did ſeuerely chaſtiſe publike ſinnes and offences, becauſe he was very iealous of Gods honour, and loue of one neighbour vnto another, the which made him to haue the greater care of his flocke. Heereuppon wicked and diſſolute perſons grewe hatefull againſt him, deuiſing many falſe and ſlanderous accuſations, where-with the Pope was plentifully informed, impoſing ſo many crimes and delicts vpon him, that he was reputed vnmeete for ſuch a dignity.

Vertue neuer wanted malicious enimies

Theſe matters thus vnderſtoode by the Pope, who alwayes thought him to bee a iuſt and holy man; being no way able to deny audience to ſuch a crowde of accuſers as deſired iuſtice; at laſt he aduertiſed the Arch-byſhop of theſe foule accuſations. The good reuerend man, to make cleare his innocence, elected (among all his other friends) a man whom hee moſt affected, and on whom hee had beſtowed more eſpeciall fauours, then on any man elſe beſide. Hee was a Prieſt by profeſſion, named *Arnolde*, aduanced vnto many great dignities, as being a man of rich ſpirite, eloquence, and abounding in the wealth of the world beſide.

The Pope acquainteth the Archbyſhop with his accuſations.

Arnolde comming to *Rome*, beeing enſtructed and preſſed on by the diuell; concluded in his priuate thoughts, to depriue his Lord of ſo high a dignitie, and make application thereof to himſelfe. Which that he might the better compas, hauing brought great ſummes of money thether with him, he ſuborned two wicked Cardinals, who, in ſted of ſpeaking in his Lords fauour, ſhould enforce all matters more againſt him. For they affirmed, that they ſtoode more obliged to God and trueth, then to worldly reſpects or fauors of mē: and therefore maintained, that the Archbyſhop was apparantly culpable of all the crimes inferred againſt him, and thereby iuſtly deſerued depriuation. The Pope being thus abuſiuely perſwaded by theyr report, thought to haue ſent two Prieſtes thether, to acquaint him with this information confirmed againſt him: but (indeede) he ſent the two Cardinals confederated with *Arnolde*, to perfect the Proceſſe, by them concluded for preſent execution.

The arriuall of Arnolde at Rome, and his wicked dealing againſt his Maſter.

The wickedneſſe of two corrupted Cardinalles.

They

The perſecution of the Cardinalles with Arnold, againſt the Arch-byſhop.

They were no ſooner arriued in *Germany*, but they ſummoned the Arch-Byſhop to come before them, wher his hearing was admitted in ſuch ſort, that ſentence was giuen againſt him, whereby he was depriued of his See and dignitie, and *Arnolde* aduanced into his place, who had ſold his Maſter, euen as *Iudas* did our bleſſed Sauiour. In pronouncing the iudgement, the Arch-Byſhop *Henry* then preſent, deliuered theſe wordes. *God knoweth, that I am moſt vniuſtly condemned: neuertheleſſe, I care not for making any appeale to the further cenſure of men: becauſe I am aſſured, that lyes ſhall bee better beleeued among you, then trueth can be in mee. Therefore I receiue this ſentence, as ſome iuſt puniſhment for my ſinnes, and yet doe appeale from your indirect doome, to the eternall iuſt Iudge Ieſus Chriſt: before whom I adiourne you three to appeare.*

The words of the Archbyſh. at his depriuation, before Arnolde and the Cardinals

Theſe words were no ſooner heard by the Iudges, but they fell into extremity of laughter, ſaying; That if he pleaſed to go on thither before, they would follow him at their leyſure. This ſentence was giuen in the yeare one thouſand, fiue hundred, fifty ſix, which the depriued Archbyſhop endured with admirable patience; & being retired into his Monaſtery, he ther remained the reſt of his life, yet without acception of the habite. To conclude, God would not permit this wickednes to paſſe vnpuniſhed, to the end, that innocence might the better bee knowne: but about a yeare and an halfe after, this *Henrie* dyed in his Monaſtery in great holineſſe, and doubtleſſe attained the glorie long time deſired.

The ſcornfull anſwer of the offenders.

The death of the wronged Henry.

Newes of his death being brought to *Rome*, the two Cardinals being very merrily met together, one of them, ſaid: The Arch-Byſhoppe *Henry* is gone, and muſt not we in haſt follow him? Indeed (quoth the other) ſo wee made him promiſe; but let him tarry (whereſoeuer he is) till wee come to him. Not many dayes after, one of them, being ſodainly ſmitten by one of his ſeruants vpon the ſhoulder, fel downe ſo greeuouſly afflicted with paine, that his bowels and entrailes iſſued out at his fundament, and inſtantly died. The other falling into phrenſie and madneſſe, did eate off his owne hands, and dyed very ſtrāgely. Now as concerning falſe *Arnolde*, hee exerciſed ſuch cruelties and ſeditions among the people, that he became ſo hated and deſpiſed of them all; as being one day beſiedged in a Monaſtery, hee vvas there ſlayne, and afterward left lying naked in the common ditch of the Cittie; where all the people, both men, women, and children, performed all cruelties vpon his body, that poſſibly could be deuiſed by them.

Scoffing ieſts by the two Cardinals, at deceated Henry.

The iuſtice of God on the two wicked Cardinals.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *Of the cruelty which* Albouine, *King of* Lombardie, *vſed to his Queene & wife* Roſamond: *And by what meanes ſhe reuenged her ſelfe on him at length.*

The Longobardes now named Lombardes.

AMong thoſe warlike people, which yſſued out of *Germany*, and the Northerne partes, to deſcend into *Italy*; the *Longobards* are named, who for the ſpace of two hundred yeares & more, ſeized all thoſe Lands, which (til this day) is called *Lombardie*, and vntill ſuch time as *Charlemaigne* expelled them thence, according as in the Hiſtory is amply related, written by *Paulus Diaconus*, in the particular Booke which he made for that purpoſe. He ſaith, that when they left *Hungary* (where they had for ſomtime dwelt) to paſſe into *Italy*, they had one named *Albouine* their King: a man of great ſpirit, and verie valiant in actions of warre. For he conquered in battayle *Cunimond*, King of the *Girpides*, and afterwardes, cauſing his head to bee ſmitten off, made a drinking Cuppe thereof, wherein hee vſed to drinke, and in triumph of his conqueſt and victorie. At which time, he detained (as his priſoner) a verie beautifull daughter to the fore-named King, called *Roſamond*, whom he made his wife, and then afterwards hee went to ſubdue *Italy*, carrying his Queene along with him, in the yeare, eight hundred, ſixty two.

Paulus Diacon. in lib. de Hiſt. Mund. cap. 9.

Cunimond K. of the Gyrpides conquered by Albouine, and his head made a drinking cup.

When he had conquered many towns and Cities, he came (at length) to the City of *Pauia*: where (ſince that time) the ſucceeding Kinges vſed to keepe their ſeate and continuall reſiding, as the very principall Citty of their Kingdome. Hauing reig-

Pauia the ancient ſeate of Kings.

reigned three yeares and three moneths, and being then at *Verona*; he appoynted a solemne feast, where hee drunke to his Queene in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, and forced her to pledge him: whereat shee conceiued such griefe and displeasure, that the intire loue which shee had formerly borne him, was conuerted into deadly hatred, with an absolute resolue and conclusion to kill him, in iust reuenge of her fathers death, & cruelty extended to her. And to assist her in this determination, she conferred with a gentleman named *Hermigilde:* who presently tolde her, that to the execution of such an important busines, she should require the ayde of a valiant knight in the Court, called *Paradine*. Which instantly she did, but he would not yeeld thereto, becausse he tooke it to be too horride a treason. Finding her hope frustrated, and fearing lest hir intent would be discouered, yet desiring nothing more in the world, then to compasse the height and pitch of her enterprise: she set aside all care of honour and honesty, & being aduertised by *Hermigilde*, that *Paradine* earnestly affected one of her attending Ladies, she deuised therby to effect her purpose. Being acquainted with the secret resort where *Paradine* & his louer alwaies met together; she found some other emploiment for the Lady, & made vse of her place for the time, *Paradine* keeping her there company a long time, imagining no other, but that it was the mistresse of his affections.

The Queene forced to drink in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, whereupon she concludes the Kings death.

Nothing can be compared to the inward conceiued malice of a woman, when she will needs compasse her will.

The Queene, who had spent all this while in soft whispers and dalliance, not vsing any one word whereby shee might be discouered; perceiuing opportunity so aptly to fit her, spake thus vnto him. Knowest thou *Paradine*, who it is that keepeth thee company? Full well (quoth he) with my Mistresse, and then named her. Thou lyest (false traytour,) replyed the Queene, I am *Rosamond* thy Soueraignes wife, whom thou hast dared to abuse in this manner, and dye thou must by the iust wrath of *Albouine*, except thou saue thy life by killing him: aduise thee therefore, whether his life or thine owne is deerest to thee. When *Paradine* considered his dangerous estate, without any meanes of helpe or escape; hee resolued to kill the King: and for his better furtherance therein, both hee, the Queene, and *Hermigilde* tooke counsell together, plotting the proiect in this manner.

The Queene discouereth her self to Paradine, and preuaileth to haue the king murdered.

A hard choice in such an extreamitie.

The King vsed to sleepe in the heate of the day, and all else auoyded the chamber, the Queene onely excepted, and he being a king of courage and high resolue, euer slept like a Souldier, with his Sword girded about him: which at this intended time of treason, the Queene had tyed so fast in the scabbard, as hee could by no meanes helpe himselfe therewith. *Paradine* and *Hermigilde* waiting the houre, which was vppon the Queenes issuing foorth: they entred, and for all their soft treading, the King heard them, and started from his bed. VVhen he beheld two men armed with weapons, and at such a time of no suspition: fury, not feare made him take no knowlege of them, but sought to defend himselfe with his weapon. VVhich failing him, by the meanes of so false a Queene, and they with their weapons euery where wounding him: hee caught vp a stoole, and therewith made his defence so long as he could, till in the end they depriued him of life, yet neither noise heard, or any suspition of murther.

The maner of the Kings death determined by the Queene, Paradine and Hermigilde.

The valour of Albouine against his murderers, euen in his death.

The king being thus dead, and all well carryed with a smoothe countenance: *Hermigilde* possessed himselfe of the Pallace, intending to make the Queene his wife, as immediately he did. But notwithstanding all their close packing; the *Lombardes* (not long after) came to the knowledge of their Kings death, and in what manner hee was murthered, which they purposed to reuenge with all possible speed. Wherein they were preuented, for *Rosamond* and her complices hauing packed vp most of her Iewells & treasure Royall, fled away thence, carrying with them *Aluisinda* Daughter to King *Albouine*, by his first wife. And for their safer security, they went to *Rauenna*, where then gouerned a Lieutenant of the Empire, named *Longiuus*, who kept that place for *Tiberius*, Sonne to the Emperour *Constantine* of *Constantinople*, by whom they were curteously entertained.

Hermigilde marrieth with Rosamond the Queene.

The flight of Rosamond & the murderers to Rauenna.

Not long after, *Longiuus* becomming enamored of *Rosamond*, & desirous to enioy her in mariage, whereto he found her very tractable; councelled her to procure the death of *Hermigilde*, & then he would marry her. She that had lost all loue and

Rosamond desirous to aduance herselfe by marrying with the Lieutenant, concludeth the death of Hermigilde.

feare of God, reſpect of womanhood, and dreadleſſe of the ſhame of men, coueting withal, to aduance her downefalne eſtate, by marrying with the Emperours Lieutenant; gaue to *Hermigilde* an impoyſoned potion at his comming forth of his Bath, perſwading him, that it was moſt ſoueraigne for his health; by which perſwaſion he dranke a good part thereof. But when hee found it afterward to afflict his body, ſo as he plainly perceiued himſelfe to be poyſoned; drawing forth his ſword in extremity of rage, he compelled *Roſamond* to drinke vp all the reſt that remayned in the Cup, ſo that at one inſtant time they both were iuſtly requited for the death of *Albouine*. Tydings hereof being brought to the Lieutenant *Longinus*, he cauſed the young Lady *Aluiſinda* to be ſeized on, and ſent her (with all her iewels and treaſure) to the Emperour *Tiberius*, at *Conſtantinople*, with *Paradine* alſo as a priſoner: where hauing his eyes pulled forth, he liued a while, and then died moſt miſerably.

A treacherous womans wickedneſſe met withall, by her owne deuiſe againſt her husband.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of a pleaſant, witty, and honeſt deceit, which a famous and vertuous Queene vſed to her owne husband; whereby Iames, *King of* Arragon *was begotten, with other rememberances both of his birth and death.*

The Authors induction to the enſuing Hiſtory.

IVVell remember, that in reading the Chronicle of the Kings of *Arragon*; I finde, that *Don Peter*, Count of *Barcelonna*, who was the ſeauenth King of *Arragon*, had Madam *Mary* in marriage, daughter to the Earle of Mount *Peſulin*, Nephew to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſhe being a very beautifull and vertuous Lady. All which notwithſtanding, the King was much addicted vnto other women, and vſed ſuch ſlender teſtimony of loue towards his Queene, that hee refuſed to keepe her company, as (in the duty of an husband) he ſtood obliged to doe. This ſtrange behauiour in the King, did much afflict and greeue the Queene, becauſe they had no childe to ſucceed in the Kingdome, the greateſt miſery (of all other) that can happen to a well ſetled Eſtate. Heerevpon, by aduice of one of the Kings Pages of his Chamber, who (it may be) had formerly done ſeruice in the like affaires; ſhee compaſſed the meanes (vnder title of ſome one of the Kings cheefeſt fauourites) to bee brought that night to lodge with the King. Such familiar entercourſes hauing paſſed betweene them, as in ſuch wanton ſeaſons are commonly required, the King perceiuing the day-light neere approching, in regard both of his owne honours ſafety and hers, made meanes to her for her ſpeedy departure, but ſhe taking hold of ſo good an occaſion, ſpake thus vnto him.

Want of lawfull iſſue is the greateſt miſery of any kingdome.

Shame dare ſildome be ſeen in bright day-light.

My gracious Lord and husband, I am none ſuch as (perhaps) you take mee to be, but be well aſſured, that this night you haue ſlept with your true Queene and VVife. Vſe what violence you ſhall pleaſe to mee, for I purpoſe not to leaue your bed, vntill ſome man, well deſeruing faith and credite, may be witneſſe of my this nights keeping you company. To the ende, that if the fauour of heauen hath bin ſo gracious to me, that fruite (long deſired) may enſue by this aduenture; the world ſhal take true notice, that it is your owne. The King perceiuing this honeſt deceit of his Queene, appeared to bee well pleaſed therewith, and called two Gentlemen of his Chamber, to teſtifie the truth, according to her deſire, and as (indeed) ſtood beſt with his honour. It ſo pleaſed God, that at fit and conuenient time, the Queene hauing at that inſtant time conceiued with childe; at ſuch due ſeaſon as the cuſtome of women alloweth them for trauaile, ſhee was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, euen on the firſt day of February, in the yeare one thouſand, one hundred, ninety ſixe. Soone after it was borne, the Mother cauſed it to bee carried to the Church, and (which is a thing deſeruing memory) as they which carried the childe entred into the Church, the Prieſts began to ſing, *Te Deum laudamus*, *Wee praiſe thee O God.* Paſſing from thence vnto another Church, as they were entring likewiſe thereinto, the Prieſts began to ſing the Pſalme

The Queenes words to the King, before ſhe would depart from his bed.

The conception & birth of Iames, King of Arragon.

The carriage of the childe to two ſeuerall Churches.

Psalme of *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*; *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel*; which gaue a great prognosticating & vndoubted hope, of some excellent vertues to succeed in the childe.

A strange manner of naming the Childe, by lighting of twelue Torches, tearmed the twelue Apostles.

The Father and Mother, not knowing what name to giue him, caused twelue Torches (of equall length and making) to be all lighted in one instant, the twelue Torches bearing the seueral names of the twelue Apostles. With this conclusion, that the name of the Torch which first fayled, or became extinguished; the selfe-same name should bee giuen to the childe, which happened to be that of S. *Iames*. Heereupon he was named *Iames*, because it was the name, which the men of *Arragon* gaue to that Apostle. Hee proued to be an excellent Prince, and of admirable gouernement, both in peace and warre, for hee made a cruell inuasion vpon the *Moores*, being euermore very liberall to his Souldiers. Among other most notable matters, hee leuied a great Army, which he conducted into the Isle of *Maiorica*, that then was in the *Moores* possession, where hee fought many stout battailes. But after he had a long while besiedged the City, he won it in the ende, and likewise other neighbouring Islands beside. Then comming into his kingdome of the *Moores*, especially to the City of *Carthage*, hee proued still the Conqueror, and neuer fayled in any of his attempts.

The vertuous qualities remaining in the Prince.

His winning the Isle of Maiorica and the Citty of Carthage.

He had many children, as well sonnes as daughters, on whom (during his life time) he bestowed great gifts and goodly estates. *Don Peter*, that afterwad was King of *Arragon*, was his Sonne. Likewise *Don Iames*, King of *Maiorica* and *Minorica*. He had another that was Archbishop of *Tolledo*. Madame *Tollant*, who was Queene of *Castile*; and Madame *Isabell*, that was Queene of *France*; and Madame *Vrraqua*, who was married to *Don Emanuell*, Prince of *Castile*; and *Don Peter*, who espoused the daughter vnto the King of *Nauarre*. He liued seuenty and two yeares, and dyed religiously, taking on him (before his death) the habite of a Monke. For he had a greeuous disease, which made him renounce his royall Scepter, with deliberate purpose, that if he might recouer his health againe, hee would imploy the rest of his dayes in the seruice of God. But weakenesse encreasing more and more vpon him, he dyed in the Citty of *Valencia*, Anno 1266. and at the beginning of the Moneth of August.

The issue descending frō Iames King of Arragon, & their gracious good fortunes

King Iames became a Monke before his death

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of an ancient and memorable Custome, obserued by the Inhabitants of the Prouince of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince: and how cruell their punishment is to Theeues.

POpe *Pius* the secōd of that name, who was a man of great learning, & a diligent inquisitour for the truth of Histories, as weehaue in many places formerly alledged, saieth in his descriptiō of the world; that the Prouince of *Carinthia*, is enclosed within the territory, and vnder the gouernment of *Austria*. Hee likewise relateth a custome, which the Inhabitants of that Prouince haue anciently obserued, at the election and Coronation of their Princes; appearing some-what strange, yet honest and very commendable. VVhich custome is also confirmed by *A. Sabellicus*, in his tenth Decade: and by *Sebastian Munster*, in his composed Cosmography, which is after this manner.

Aeneas Syluius in Cosmograph Mund lib. 5. cap. 7.

A. Sabellius in Deca. Hist. Sebast. Munst. in Cosmogra.

In this Prouince of *Carinthia*, there is a very great and spacious plaine of olde ruined buildings, which seeme to bee the foundation of some former auncient Citty.

In which place also there is a great stone, and when obeysance is to be giuen at the new creation of a Prince; there is a day appointed, and a country labourer, or meane husbandman (allowed to this preheminence in regard of his linage) hath order to seate himselfe vpon that same stone. On his right hand

Preparation to the Princes election.

The manner of the Princes comming to his election.

ſtandeth a poore Cow, that hath lately calued, which hee holdeth faſtened by a corde, and on his left hand ſtandeth a very leane and wretched Mare, tyed in like māner, and round about him is no meane crowd of labourers and country Boores. In this place, and at this Stone, the Prince that is to be enſtalled, muſt make his apparance, attended with a great number of men on horſe-backe, ryding in very formall order, with twelue Banners borne before him: among which there is one more large and ſightly then all the reſt, carried by an Earle, thereto admitted by eſpeciall priuiledge.

The Princes being at the Stone before him that muſt elect him.

The Arch-Duke, Prince or great Lord howſoeuer ye meane to tearme him, clothed in a Shepheards habite, commeth to the Stone wheron the poore man ſitteth, & as he perceiueth him to approch ſomewhat neere, hee demandeth with a loud voyce, what he is, that commeth towards him with ſuch glory and felicity? Anſwer is inſtantly made him, that it is the man, who commeth to bee created Prince of the Country. Then as it were with a voyce like thunder, the labourer cryeth out. Is he a iuſt Iudge? Will he wel maintaine iuſtice? Will hee preſerue the defence and ſafety of this Country? Is hee a man franke, and free-borne? Is he valiant, vertuous, and worthy of honour and reuerence? Is he a Chriſtian? Is hee a Defender of the faith of Ieſus Chriſt? And all the company maketh anſwer, that he is ſuch a man, and will ſo continue. Then he beginneth againe, and maketh another demand. By what right or reaſon cometh he to diſpoſſeſſe me of this place, which belongeth onely to me? To which queſtion, the Earle that beareth the cheefeſt Standard, replyeth thus. If thou wilt quit and forſake this place, threeſcore Ducates of gold ſhall be frankly giuen thee, & this Cow, as alſo this Mare ſhall both be thine owne, beſide the rich Robe, which our King did laſt of all put off, ſhall alſo bee thine: moreouer, thou and thy family ſhal bee free, from paying any manner of tribute. After theſe words, the Prince approcheth neere to the Stone, & the poore man giueth him a gentle blow on the cheeke, commanding him (in any caſe) to be a good Iuſticer: & ſo deſcending from the Stone, he leadeth along with him the Cow and Mare, and departeth.

The ſeuerall queſtions of the poore husbandman.

The Earle that carrieth the cheefeſt Standard, his anſwer to the poore man.

The Prince created with a boxe on the eare.

Then the Prince diſmounting from his horſe, aſcendeth vp, and ſitteth vpon the ſtone, where drawing foorth his Sword, and turning to each ſide of the ſtone, ſtill flouriſhiug the weapon round about him; hee maketh a ſolemne promiſe before all the people, vttering the words as loud as he can ſpeake, that he will be a iuſt Iudge, and a good Prince. This done, one bringeth him (in a Shepheards bonnet) a ſmall quantity of water to drinke: and ſo deſcending from the ſtone, hee re-mounteth on horſebacke, and rydeth on to a Church with all his company, there to heare Mas. Which being finiſhed, hee changeth his former plaine and rurall garments, to very Royall and Princely habites: and after a pompeous Dinner with his whole train, he returneth againe into the open fielde, where hee heareth all the Officers of Iuſtice ſpeake vnto him, to enſtruct him in the lawes of the Country: and theſe are the vſuall ceremonies, obſerued at the creation of euery Prince.

The Prince mounteth on the Stone.

The Princes promiſe before all the people.

The Prince changeth his humble garments.

There is another cuſtome in vſe among theſe people, for the puniſhment of thefts and robberies; which I hold to be vniuſt, and ouer-cruell, eſpecially to bee vſed among Chriſtians. For hauing but ſome note or apprehenſion onely, that ſuch a man ſtandeth in repute to be a theefe; they forthwith ſend him to execution, without any other proceeding againſt him. Then three dayes after his death, they examine the witneſſes with all care and diligence; when if it ſhall appeare by ſolemne inquiſition, that he proueth to be guilty of the crimes alledged; they ſuffer him to hang vpon the Gibbet, vntill his limbes fall peecemeale from him. But if he be found to be innocent, they take him thence, and giue him honourable obſequies and funerall, with many prayers and almes-deeds, for the ſaluation of his ſoule.

A cruell ceremony, for the puniſhment of theeues & robbers, too barbarous among Chriſtians.

A poore recompence for the loſſe of a mans life and reputation.

With this ſeuerity doe they chaſtiſe theeues and robbers, neuertheleſſe, I read of ſome other Nations, that greatly haue ſupported and countenanced them therein. As the *Egiptians*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* writeth in his Attick nights. And the *Lacedomians* likewiſe, who permitted their children to bee theeues, and learne climbing in at windowes, and wandring abroad in the night ſeaſon, that they might be the more bolde and hardy for warre. Notwithſtanding, *Draco*, hee that gaue

Aul. Gellius in Noct. Attic. lib. 11.

Lawes

Draco his seuere Law against all māner of thefts, and Solons mitigation thereof.

Lawes vnto the *Athenians*, made one among the reſt; wherein he commanded, that euery kinde of theft ſhould bee puniſhed with the penalty of death. In regard whereof, *Solon* ſaide, that hee had written that Law with blood, which made him (afterward) to allay and mitigate it. The cuſtome which yet to this day is obſerued for hanging of theeues, was firſt of all appointed by the Emperour *Fredericke*, the third of that name; according as *Lodouicus Viues*, that learned man in all Artes and Sciences, writeth in the third Booke of his Diſciplines.

At what time the hanging of theeues was first ordained.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

In what part of the Zodiaque the Sunne and Moone, and likewiſe the other Planets were, at their firſt creating. Alſo of the beginning of yeares, and the courſe of times.

Men are naturally desirous to know all things whatsoeuer.

THE learned Philoſophers ſay, that men are naturally curious & couetous of knowledge. Moreouer, ſuch is the zeale of their affection in this caſe, and the bent of humane vnderſtanding ſo full of ſtrange queſtionings, as they cannot content themſelues to know ſuch things as they may with ſome eaſe comprehend onely: but ouer and beſide, they are ſcrutinous and ſearching (through bold preſumption) to know ſuch cauſes as are very hard, and almoſt impoſſible. Nor hath this painefull deſire beene altogether fruitleſſe and vaine, though many times it fayled, and came farre ſhort of expectation: becauſe by contemplation and continuall ſtudy, they haue found out ſuch matters, as ſeemed before vtterly impoſſible and ſupernaturall, or that they ſhould any way be attayned vnto by the capacity of men. As namely, the motions of the Heauens; the courſe of the Planets and other Starres, with their ſeuerall influences and power, and the like things beſide: among which is comprized my preſent intended argument, and what in this Chapter I purpoſed to diſcourſe on, to wit; how to know the beginning of times & yeares; and on what day the world began, or to ſpeake better; when, or in what ſeaſon God created the world; when began the yeare and times; and where was the Sun, or where God placed it at firſt, when hee began his courſe; & likewiſe the Moone, with the other Starres and Planets.

The benefit of contemplation and study in high and difficult matters.

The Authors purpose in this Chapter.

Curious queſtions, yet coueted to be knowne.

Ariſtotle did little care for theſe queſtions, and infinite other Philoſophers beſide, who thorow defect of the light of faith, did verily beleeue, that the world was eternall, without any beginning or ending. But ſuch as haue declared themſelues not to be ignorant in theſe things, but verily beleeued the beginning of times, ſeeme to ſtand diuided betweene two opinions. There are ſome among them, who ſay, that in the inſtant when the world was created, the Sunne was found to be in the firſt point of *Aries*, or the Ramme, which is in the Equinoctiall of Summer, the time comming then to the eleuenth day of March. Others ſay, that the world began, the Sunne then being in the firſt point of *Libra*, or the Ballances, which is the other Equinoctiall of VVinter, commonly happening in theſe our dayes, on the thirteenth or foureteenth day of September. Of this opinion were diuers *Egiptians*, *Arabes*, and *Greekes* likewiſe; according as *Lincolnienſis* reporteth, in a Treatiſe of the world, which he wrote to Pope *Clement*; & *Vincentius* in his hiſtoricall Mirrour.

Ariſtotle and the other Philoſophers opinion of the world.

I. Lincoln. in Tract. Mund. & Vincent. in Mir. Hiſtoriale.

Two opinions concerning the Sun and Moone at the worlds creation.

Equinoctium Vernale.

Equinoctium Autumnale.

Such as haue followed this opinion, alledge a reaſon for it, which (in my iudgment) is very weake, and of no force. For they ſay, that then the principall fruites of the earth were fully ripe, and in the very beſt of their ſauour; becauſe it was moſt requiſite, that (at the beginning) the earth ſhould preſent it ſelfe in the height of perfection. To this purpoſe, they produce authority out of Deuteronomy, where it is ſaid; *That God made all things perfect and compleate*. There are ſome others, who affirme, that the entrance of times, and of yeares, was on the very greateſt day of all other; which was then, when the Sunne entred into the ſigne of *Cancer*, as now it is the eleuenth or twelfth day of Iune. *Iulius Firmicus*, an

A reaſon alledged for the earths perfection at the beginning.

Deut. 32. 3.

The entrance of times and yeares.

ancient Author, and of great authority in Astrologye, in the beginning of his third Booke, which he wrote of the worlds creation, saith: *That when the world began, the Sunne was in the fift degree of the signe Leo*; which is the signe wherein hee hath most dominion, because it is called the house of the Sunne: the like he saieth, in discouering the other Planets, by their order and degrees.

Iul. Firmicus in lib. 3. de creat. Mund.

The signe Leo the house of the Sunne.

But that which rellisheth of most reason in all these opinions, and appeareth most conformable to truth, is; that when both time and the heauens began to bee mooued; the Sun was in the first point of Aries, which is (with vs) in March, and at which time is the entrance of Summer. This is affirmed (beside all other reasons that we can alledge) by the greater part of Historians, as well Christians as Heathens; among whom are S. *Hierome*, S. *Ambrose*, S. *Basile*, and others, who doe all maintaine, that the beginning of the world, and likewise of the yeare, was in the Equinoctiall of our Summer. And although there may appeare some difference among them, because some will haue the worlds begining to be in March, and others in Aprill: it may well bee endured, for they all agree together, that it was in the Equinoctiall, which now is in March. Notwithstanding, as wee haue formerly affirmed, the Equinoctiall is not alwaies firme or constant: for Iesus Christ suffered his passion on the fiue and twentieth day of March, which was then the Equinoctiall, and now it is the eleuenth day of the same Moneth, whereby may well be presumed, that heeretofore it was in Aprill.

The most probable opinion of all other.

S. *Hierome*.
S. *Ambrose*.
S. *Basile*.

The full agreement of all together.

On what day was the passion of our blessed Sauiour.

For this cause, some would haue April to be the first Moneth, and others March; yet notwithstanding, they all say, that whē the Sun enters into the first point or degree of Aries, then is the Equinoctiall. This opinion is grounded on the Scripture, especially on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, where it is said: *The Moneth * Nisan* (which is March with vs) *is the entrance to your yeare. Vincentius*, in the beginning of his historicall Mirrour, saith: *The Hebrewes began their yeare in March, because in the like Moneth was the Equinoctiall, when as the world began*. This opinion was likewise held by some of the Gentiles; as *Elpacus* in his Astrologicall Treatise, where he saith: *The Chaldeans being very great Astrologers, beleeued likewise, that on the first day when the world was made, the Sunne entred into the first point or degree of Aries*: and this is also confidently maintained, by the most part of Astrologers, both ancient and moderne. Therfore when the Sunne came in his course thither, or to that Signe; then was the beginning of the yeare, and thence ensued the principall or beginning day. For it is a matter most manifest, that the first day wherein the world began to be made, was also made the first day of the yeare: considering, that till then, there was neyther time nor yeare. And therefore the signe of Aries is reckoned (aboue all the rest) to be the first in order among the twelue signes.

Concerning the first Moneth of the yeare.

*Containing part of March and part of Aprill.

Vincent. in Min. Hist. cap. 1.

Elpac. in Tract. Astrolog.

Concerning the beginning of the year, in what Moneth and on what day.

Aries the first in order among the 12. signes.

Now, as when we come to iudge of the reuolution of yeares, and things to happē therin, as of necessity we must equal the figures, by the beginning of the world; euen so it is as easie to prooue, that God placed the Sunne in the first degree of this signe, at the beginning and creation of the world. And this may bee coniectured without any great labor, by our profe made in the sixt Chapter of the seuenth Book, in our first Volume, where discoursing on the time and day, when as our blessed Lord and Sauiour suffered; it is affirmed, that the Sunne was in the selfesame at the creation, as it was when the great Sunne of righteousnesse made the regeneration of the world, suffering death and passion in humane flesh, and that happened (as is formerly saide) in the Equinoctial of Summer, which is an argument and presupposition, that euen so hee placed it, when as he created it.

Of the time and day when as Christ suffered his Passion, compared with the day of the worlds creation.

Moreouer, it appeareth very credible, that it was so made, because such as know any thing in Astrologye, and in the Sphere, do well perceiue, that the Sunne entring into the degree of this signe, and making his reuolution by the space of a whole day: there is not any part of the world, which he leaueth vnlookt on with his bright splendour. And this he doth not in any other place of the Zodiaque, because in what place else soeuer hee is; there are some parts of the earth where he is not seene that day; but beeing in this first degree, as we haue saide, there is no place where he is vnseene, as hee walketh along

At what time the Sunne illuminateth all the world together, with the cleare radiance of his beames.

A reason alledged of good consequence for the Sunnes first appearing.

along in his diurnal course, or dayes iourney. And it standeth with good reason and conueniency, that the first day of the Sunnes setting foorth on prograce, hee should begin in such a place, where hee may best visite the whole world with his beames. And that it should bee in the signe Aries, rather then in that of Libra, appeareth plainly by our former relation, that on the day of our Lords passion, the Sunne was in the selfe-same place, therefore there is some particular power in this signe.

Against such as maintaine the worlds beginning in the Equinoctiall of winter

Holding this opinion then for the most certaine, I say, that the reason alledged, by such as would haue the beginning of the world, to bee in the Equinoctiall of September, is very weake. For it is not sufficient to say, that all the fruites were ripe and mellow; in regard it is no vniuersall rule: for when the fruites are ripened towards the Northerne latitude, they are not so in the South, but wholly quite contrary. And therefore I craue no helpe of their reason, who say, that the Equinoctiall of March (already prooued) is the beginning of the Spring-time, & of flowers ouer all the earth, all things beeing thē in procreation; for if with vs it be the beginning of Spring-time, it is then winter in the Southerne parts. Let our reasons then suffice, & the authority of such worthy men, to cleare all other doubt or scruple; although the Romane yeare, now in vse, seemeth to begin the first day of Ianuary: for this matter came so to passe, onely through the superstitious deuotion, which the Gentiles had to their God *Ianus*, coueting to haue their yeare beginne with his name, as the Christians began theirs with the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, albeit the yeare doth not then begin.

Of the Romane yeare, beginning the first day of Ianuary.

Marc. Varro in lib. 9 Macrob. in lib. 1. Ouid in Fast.

The Romanes (in like manner) began their yeare in March, according as *Marcus Varro* writeth, and *Macrobius* in his first Booke, *Ouid* in his *Fasts*, and many more beside. Also God shewed his immense goodnesse, in placing our first Parents *Adam* and *Eue*, in the Northerne parts of the earth, when he banished them out of the terrestriall Paradise; & that the first season which they saw in this world, was the Spring-time, finding the earth to be greene & flowry, with the ayre milde, sweete and temperare, which was done for the consolation of their misery and nakednesse, and so they could not haue found it, if it had not beene Spring-time.

The first season that Adā and Eue saw in the world was the Spring time.

At what time is the beginning of the Spring.

This matter being sufficiently prooued, wee must know that there are other Planets, and especially the Moone, as being one of the principall, whom some do maintaine, to be set by God in coniunction with the Sunne, on the first day of her creation. Others say, that she was in opposition, and at the full. Saint *Augustine* reporteth these two opinions, in his booke vpon Genesis, the fift Chapter, saying further, that such as maintaine her to bee in opposition, and at the full; do alledge for their reason; that it was very inconuenient, that at her beginning, God should create her any way defectuous. Others vrdge the contrary, and say it is more credible; that she began her first day in coniunction, encreasing in her age answerable to our account. But to quiet this controuersie, I say (in mine opinion) that God at such time as he created her, made her at full, and in opposition of the Sun. And it seemeth, that this iudgement is the most receiued, as of S. *Augustine*, in the place before alledged, and *Rabanus* on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, saith the very same. This appeareth conformable to holy Scripture, where it is saide: *God made two great lights, the greater light to gouerne the day, and the lesser light to illuminate the night.* Now in the very same instant as the Sunne began his light, hee gaue splendour to the moity of the world, because in that moity or halfe part, hee made day. But the other moity could haue no light of the Sunne, by reason of the earths shadow; therefore it seemeth consonant to reason, that in the other moity of the earth, where it was night, the Moone should extend her office of shining. For like as they were both created at one instant; so should they both fulfill their offices in one and the same instant, and the one to gouerne the day, as the other the night, according to the words of the Text, verefied apparantly, that the world was wholly lightened at one & the same time.

Of the Moon said to be in coniunction with the Sun at her creation.

Aug. in Gen. cap. 5.

Others ho'd her to be in opposition.

The Authors iudgement in this case.

Rabanus in Exod. cap. 12.

Gen. 1, 16.

The seuerall Offices of the Sunne and Moone for night & day, to be both done at one instant.

Contrariwise, if the Moone had bene in coniunction, the light common and vniuersall could not haue come till fifteene dayes after; and beside, three or foure dayes must needs haue passed, before she could lend any light to the earth, and that must

Against the coniunction of the Moone with the Sun at that time.

must be but very little too, euen as when we see her to be but four or fiue daies old. Therefore it was very conuenable, that these two famous lights shold illuminate the earth at one instant. I say moreouer, that the Moone then being in opposition with the Sunne, shee must needs haue her being on the other side of the signe *Libra*, for in her so being, she performd the same day the effects as the Sunne did, illuminating all the world, by her measurable pace of that dayes iourny; which else she could not haue done, if she had bin in any other place of the Zodiaque. Heereby it appeareth, that this opinion is the most likely; although *Iulius Firmicus* will needs say, that the Moone (at the time of her creation) had her first seating in the fifteenth degree of the signe *Cancer*, where shee affecteth most to be; & of this opiniō is *Macrobius*, in his first Book of *Scipios* dreame.

Of her then being in opposition with the Sunne.

Macrob. in lib. 1 de Somn. Scip.

As for the other Planets, it is very difficult to certifie them, and lesse profitable to know them: in which respect, I am willing to bestow the lesse paines on them. Neuertheless, *Iulius Firmicus*, in his second Booke before alledged, is so bold as to name the places where each of them is seated, saying: *Saturne* should bee in the signe *Capricorne*; *Iupiter* in *Sagittarius*; *Mars* in *Scorpio*; *Venus* in *Libra*; & *Mars* in *Virgo*; which are the signes wherein they haue most power, and being signes likewise appointed to these Planets. *Elpacus* himselfe maintayneth as much, according as *Ioannes Agricanus* declareth in his Summary, entitled *Agricano*; with *Macrobius* in his fore-named Booke of *Somno Scipionis*, and thereunto consenteth *Iulius Firmicus*, naming expresly the same signs, yet there are others, who haue thought, that in the recited instant, all the Planets were found to be in coniunction with the Sunne. *Gaultierus* the Monke, in his book of the Ages of the world, saith, that the ancient *Indians* held firmely this opinion. As for my selfe, I am of the minde, that God did then set the Planets in such distant places, one from another, especially from the Sunne; that on such a chosen day, each one of them might illuminate the earth with his beames. VVhich could not be, they beeing in coniunction with the Sunne, because his presence, within any certaine space or proportion, so hindereth the greatest luster of their light, that they cannot bee discerned on the earth. Notwithstanding, beeing created according to the will of God; *It sufficeth* (saith *Augustine*) *that they were made, in beeing perfected by the hand of God, whose workes (in what kinde soeuer they be) are perfect.*

Iul. Firmic. in lib. 2. de creat. Mund.

Elpacus in Tract. Astrolog. Ioan. Agrican. in Sum. Agric. Macrob. in lib. de Som. Scip.

Gault. in lib. de Mund. cap. 5.

The Planets not then in coniunction with the Sun.

Aug. in Gen. cap. 6.

CHAP. XXXV.

That men may learne examples by Birdes, Flyes, Wormes, and other Creatures, to leade the course of a vertuous life.

VVEe haue already declared in our first Volume, how Beasts & Birds haue enstructed men in a great part of the properties appertaining to Physicke, by purging and preseruing themselues from harmes: now I am briefely to entreate, how their example may bee profitable to vs, both in body and soule. And vndoubtedly, whosoeuer wil consider & contemplate, on the nature & properties abiding in beasts; shall not onely thence deriue good enstructions for life and safety of our humane bodies; but rules and examples beside, of good, commendable, and vertuous manners. VVhy do not men striue to purchase peace with their neighbours; seeing what concord and amity is among Beasts of all kindes, and how they keepe company, vnite themselues together in each kinde, and stand defensiue one for another? VVhy shame they not to bee slothfull and negligent, perceiuing & obseruing the care and sollicitude of the Ant, and after what manner shee maketh her prouision in Summer for VVinter? VVhat vassals and subiects are they, that will not serue and honor their good Princes; noting with what loue and obedience poore little Bees serue and honour their King, and that which they doe for him beside? In which respect, such Commonweales as haue no Prince, but enioy all things in common; may not they learne an example of liuing in peace and concord, by imitation of the poore Ants, who are so great in multitude, and yet preserue an order of peace & iustice among themselues? And why do not great Lords and Princes consider, what manfuetude and clemency all of them are obliged vnto; when

In the fifteen Chapter of the 7. Booke.

Concord and amity among brute beasts, exampled to men.

Slothfulnesse and negligēce reproued by the Ante.

Loue & duty to Princes taught by Bees.

Against common weales that haue no Prince.

Of clemency and manfuetude.

when they but behold the King of Bees, who doth no offence, neyther worketh any displeasure to the very meaneſt and filliest of his Subiects?

Humility and lowlineſſe of minde.

Our great Seigniors and high-minded men, may learne humility of the Camell, who falleth on his knees, to accept a heauy and ouer-chargeable burden. True and loyall married couples, may take example by the good custome among some Birds: especially Pigeons and Turtle-Doues, noting both in the Male and Female, that nothing but death can impeach their continuall companying, or hinder eyther from their first choyse. I finde written moreouer, concerning Turtle-Doues, that the one dying, the other remaineth in the condition of a widdow, & finisheth the remainder of her life in widdowhood. Saint *Ambroſe* writeth, that widdowed women may learne chastity of the Turtle-Doue. As touching continency, all beasts (well neere) do lesson vs therein: for after the Female hath conceiued, she neuer seeketh, or hath any appetite to the Male, till her full time be determined. They are likewise examples of temprance in all vices; because they eate no more then sufficeth to maintaine life, neyther sleepe they any more then necessity requireth.

Faithfull loue in marriage, enstructed by Pigeons and Turtle-Doues

Ambroſ. in Serm. de Nupt.

Continency taught (almost) by all kinde of Beasts.

Examples of Temperance.

To keepe our selues well and discreetly gouerned, the Peacoke may be our direction. For defence and maintenance of our houses, as also to liue liberally among our people; what better enstructer can we haue then the Cock? For he will part with the food out of his owne Beake, to giue it to his Hens, and when need requireth, he will expose himselfe to all perils in their defence. The great obligation, wherein children standeth bound to their Parents, and how they ought to serue and assist them, the Storke plainly witnesseth; by nourishing their aged Parents in their owne nests, as they fedde and maintayned them in their youth. Why should not men blush and be ashamed, to commit frailty and sinne through feare, knowing the inuincible courage of the Lyon? Faithfulnesse, friendship, and acknowledgement of receiued benefits, wee are notably taught by the meere behauiour of Dogs; that neuer forget the Masters they haue serued, but continually loue them, neuer ceasing to bee thankfull for the poorest bread they eate. If a man would benefit himselfe by the vse of another mans goods, yet without any harme or iniury done him; let him so carry himselfe in that case, as doth the little laboring Bee, who draweth hony out of the fairest flowers, and yet no wrong at all done to them.

For good order in behauiour.
For good and liberal house keeping.

Duty in children towards their parents.

Sinne committed throw feare and frailty.

Faithfulnesse, friendship, & good turnes receiued.

Benefit receiued without preiudice.

VVhat meanes and order we should daily obserue, for healthfull conseruation of our liues, we are not to learne it of any one beast onely, but of many, that know what food doth soonest offend them, as also in with-drawing from one place to another, according to the muration of times. Moreouer, they will liue in such soyles, as are answerable to their complexions and natures: excelling men herein as well as in all other things beside. VVhy should not men be absolutely learned, and ignorance in any thing quite remoued from them, beeing endued with hearing and vnderstanding: considering that an Elephant learneth whatsoeuer is shewne and taught him; a Dog attaineth to many familiar qualities; and Birds can speake, being thereto enstructed? He that heareth the Nightingales sweet Songs, and some other mellodious Birds; how can he but desire to sing musically? VVhy couet not men to be excellent builders, beholding the Swallowes skilfull enstruction; what arte shee declareth for her owne dwelling, and with what diuersity of matter it is composed? VVhat better Geometry, then that of the Spider? What better Astrologye, then that of the Ante, & likewise of a Fish (according to *Galen*) called * *Vranoſcopos*, that hauing but one eye, yet lookes continually vp to heauen? Haue men reason and iudgement, and yet are meerely ignorant in these Artes?

Healthfull preseruation of life.

Absolute learning and vnderstanding.

Skill in Musique.

Arte in building.

Geometry.

Astrologye.

Galen in lib. 4

* A Fish whose eye is alwayes directed vpward.

How many other industrious and excellent perfections are in brute Beasts, which men either haue, or else may learne of them? Passages vnder ground, making of Caues in the earth, and knowledge how to dwell in them; came they not first from the Mole and Fox? There are certaine little VVormes, in Latine called *Seres*, that enstructed the meanes and manner to spin and make Silke. Next, the Spider taught how to spin thred for cloth, & so to make Nets, whereby to catch Birds. Men learned of Beasts to swim in the water, for there is no one of them but can do it;

Dwelling vnder ground.

Making of Silke.

Making of cloth.

Catching of Birds.

Swimming in the water.

Rules for phisick, & knowledge in weather.

it; yet men cannot attaine thereto, but by practise and learning. What Physicall rules they haue taught men, and knowledge in the changes of weather, hath elsewhere bene handled; and yet notwithstading we make such prouision of them, for supply of hunger and other necessities, as I know not how wee could liue without their helpe. Our garments are made of theirs, and their flesh is our best Foode: both beeing brought home to vs from far remote countreyes, and whatsoeuer is needfull for vs, or else we send abroad to seeke after them. They labour, and make the earth plyable for our vse; whence we get our bread, and the best fruites of sustentation, so that they are the principall maintenance of our liues. And although they are sore laboured, pursued, and euill entreated by the spleenes of men: yet are they still obedient, both knowing, following, and euermore dooing them seruice.

Our wearing garments and foode.

The cheefest support of our liues.

Examples concerning the soule.

Come wee now to examples concerning the soule, as a matter of higher Argument, and much greater importance. Whence can a man deriue more worthie examples, both for vertues and good manners meete to bee in men, then from beasts? All those Vertues which naturall Philosophers hath perswaded vnto vs, are grounded on the similitudes and parables of Beasts: Oratours serued their turnes with them; and all that haue spoken or written elegantly.

All moral Parables grounded on beasts.

God and his Saints haue oftentimes in sacred Scripture, instructed and perswaded vs, by the properties & conditions of beasts, for the perfection of our liues: And the rules of vertue and ciuil manners do tell vs, that we should be wise like Serpents, and simple as Doues; milde, like Lambes, and strong and constant as Lyons. In like sort, by the example of bruite beasts, and voide of reason; we are taught to become men reasonable, and spiritually affected. We finde many Offices & estates in the Church, applyed and figured by beastes, and according vnto theyr properties. By Oxen (according to S. *Augustine*, writing on the second Chapter of S. *Iohn*) such men are signified, as doe publish and preach the holye Scriptures: for they till and plough vppe the knotted furrowes of our soules, sowing therein the seedes of Gods most glorious word.

Beasts commended to vs in holy Scripture, for our imitation.

Reasonable men instructed by example of bruite beasts.

August. in lib. sup. Ioan. cap. 2.

Saint *Paule*, and *Salomon* in his Prouerbes doeth say; *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Oxe that laboureth*, Rom. 9. verse 7. Prouerb. 12. chap. 14. The holy Doctors and Preachers of the Church, that with Doctrine and good Lawes doe gouerne and defend it, are termed Dogs. Saint *Gregorie* speakes it on the wordes of *Iob*: *Quorum non dignabar patres ponere cum canibus gregis mei*. The same Saint *Gregorie*, inuiteth men vnto a contemplatiue kinde of life, by the immitation of Goates, that alwayes climbe vp to high places, spending there their time in contemplation as it were: the wordes in *Leuiticus* seem his motiue thereto, Leuitic. chapt. 14. verse 12. *Out of the Herd let the Goate be offered.*

Gregor. in lib. 13. de Moral.

Contemplatiue kinde of life.

Moreouer hee sayth, that Preachers should immitate the Cocke; as grounding on the words of *Iob*, who sayde; *Who hath giuen vnderstanding to the Cock?* Adding withall, that (like vnto the Cocke) they proclaime (in the dimme darkenesse of this life) the glorious light that is to come, and awake vs with their shrill voyces, out of sleepy sinnes, saying with S. *Paul, The night is past, and day approacheth.* And againe, *It is time for vs to arise from sleepe, looke abroad yee iust, and sinne not.* Phil. 1, 12.

Gregor. in Lib. vbi supra.

Preachers compared to the Cocke.

Ephes. 3, 9.

The Church her selfe, pure, holy, and immaculate, is compared to a Doue, as *Salomon* declareth in his Canticles, saying. *Beholde, thou art faire my Loue, thine eyes are like the Doues.* And againe in another place: *O my Loue, O my Doue.* We see likewise, that of the foure Euangelists three are figured by three beastes. If I wold continue longer on this argument, I could finde matter enough to discourse on. But aboue all other, that of our Sauiour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, is the most notable, who would bee figured by a Beast, as Saint *Iohn* speaketh in his Apocalypse, chapt. 7. verse 14. *The Lyon of the Tribe of Iudah hath beene victorious.* And *Dauid* sayeth in his Psalmes, *Rouze thee like a Lyon:* and so in many other places, which were too long to rehearse. Beside, in S. *Mathew*, he tearmeth himselfe a Hen, saying; *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem, how often would I haue gathered thee & thy children together, as the Hen gathereth hir Chickens vnder her wings, and ye would not.*

The Church resembled to a Doue.

Cant. 3, 1, 2.

Iesus Christ figured by a beast.

Psalme 120, 8

Matth. 23, 37.

Seeing

Christs works compared to the properties in beasts.

Seeing then, that Christ compareth his workes to the properties of Beastes; men may doe well to receiue instruction from them, in leading a good and holie life. And contrarywise, what shame and confusion is it to vs, to see and know, that all kinde of Beasts do follow theyr nature perfectly, and men (onely made reasonable) vse their owne so badly, abusing that super-excellent gift very vilely. For, he that ought most to honor God, doth most of all offend him, and farre beyonde all other creatures, dayly peruerting and adulterating his works. So that there are some beasts, of whome men may learne much better examples, then from some kind of men among whom they liue. For they haue more apprehension of iustice, and offend farre lesse, then men that knowe what is their dutie, and yet do it not. And therefore, God deliuereth it by the mouth of the Prophet *Esay*: *The Oxe knoweth his Master, and the Asse his Cribbe; but Israel knoweth him not, neither will his people vnderstand him.*

Man more offensiue vnto God then all his other creatures.

Some men do giue worse examples to men, then bruite beastes can do.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of neglect in Martiall Discipline: and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues thorow drunkennesse, and vvant of following such courses, as are to be obserued in Military affayres.

In the eight chapt. of the 2. Book in the first volume.

WEE haue already declared, how *Bayan Chinsan*, Lieutenant to the Tartarian Emperor *Cublay*, and directer of his Military forces, tooke 12 Cities and Townes (by assault) at his first arriuall, for conquering the great Prouince of *Maugy*, before all the rest would yeeld themselues tributary. One of them was vtterly ruined to the very foundation and worse vsed then any other known to be, during the Empire of the said *Cublay*, which was aboue fixe and thirtie yeares. This City being called *Cinguinguy*, was the second in wealth, greatnesse, and multitude of inhabitants, in all the rich Kingdome of *Maugy*, and the reason why it was wholly ruined, followeth thus.

Cinguinguy the second Cittie in the kingdome of Maugy.

Bayan Chinsan, pursuing his Conquests, was much withstood by a strong Castle, builded vpon a small mountaine, very potent by naturall situation, and artificiall constructure. For therein continued a powerfull Garrison, that preuayled with great aduantages on his Army, passing along the foote of that Mountain: and this was the reason that he would proceed on no further, till hee had deriued some better correspondencie from the people of this Garrison. And yet he durst promise to himselfe, that (within some small distance of time) he should preuaile against them, as afterwardes it prooued true indeed.

A strong Castle resisteth Bayans passage.

In the meane while, and at the selfsame instant, the explorators or scoutes vvere come backe againe, which he had sent to surueigh the estate of *Cinguinguy*, who made knowne vnto him, that the people of the Citty appeared, to knowe nothing of his comming, neyther stood vpon any guard, or preparation to expect a besiedging. This was the cause (to the end hee might the better preuent them) that hee forthwith dispatched a squadron of thirty thousand men, armed at the lightest, and very good soldiers, all of them being christians (which came among the Tartarian Idolaters in open liberty, as the Iews haue done from all times of antiquity, and dayly yet doe) to possesse themselues of the Citie, and hinder the entrance of any succour, either by way of power or victuals, assuring them likewise, that he would follow them with all conuenient speede that might be.

Return of his scoutes from Cinguinguy.

The comm&d that Bayan gaue to his squadron of Christians.

This warlike band of Christians, made such speedy diligence, that (within three dayes) they arriued before the Citty, and lodged themselues on the Ditches side, before any in the Citty took notice ther-of. They made the scalado in so many seuerall places, and disposed their Archers so conueniently, as no one durst peep out at any of the battlements, or elsebe seene vpon the wals. At length, the besiedged (imagining the army that had thus engirt thē, was of far greater strength then it vvas indeed) being ouercome with feare, rendred themselues to the discretion & mercy of the assaylants, to the end, they might finde the more humanity at their handes. The gates being set open, the Christians entred, taking vp their lodgings in seue-

The Christians arriuall before Cinguinguy

The men of Cinguinguy yeelde to the Christians.

ral

rall houses. And these indiscreete conquerors, without any other care of military discipline, finding the Citty well furnished with victuals of all kindes,& whatsoeuer was needfull for the life of man, but (aboue all) plenty of rich wines; fell to making themselues good cheere, and drinking hard, after the German manner, till they fell asleepe with the pots in their hands.

The careless neglect of Christians in their victory, continuing still in surfet and drunkennesse.

Heereuppon the Inhabitants finding themselues deceiued,in yeelding to so smal a number of people,that had no better vnderstanding in actions of warre,neither knew how to vse the fortune so fairely befalne them; began to consult heereon with themselues, and how to worke their deliuerance with as much speed, as they were ouer-hasty in losing their liberty. The Christians continuing in this drunken behauiour, without any feare at all of the Inhabitants, that lodged the Soldiors in their houses,though not halfe so many as they were able to receiue: in one night it was fully concluded,that euery host should kill his guest, and so it was accordingly performed. Afterward,they threw their bodies into the great Riuer, which runneth through the midst of the Citty,saying: These are the renegadoes and faith-breakers, men of Christian Religion, of whom the Emperour *Cublay* made no great account,but suffered them to carry crosses in their Ensigns,to shame them the more in their least ill demeanour.

The Army of Christians slaine in their drunkennesse and shamefully vsed by the Inhabitants.

Bayan Chinsan hauing surprized the foresaid castle,commanded the Captains to be hanged,and the castle quite ruined; but pardoned all the Soldiours, iourneying afterward on to *Cinguinguy*: but within lesse then two dayes iourney,hee heard how all his men were slaine,therefore hee brought a strong siedge before the Citty. The Inhabitants were not a little amazed, beholding so powerfull an Army to beset them, and conducted by a man so highly renowned: and therefore desired to haue a Parlee before any farther proceeding,which accordingly was granted. The summe of the Oration propounded by the Deputies, was thus. That they could not deny a manifest truth, but that they had slaine a number of runnagates, masterlesse men,seeming to haue no faith or honesty,neither shewing any open apparance of their power; but suddenly surprized their Citty. Moreouer,that they were all Christians, more addicted vnto wine and gourmandizing, then any respect of valour or manhood: in which regard,his losse was little or none at all, by the deserued ouerthrow of such careless people, and they humbly desired pardon, if in this case they had transgressed.

The strong Castle taken by Bayan,& tydings brought him of his mens slaughter.

A Parlee required before further proceeding,and answer returned by them of Cinguinguy.

Wine and gourmandizing more respected then manhood.

Bayan returned his answer brauely and succinctly, saying. His men were warriours, that had no other direction in this businesse, but commaund from his mouth onely, and he had beene well enformed,that they tooke the Citty by faire order of warre; without offending any one in their goods, or violence offered to wiues or mayds, or disarming any Inhabitant, but suffering them to continue in their wonted liberty. And in being Christians,they did not therefore deserue death, because he could as well tollerate them, as his Master the Emperour, who not onely suffered them to liue in all his Countries, without the least iniury done vnto them; but hauing conquered kingdomes,wholly Christian, he neuer innouated any matter touching their Religion. Moreouer, the greater part of Officers in his Court, and the very worthiest of his warriours, were all Christians, being men more faithful,and of better conuersation,then any other Religion whatsoeuer.

Bayans reply to the men of Cinguinguy.

The Christians defended in their profession,and whole kingdomes conquered,permitted to enioy the benefit of their religion.

As for their neglect in martiall discipline,he did not allow it in them,but confessed, that they deserued death therein, which (doubtlesse) himselfe would haue inflicted on them; condemning them for beeing so forward, in executing any authority belonging onely to him. For which boldnesse (with an absolute denyall of pardon or fauour) he vowed to bee reuenged on the men of *Cinguinguy*; because (against all fidelity) they had slaine his men, and declared monstrous ingratitude for their extraordinary mansuetude, and thence hee pretended to deriue his reason.

Bayan denieth pardon or fauour,vowing death and bloody reuenge.

Hauing thus spoken, hee would see them no more, but in this rough manner dismissed them. About an houre after, he caused his Rammes and other Engines of battery, to bee mounted, for destruction of the walles and houses, and within few dayes after, tooke the Citty, with-

In what manner Bayan destroyed the Citty of Cinguinguy.

Children sold at the Outcry, to who gaue most.

without any great resistance, putting all the men to the sword, that were aboue 14 yeares of age. Women and maides went whither themselues pleased; but for their children, they were sold at the Out-crie, to such as would giue the most mony for them: for there were certaine merchants of *Bengala*, which followed the army that did trafficke onely in such kinde of merchandise, and so do yet to this day. Afterward, vittailes beginning to faile, & the warlike enemy, hauing emptied the cittie of all the wealth; he commanded it to be set on fire, and that the Army should not boudge thence, vntil it were intirely consumed.

The description of the situation of the Citty of Cinguinguy, and the commodities made therein.

This Citty was seated on a goodly riuer, large and nauigable, whereby, the cõmerce which it made with other countries, returned infinite profit and wealth. In it was made the richest & fairest works wrought with the needle, both in cloth of golde and siluer, as no other Citty in the world beside had the like. There were also made sumptuous vessells (for all vses) both of gold and siluer, by most admirable cunning, and in great plenty: besides costly clothes of fine Cotten, gold, siluer and silke. In briefe, it was the second or third Citty (as then) in all those parts: which was thus destroyed, thorow the drunkennes of *Nestorian* Christians, and by the perfidy of the Inhabitants, euen as *Troyan Illium* by luxurie & whoredome, since when it was neuer rebuilded, or inhabited. The ruines thereof may bee seene to this day, whereat full many haue stoode amazed, it being scituated in so potent a territory: but it was thought to proceed from the iust displesure of God, and for the bloudy massacre of so many Christians.

Cinguinguy the second or third citty in al those parts.

A view of som such disorders among our selues.

We may now come homeward, and nearer to our selues, and speake of the like faults, as were among these *Tartarian* Christians, thorow lacke of knowledge, how to make vse of victorie: As not long since was seene in *Fraunce*, in the first battaile giuen neere to *Dreux*, betweene the *French* Protestants and the Catholiques, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1562. vnder *Charles* the ninth. The Prince of *Conde*, being chief of those Protestants, ouerthrew with his horsemen (wherein he was strongest) a great part of the royall Catholique Armie, whereof *Anne de Montmorancy*, Constable, was commanded, putting the *Zwitzers* to flight, and the sayde Constable taken prisoner. Heereupon the Protestants becomming insolent, and vtterly vnmindfull of Militarie Discipline: left their rankes, brake their order, gaue the chase, pursuing after certayne runawayes, and, before they had fully conquered all their enemies; they beganne to gape after pillage with the *Swart-rutters* and *Launce-knights*. During this disorder, *Monsieur de Guyse*, a most wise and valiant Captaine, hauing yet left him a band of braue men, beganne to set vpon those negligent fellowes with his troupes, and running on the Protestants (who imagined they had the whole victorie, which they knew not how to holde) got the better of them, and tooke their Leader the Prince of *Conde*, becomming sole maister of the field. Thus, not knowing how to vse Militarie Discipline, by breaking their rankes, following the chase, and scraping for pillage, when they had gotten the better of their enemies safe and soundly, yet not hauing wholly ouercome them: did they not declare themselues very vnaduised, becomming guilty and well worthie of death? I am perswaded, that all good warriours are of that opinion. And so it happened, for thus the Protestant Armie was vtterly foyled, which was (wellneare) equall in great Captaines and good men to the Royall. But such losse doth almost daily happen, where Military discipline is not obserued.

The fault of the Protestãts in the battaile at Dreux.

The Duke of Guise a verie worthie and tried warrior, ouerthrew the Protestants, and tooke the Prince of Cõde prisoner.

The Protestãt Army vtterly foyled.

What the Christians ought to haue done, vppon their victorie at Cinguinguy.

They that (at so cheape a rate) tooke the Citty of *Cinguinguy*, should haue disarmed the Cittizens, seazed the strongest places into their owne power, planted Courts of guard in all the most frequented parts of the Citty, imprisoned the chiefest persons, expelled out of the Citty, a greater part of the youthfull and most forward men, if they would not kill them, without vsing such courtesie after conquest. In so doing, they had kept Martiall discipline on foote, and auoyded the losse of their owne liues, besides the reproach, to their great infamie. But ouer and aboue all the rest, they should (as much as in them lay) haue abstayned from wine: For there is not anie thing, that sooner bereaueth a

Wine most hurtful to any good Souldiour.

good Souldiour of manly iudgement, and maketh him merely brutish in behauiour.

CHAP. XXXVII.

¶ *Of the miserable ends, and other strange trauerses, endured by diuerse Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these times.*

The Authour shapeth his course in this argument after Petrarke.

ACcording to the imitation of *Petrarke*, I am desirous to describe the vnhappie ends, and other aduersities, happening vnto diuerse famous Christian Princes; as Kings, Emperours, Dukes, Popes, and other Prelates, liuing within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these dayes, some of them being familiarly knowne to vs; omitting such as the *Greekes* and *Latines* haue set downe in their writings, because I would not be troublesome to the Reader, by repeating Histories else-where to be read; (and perhappes) knowne to him before. And if it come to passe, that any worthie person, constituted in some eminent dignitie, chaunce to feele the fickleness of Fortune, by such occasions as shall ensue in this Chapter; let him take comfort, and forsake all sadnesse; for it is no meane consolation to the miserable, to haue store of companions ranked with them in their disasters.

Aduice to persons of honor and eminence

George King of Bohemia *in Anno* 1466.

We will begin then with a king of *Bohemia* named *George*, who liued in the yere 1466, who was reputed to be a man of great wisedome, and was elected *(in sede vacante)* or *inter-regnum* after the death of *Iadislaus*, who died on the very day of his marriage, solemnized at *Prage*, the capitall cittie of his Kingdome, hauing taken in marriage Madame *Magdalen*, daughter to *Charles* the seauenth King of *Fraunce*. This *George* hauing obtayned the amitie of many in the Kingdome, and making himselfe much feared beyond many other; was installed King, and gaue his daughter in marriage, to *Mathias* King of *Hungarie*. In his elder yeres *Ferdinand* King of the *Romaines*, brother to *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, possessed himselfe of his Kingdome, he holding then but a small portion thereof, because hee was molested many yeares before, by the Kings of *Poland*, *Hungaria*, and some Emperours, by the solicitation of Pope *Paule*, the second; for sauouring of the *Hussites* Doctrine, in which cause he was so vehemently afflicted, that it shortened his dayes. He dyed much bemoaned; for in his youth, and while his body held the strongest vigour, hee performed many notable and worthie exploits in warres against the *Turkes*.

King George one of the Hussites religion.

Another Prince, some short while before, *Charles Bourgony*, Sonne vnto *Phillip*, one of the most potent and vndoubted Christian Princes, that was in those times, beeing in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand foure hundred and two and twenty. Hee vnderstoode himselfe to be so rich and mightie, that hee pretended to create himselfe a King. But *Fredericke* the third of that name, beeing then Emperour, would not admit such an aduancement of his Countrey. His father left him great store of coyne, and many large reuenewes of diuerse Seigneuries: hauing lent foure hundred thousand crownes to *Charles* the seauenth, holding all the Townes and Countries, on, and about the riuer of *Somme*; as *Amiens*, *Abeuille*, Saint *Quintines*, and others beside. Hee held also (by way of mortgage) of *Sigismund*, Archduke of *Austria* in *Germany*, the lands to him belonging, both on this side, and beyond the Riuer of *Rheine*, and the Earledome of *Ferrat*, for three score and tenne thousand florins: whereby ensued, the Gouernour which he placed ouer those Lands, was the cause of diuerse mis-happes and ignominies, that followed vpon him very suddenly.

Charles duke of Burgogne, son to Phillip.

400000. thousand crownes lent to King Charles the seauenth.

The greatnes and riches of Charles duke of Burgogne, with the seuerall lands that he was Lord of.

Moreouer, hee was Lord of foureteene goodly Prouinces; as the Dutchy of *Bourgogne*, the *French Court*, of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, *Henault*, *Artois*, *Namures*, *Gueldres*, *Luxembourg*, *Vtrecht*, and *Embourg*, all which Countries valewed well a large Kingdome.

And in regarde of his pompe and wealth

wealth, he became so proude, that hee durst vndertake the boldnesse (vpon some small suspition conceiued, that *Lewes* the eleuenth King of *Fraunce*, had intelligence with them of *Liege*, beeing then his enemies) to imprison the sayd King in the great Tower of *Peronne*, where they met both together, vnder the colour of friendly conference. And there he made him condiscend to follow him (like a water Spaniell) in the warres, which hee had against the Inhabitants of *Liege*, euen vntill hee had ruined theyr Townes, and all the Countrey: Heere seated *Edward* king of *England*, beeing expelled from his Kingdome; giuing him mony, and an armie by Sea, to bring it to passe.

Lewes the eleuenth imprisoned by duke *Charles*.

Afterward, hee would needes coape in Armes with the Emperour, and (almost) all the Princes of *Germanie*: besieging the Towne of *Nuz* (which is not farre from *Cologne*) for the space of a yeare, but all in vaine. Euery one reputed him to be great, happy, and inuincible: but we shal soone perceiue the contrary, and how (by little and little) hee trode the path to his owne ruine, as briefly I purpose to relate. It fortuned, that this *Charls* had instituted as Gouernour ouer those Lands, which he held mortgaged by the Arch-Duke of *Austria*: a thiefe and tyrant, named *Peter de Hagembach*, Counte of *Thierstein*, who (so much as in him lay) tormented both them of *Mulhuse*, and the *Switzers*: whereupon, they took him prisoner, and hauing proceeded against him by due forme of Lawe: they degraded him of his order of Knighthoode, and afterwards beheaded him in the open Market place.

The bold presumption of Charles duke of Burgogne.

Peter de Hegembach Count of Thiersteine, Deputie to Duke Charles in Austria, degraded and beheaded.

Next, the seauenty thousand florins were consigned ouer to a Banquer of *Basile*, and to the Duke it was signified by an Herald, that hee held no more right ouer the Country, then what the Arch-Duke had mortgaged vnto him. Hereat hee grew verie highly offended, and sought all meanes how to be reuenged; especially for the death of *Peter de Hagembach*. Then hee assembled an Armie, being assisted by the Duke of *Millaine*, and the Dutchesse of *Sauoy*; taking *Lausanna*, which was confedered with the *Switzers*.

The beginning of the Dukes downfall and misfortunes.

Thence hee went and besieged the Towne and Castle of *Granson*, sollicyting them to yeeld themselues. They hauing humbly submitted themselues, the Duke commaunded foure score of them to be hanged, and an hundred more to bee drowned, in the neareste Lake adioyning to the Cittie. This inhumane act did not onely moue the *Switzers*; but likewise them of high *Germanie*, who with an Army belonging to the Arch-Duke of *Austria* (whereof *Harman d'Extingen* was the conducter) expelled the Duke from *Granson*, and slew a great part of his Army; taking beside, his Artillerie and furniture for warre, which was, great and rich. Afterward, taking downe all their friends, which the Duke had caused to bee hanged; in their places they hung vp as many *Bourgognions*.

An Armie assembled by the Duke.

A most inhumane deed of the Duke.

The Duke chased from Granson, and his furniture for warre taken.

The moueables of his house, which hee would alwayes haue carryed along with him, were of extraordinary valew: for among them were so many rich tents, all of costly silkes, and vessells both of golde and siluer, embellished with store of precious stones, that it would require too long time to recount them. There were some *Switzers*, that sold great store of siluer plates, for two great blankes a peece, not knowing their valew and estimation. A Diamond, thought to bee the greateste and cleareste that those times affoorded; and, esteemed more worth then fiftie thousand crownes, was solde for twelue Sols. A faire bathing tubbe of siluer, richly guilded, wherein he vsed to bathe himselfe, was solde for foure pounds. I cannot heere set downe, the rich clothes of Tapistrie, wrought with vn-ualuable workes of silke and golde, for him to treade on whereseoeuer hee went. To be briefe, the Reader would be wearied in rehearsall of the incredible wealth and riches, which this vnfortunate prince lost, and whereof his greateste enemies made their triumph.

The Dukes moueables caried always with him in warre.

The great simplicitie of the Switzers, in making sale of the Dukes treasure.

Then falling into a long and greeuous sickenesse, at the length hee recouered, and taking courage to himselfe againe, hee returned the second time against the power and force of the *Switzers*. Hee had formerly taken *Nancie* from *Renè*, Duke of *Lorraine*; wherefore the sayde Duke of *Lorraine* forthwith ioyned his forces with the *Switzers*.

The Duke of *Bourgongne* being before *Morat*, the people of the Towne yſſued forth, and ſo beſet the army of the *Bourguignons*, that twenty thouſand (according to *Faſciculus Temporum*) or twentie two thouſand, and ſeuen hundred (according to the *Mother of Hiſtories*) were ther ſlaine. The ſpoyle was left to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewiſe recouered *Nancy* againe afterward.

Faſcic. Temp. Mater Hiſtor.

Rene Duke of Lorraine.

A third time likewiſe, the Duke of *Bourgongne*, being not a little offended, that he ſhold be vanquiſhed by ſo mean a Prince as the Duke of *Lorraine*, and hee recouering the Towne of *Nancy*; returned with freſh forces, and beſiedged it againe with fourteene thouſand able fighting men, beſide ſome other bandes in expectation. The Duke of *Bourgongne* was diſcomfited, and all his army; but by no meanes could his body be found. The *Bourguignons* could not be perſwaded that hee was ſlaine: but hauing eſcaped from the field, hee had retyred himſelfe into Germanie, where he had vowed to liue in ſeuen years penitence.

A third battel vndertaken by the Duke of Bourgongn and loſt alſo.

The vanity of the Bourguignons concerning the Dukes death.

There were ſome *Bourguignons*, that made ſale of precious Stones, Horſes, and ſuch like things, to be paide againe vpon his returne, and namely to *Brachelles*, in the Dioceſſe of *Spire*. There was a poore Begger, immagined to bee the Duke of *Bourgongne*, becauſe he liued in the like eſtate of penance; which made verie many trauaile to ſee him, and beſtow very liberall almes on him. *Nauclerus* reporteth, that he ſaw the poore man begging in the ſame place. The King of *France*, hearing the Duke was dead, ſeized on *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Peronne*, *Abbeuille*, *Monſtreul*, *Arras*, *Heſdin*, and the two *Bourgongnes*, to wit, the Dutchy and Countie. The men of *Gaunt* tooke his Daughter, that gouerned his eſtates very poorely, and marryed her as themſelues pleaſed; ſhe hauing put to death the Chancellor, and other of his beſt officers. Thus you ſee how this great Prince ended his life, accompanied vvith many misfortunes.

Naucler. in lib. 7. cap. 10.

The vnfortunate end of ſo great a Duke.

Vladiſlaus, King of *Poland*, a young and gallant Prince, was called by the *Hungarians* to be their King, in the yeare 1440. He conceiued ſuch glory by ſeeing himſelfe King of two ſuch mighty Kingdoms, that he thought himſelfe to be inuincible. Whereuppon, being deſirous to imploy his valour in warre againſt ſome enemie, that might take notice of his courage and power; he brake faith and Truce, which the *Hungares* had made with the Turk the yeare before. In the firſt battayle hee gaue, he was quickely ſlayne, and hadde but a ſhort enioying of his two Kingdomes; for, thorow the inconſtancie of Fortune, his pretended felicity was ſoon cut off, and all his ſuppoſed power vtterly quailed.

Vladiſlaus K. of Poland and Hungaria, & howe little a while hee enioyed both his kingdoms, thorough his owne folly.

The Emperor of the Eaſt, *Conſtantine Paleologus*, ſome fifteen yeares after, went to keepe company with this young King *Vladiſlaus*, in the other world. For *Conſtantinople*, the Metropolitane Cittie of his Empire, was beſiedged and taken by *Mahomet* the ſecond, ſir-named the *Great*, thorow the negligence and treacherie of *Iohn Iuſtinian* of *Geneway*; *Mahomet* hauing 300000. able fighting men, and foure hundred Cannons, and the ſiedge continued threeſcore dayes. The Emperour (in flight) was met withall, and murthered neere vnto the Gate: his head being carryed vppon a Launces point, and ſo conueighed quite thorow the Cittie, while his bodye was trodden vnto dirte with their feete. *Mahomet* alſo cauſed a Crucifixe to bee erected, and wrote vpon it (in ſcornefull deriſion) theſe words: *This is the GOD of the Chriſtians*: commanding likewiſe, that euery one ſhould caſt dung and filthe vppon the fayre Image.

Conſtantine Paleologus, Emperour of the Eaſt.

The power of Mahomet before Conſtantinople.

The Emperors body troden vnder foote, and his head cut off.

The wife to the Emperour, with her daughters, and the very Nobleſt Ladyes attending on them, were brought before *Mahomet*; and after all reproach was done vnto them, euen the verie greateſt Villanies in the world, their bodies were hacked and hewne in peeces.

The ſhame done vnto the Empreſſe, and her daughters

Some few dayes after, there was another King (but of three dayes ſtanding) put to death likewiſe. VVhich I may by no meanes omit, becauſe it was the forenamed *Iohn Iuſtinian* the *Genoueſe*, a trayterous Villaine. For hee had concluded with *Mahomet*, that if he would make him King, he would yeelde vp *Conſtantinople*, or be the meanes whereby hee ſhoulde ſurprize it. *Mahomet* kept promiſe with him; for hee conſtituted him a King for three dayes ſpace: and on the fourth day, hee commanded his head to bee ſmitten off. So ſayeth *Faſciculus Temporum*; and that

The Treaſon of Iohn Iuſtinian, and his iuſt requitall, being a King of three daies ſtanding.

that theſe things happened in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred fifty three, about the Moneth of May.

Of Charles the eight, K. of France.

I am ſure few people are ignorant, in what Beds of ſtate, the noble Kings of France vſe to take their reſt, and vnder what rich Pauillions; yet the inquity of our times hath beene ſuch, that a Kings lodging hath bene more vile then a Iaxe. I ſpeake of King *Charles* the eight of that name, who returning home to his kingdome, hauing beene in *Italy*, where hee conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, and the great Dukedomes of *Calbria* and *Apulia*, and wonne two famous battailes in thoſe countries: vpon a Palme Sunday Eeue, being the ſeuenth of Aprill, one thouſand foure hundred ninety eight, leading his Queene by the hand, *Anne* of *Bretaigne*, to ſee certaine Gentlemen play at the Tennis, in a Ditch belonging to the Caſtle of *Amboiſe*, entred into an olde, broken, vncouered Gallery, where he gaue his head a great blow againſt the vpper part of the doore, albeit himſelfe was but of lowe ſtature. Taking hold vpon ſome ſtayes for his recouery, neere vnto a noyſome place, where euery one that would (by cuſtome) vſed to let paſſe their vrine, and other vncleanneſſe of the body; he was contented to endure it, and ſtood there merrily diſcourſing with the Queene, and other noble perſons there preſent, iudging who deſerued beſt of them that played. Suddenly hee was ouercome with a rheume or catarre, which taking from him all his ſtrength and motion in euery part of his body, he was depriued likewiſe of his ſpeech. This was perceiued by all there-about him, and how he lay vppon the ground, in ſuch a foule, ſtinking, and vnſeemely place; yet no one had the care, or ſubiect-like affection, to beare him thence to his royall bed, which was not aboue twenty paces off.

His conqueſt of Naples, Calabria and Apulia.

What fate hath ordayned to a man, cannot be auoyded.

Little care had of ſo famous a King, & in ſo great an extremity, to let him die in ſo ſtinking a place.

Hee languiſhed in this manner, for the ſpace of nine houres, and dyed there in that noyſome place. Is it not a matter deſeruing admiration, that ſo worthy a King ſhould dye in ſo vile a place, being in his owne houſe, among his Officers, and many of the Nobility? Hee that was King of the ſweete ſmelling Floure-de-Luce, to expire and ende his dayes, not among hearbs or flowers of pleaſing ſauour; but in a place full of filth, then which, the whole world could yeelde no worſe?

And to ſhew yee, that great Princes are as ſubiect to dye in battailes, as the ſimpleſt Souldiours: *Iames*, King of *Scottes*, may ſerue as an example, for hee was ſlayne in the field, with twoo Biſhoppes, a great part of his Nobility, and many men of warre, that happned in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred and thirteene. And the yeare following, *Iohn d'Albrot* king of *Nauarre*, loſt his Kingdome, which was ſeazed by *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, becauſe hee ſtoode accurſed by Pope *Iulius*, for aſſiſting King *Lewes* the twelfth, in warre againſt him; and aboue all, in the battaile of *Rauenna*, which vntill this preſent his Succeſſours neuer enioyed.

Iames the fourth, King of Scots, ſlain in battaile.

Iohn d'Albret King of Nauarre loſt his kingdome.

And *Lewes Sforza*, Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Millaine*, was led priſoner into *Fraunce*, flying before the *French* to *Nauarra*, a Citty of his Dukedome; hee was confined to impriſonment, within the great Tower of *Bourge*, where (in great want and pouertie) hee finiſhed his dayes.

Lewes Sforza, Duke of Millaine, confined in priſon, where he dyed.

What ſhall wee ſay of King *Frances*, firſt of that name, the Father of Learning, whoſe wiſedome and magnanimitie, could not warrant him againſt the Ambuſcadoes of Fortune, no more then any of them before remembred? Hee fell into the hands of *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, enuious of his greatneſſe, and had beene his competitour in the Empire, oppoſing himſelfe againſt many of his deſſignes. Hee detayned him priſoner aboue a yeare; during which time, hee had a moſt yrkeſome diſeaſe, which compelled him (for enioying of his liberty, to yeeld to many hard and grieuous conditions. As, to renounce and diſclayme a multitude of rights, which hee pretended to many Dukedomes, Earledomes, and Kingdomes. Beſide, he gaue ſo great a quantity of money, as well for his expences, as diſcharge of martiall affaires, and his ranſome withall, that his kingdome (for euer after) felt the ſmart thereof.

Frances the firſt, King of France, the patrone of learning.

The hard enforcements of King Frances.

And not onely haue temporall Princes felt the rigour of inconſtant Fortune; but Eccleſiaſticall perſons alſo, how-

The Author speaketh now of Spirituall persons.

howsoeuer high and great degree, they haue carried in the world. For in the year 1410. Pope *Iohn* was put in prison, flying from the Councell of *Constance*, and was guien in guard to *Lewes*, Count *Palatine*, deposed from his Office, and one called *Martine*, fifte of that name, seated in his place, being likewise very inhumanly entreated, for the space of three yeares. Afterwardes, by the humanity of the sayde *Martine*, he was set at liberty, and created Cardinall: whereby euery man may perceiue, how farre this *Iohn* was falne from his former degree.

Pope Iohn deposed and imprisoned.

The bishop of Liege, Brother vnto the Duke of Bourgongn, a lord both spiritual & temporal.

In the yeare 1466. the byshop of *Liege* brother to the fore-named Duke of *Bourgongne*, by his wife, who was of the house of *Bourbon*: beside his Office, hee was a Prince of the Empire, a Lord both spirituall and temporall, and holding so great and rich a countrey, as that of *Liege*. He was taken prisoner by his subiectes, and a great sort of his friendes and officers (among whome were ten Abbots and Protonotaries, or Canons, al of worthy houses) massacred in his presence, & himselfe kept prisoner for long time, and in great misery. At length hee got safely away, hauing (by money) won his Guards consent thereto.

The butchering of an arch byshop, and 4 Cardinals.

At *Florence*, in the yeare 1448. the arch-Byshop of the saide place, being cloathed in his habiliments of Priest-hood, and saying Masse, was sodainely surprized, and hanged or strangled at a Window, by the hands of the hangman; beside foure Cardinalles massacred by the people, and many other Ecclesiasticall persons beheaded.

Pope Clemēt taken prisoner, & Rome rauaged or pilled by greedy Soldiours.

And although Popes (as hath beene held) by their great and spirituall authority, might impose silence vpon Christian Princes, from vndertaking warres, but to keepe themselues in quiet, and likewise to take armes at his command, for the affairs of the Christian world; yet it came so to passe, that Pope *Clement* was taken prisoner, and locked vp seuen months space in his castle of S. *Angelo*, kept by a guard of *Spaniards* and *Germaines*, and all of them Heretikes (wel-neere) about him. The City of *Rome* was greeuously pilled, the Temples ransacked and prophaned; all which happened by the Souldiers of *Charles* the fift, a Catholike Emperour, in the yeare 1527.

After these men of Ecclesiasticall profession, it shall not differ much from our purpose, to conclude this chapter with the death of three potent Kings, that died all three in one day: to the end, wee may obserue how vnhappy it is for Princes, to thinke that they can well manage their affaires, in medling amongst the quarrels of other Princes, as puisant euery way as thēselues.

The death of three Kings, all in one day

The memorable History of Muley Mahumet, & Abdelmelec, Kings in Barbarie.

It came to passe, that two Princes contended for the kingdome of *Fez* and *Marocco*, situated in *Barbarie* of *Affrica*: the one of them being named *Muley Mahumet*, Nephew to the other that demaunded these Realmes, called *Abdelmelec*. This *Mahumet*, who enioyed those Kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, was assayled three or foure times by *Abdelmelec*, hauing gotten assistance of the Turke, and wonne stil the best in foure fought battailes. So that in the end, the inhabitants of *Fez* and *Marocco* receyued *Abdelmelec*: because *Mahumet* was a Tyrant, had very few frends, contemning euery one, and trusting altogether in his strength and Treasures, after all his losses in those former Battayles.

Abdelmelec expelled Muley Mahumet out of Fez & Marocco.

Sebastian K. of Portugall, offereth aide to Mahumet, & is denied.

Sebastian, King of *Portugall*, made offer to him of his ayde and friendship, but hee refused it; vntill such time as hee had neyther place or person to retire vnto, nor any to follow him. Moreouer, he had spent the great heapes of money which hee had gotten together during his reigne, & now withdrew himselfe into the Mountaines, which are sixe Leagues off from the City of *Marocco*. There hee liued about seauen or eight months, like a theefe or robber, with some few companies of needie persons, which yet againe were cut off by the troopes of *Abdelmelec*; and *Mahumet* constrained to wander in the most vnaccessable places of the Mountaines, where he endured a million of miseries, for the space of a whole yeare, liuing in continuall feare and distrust, onely thorough his conceyued opinion, that hee should bee taken, or betrayed in his secret walkes.

The miserable estate and condition of Muley Mahumet.

Mahumet is enforced to request the ayd which he had formerly denied.

In breefe, necessity compelled him to repent his former denials, and to require the friendly succour offered him, by that braue King of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*: vnto whom he sent an expresse Messenger, and (afterward) two of his Captaines. In the meane while, he found the means to descend

cend from the Mountaines, by wayes of little or no resort, and sought for his safety in * *Tanger*, a Towne which the *Portugales* held in *Affrica*: where hee was well entertained by the Gouernour, who knew some part of *Sebastians* minde towards him; and therefore furnished the two Captaines with well armed horsemen, for the dispatch of their Embassie in *Portugall*.

* An olde City of Mauritania, heeretofore called Tingi.

King *Sebastian* was very ioyfull to see these Ambassadors, because he was naturally addicted to Armes, and the disposition of his person (ioyned with his height of courage) incessantly spurred him on to this businesse. And in this respect, hee did but awaite some apt ouerture, for making his passage into *Affrica*, forming his pretext, vppon an earnest desire (as hee would alwayes say) which hee had to aduance Christian Religion, and to extirpate that of the Mahumetists. Whereuppon he suddenly promised (without any better consideration of the businesse) to succour *Muley Mahumet*, and to re-seate him in his kingdomes againe: hee made promise (I say) to such a one, as himselfe had before sought vnto, for this effect, by so large a passage ouer the Seas, and two seuerall times had beene misprized by him. The Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and many other great personages, could not disswade him from this enterprize, but still he persisted in treading the path vnto his owne death, death that followed him so hard at the heeles. So did hee set on into *Affrica*, with thirteene hundred sayle, as well of great as small Vessells in that Fleete, the very fayrest and goodliest that had bene seene in those times. His Army was composed of Lance-knight, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Portugales*, and some small number of *Affricane Moores*, which took part with the *Portuguizes*, and thirty sixe Pieces of Ordenance for the fielde, well fitted and furnished. In all, there was not aboue sixteene thousand men of warre; setting aside the Soldiours boyes, Waggoners, Strumpets, Castadours, and other such like people very vnprofitable for the field.

King Sebastian alwayes seeking opportunity to enter Affrica, and his pretence, for the aduancement of Christian Religion.

King Sebastian passed into Affrica against the opinion of all his friends.

The Army in full preparation for the field from Portugall.

Abdelmelec (wee may well perswade our selues) slept not all this while carelessly, for hee brought threescore thousand men to the field, as well Pykes as Harquebuziers, and twenty sixe Peeces of Ordenance for the field, well appointed & gouerned by most expert men. *Abdelmelec* was very sorry, that hee should haue any conquest against Christians, in regard he bare them much affection; not because he feared the *Portuguizes*, but as fore-seeing, that *Barbary* would proue the graue to the King of *Portugall*; who (indeede) was too weake to encounter with him, that went so farre beyond him in power. And in due consideration of the case, hee would oftentimes thus say to himselfe. *King* Sebastian *should bee more respective, then so vnaduisedly to runne vpon his owne ruine: for he would take two kingdomes from me, which in right and iustice doe appertaine to me, and giue them vnto a Negro, wherein Christendome can no way be eased or accommodated, neyther is it a thing which God (being iust) will permit.*

The care of Abdelmelec, to encounter with his enemie.

How Abdelmelec did oftentimes commiserate the case of King Sebastian.

The report and rumors spread abroad, of *Abdelmelecs* valiant carriage, was the cause that euery one came to offer him seruice and obeysance; and from euery Prouince they brought him goodly presents and gifts of inestimable value. Many Christian Kings tooke pleasure in his friendshippe, and embraced him as their kinde well-willer; esteeming themselues happy in his acquaintance. So that from diuers places, great store of Christians trauailed into his countries, where they receiued gracious entertainment, and hee shewed them much better countenance, then to any other men that resorted thither, helping them liberally in their necessities. On the contrary part, *Muley Mahumet* oppressed the Christians all the time of his reigne, or else permitted, that all greefes and molestations should bee done vnto them: wherefore King *Sebastian* (in this respect) did greatly forget himselfe.

The loue, riches, and seruice voluntarily offered to Abdelmelec by Christians and others.

Muley Mahumets oppressing the Christians.

Now to deteine the Reader no longer in suspence, the two Armies disposed themselues for the encounter, and mette in a field, which contained aboue two miles in spaciousnesse, so euen and plaine, that there was not any tree, grasse, brambles, or stones, to offer the least hinderance. The Army of *Sebastian*, had the Riuer of *Arache* behinde it, and that of *Abdelmelec*, the Riuer of *Alcassar*. *Muley Mahumet*, for whom this Tragedy was to bee acted, contrary to his oath and promise, did not bring with him any ayde for *Sebastian*; hauing

How the two Armies came to encounter in the field.

The trechery of Mahumet with King Sebastian.

hauing formerly made him beleeue, that more then halfe the Army of *Abdelmelec*, would come and ioyne with him: which came not so to passe, for both the Armies meeting together, each side fought valiantly for it selfe, and the Christians sustained the worse. *Muley Mahumet* was one of the first that fled, shaping his course towards the riuer of *Arache*, where thinking to passe the foord, & it being choked with mud and slime, and his horse sticking fast therein, he gaue him the spur so furiously, that losing his stirrops, and not knowing how to helpe himselfe by swimming, hee fell into the water, and so was both drowned and suffocated in the myre. As for K. *Sebastian*, after that all his men were slain, or (at least) put to flight; he was assayled on al sides (hauing but 7 or 8 knights with him) among whom also he was slaine, & lay on the ground among his owne people, that fought for their liues as much as men could do.

Muley Mahumet flying from the fight was drowned in the Riuer of Arache.

King Sebastian slaine among his own Souldiors, but hardly known

Now concerning *Abdelmelec*, some 8 or 10 dayes before the battaile, he fell into a greeuous sickenesse, by eating a messe of milke in a neere adioyning Village, which so curded on his stomacke, as hee could not compasse any auoydance of it. Neuertheless, on the day of battaile, hee would needs mount on horse-backe, and prease into the thickest of the fight, where finding himselfe more weake then euer; he was conuayed into his Litter, wherein he died immediately. But his death was very closely concealed, vntill the battaile was finished, and won on his side. Thus we may see, that (in one day) three Kings died by three seuerall meanes: for *Muley Mahumet* was drowned; *Sebastian* finished his life in fight; & *Abdelmelec* dyed by sickenesse. Their bodies also receiued diuersity of handling or vsage: for the body of *Mahumet* was flayed, & the skinne stuffed with haire, was carried thorow all the Citties in the kingdomes of *Fez* & *Marocco*, in signe of open infamy. The body of the king of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*, was buried in the Town of *Alcassarquibier*, without any Priest for the funerall obsequies, or any sheete to couer his body; but stark naked, according as it was found, when acknowledgement was taken of it among the other dead bodies: yet one of the groomes of his chamber, despoyling himselfe thereof, gaue him a poore paire of linnen breeches, & a most wretched doublet, which was no way disliked by the *Mahometanes*. The fore-said groome saued himself miraculously, for of the whol Christian Army, either Soldiors or other, there did not escape 200. *Abdelmelec* was carried away dead in his Litter, royally apparelled, and more then twenty miles off from that place, hee was buried in a costly Sepulcher, among his Predecessors, and there was granted rents and reuennues, to diuers Priests of the *Mahometane* Religion, to pray to God (after their manner) for his soule.

Abdelmelec fell deadly sicke some 8 dayes before the battaile, and dyed in his Litter in the midst of the fight.

Not two hundred saued of all the Christian Army.

The royall buriall of Abdelmelec.

Their successors also were as strange and diuers; for to *Muley Mahumet*, succeeded his mortall enemy, *Hamed*. To *Abdelmelec*, not his owne children, albeit he had diuers; but his bastard Brother, the said *Hamed*, for the father would haue it so. To king *Sebastian*, *Philip* King of *Spain*, who was (a farre off) a kinesman to him, yet then the neerest that could bee found, because the other was neuer maried. Here we may apparantly perceiue, how fortune playeth with miserable life, or vnsuccessefull ending in the very greatest, or of highest aduancement in this world, as well as those of much meaner condition, & that thorow some secret iudgement of God, who can & will dispose of all things, according to his owne good will and pleasure. These matters happened in *Affrica*, in the kingdomes of *Marocco* and *Fez*, on Monday, being the fourth day in the Moneth of August, and in the yeare 1578.

Of the successors to the seuerall Kings in their dominions, after their deaths.

God disposeth of all things, as himselfe best liketh.

Three Kings ended their liues in one day diuersly.

I could heere alledge many other examples of Christian Kings and Princes, whose endes haue bin scarsely honorable or happy, and that within thirty yeare of this instant: but because I know, that these times do affoord some passionate spirits, who take no delight in such sad relations, and others are of a freer temper, but as void of pitty, as the other are too forward in compassion, not carrying any meane betweene such two extremities; I will forbeare to proceede any further in this argument, & enter into some other more apt discourse.

The Author vnwilling to wade in tedious relations.

The death & burriall of three Kings bodies very strange as sildome the like hath beene heard of.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That Princes are commonly such in their actions, manners, and pietie, as they perceyue their Kings, Princes, and Rulers to bee.

THere neede no doubt to bee made, but that it was verie true which *Theodorick*, King of the Gothes (writing to the Romaine Senate) alledged: *That the course of Nature shoulde sooner faile, then people bee any other then their Princes.* This is not onely to bee vnderstood of their vertues and vices; but likewise of the gesture of their bodies, yea euen so farre as to their wearing garmēts. This may easily be prooued; for *Alexander* the Great but bending his Neck a little towards his right shoulder, al his yong Princes, and other cheefe followers in his Court, did bend theirs also in the very same manner.

Theodoricke, K. of Gothes, writing to the Senate of Rome.

The Courtiers of Alexander, and of K. Alphonsus.

Alphonsus King of *Arragon* and *Sicilie*, hauing a wry necke, all such as followed and affected him, inforced to wry theyr neckes like his; as being perswaded, that it was most commendable in them, because their King and Maister carryed his necke so: as wee finde it recorded in the Booke of the Courtier, and in the life of *Pyrrhus*.

Plut. in vit. Pyr.

King *Frances*, the first of that name, vsed continually to weare his haire verie long, and (as it was saide) looking out at a Window, he receiued a wounde on the head; by meanes whereof hee was enforced to cut his lockes, and weare them a great deale shorter then formerly hee had done. Many of his Courtiers, especially such as wore their haire as he was wont to do, caused their long locks to be cut likewise, and ware them in the same manner as he did. Heereupon afterwardes, diuers Noble and high descended French-men, left off from longer wearing false Lockes and Periwigs, or *Gregorians*, which they reputed as a signe of Nobility and comelinesse, for holding some place of eminencie in the Commonwealth, & thence-

Frances, King of France did weare long haire, and cutting it, his Courtiers fell into his fashiō

False locks & Periwigs refrained.

forward esteemed it as a ridiculous fashion.

Charles the fifte, Emperour, wore his beard long, but cut round below, in shape of a pouch or purse. In imitation of him, the Noblemen of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Germany*, and *Bourgongne*, with some other that were his subiects, hadde their beards after the selfesame fashion, which they tearmed to bee an Imperiall Beard. King *Charles* the ninth, King of *Fraunce*, being at *Metz*, where the Count of *Mansfeld*, and Marquesse of *Baden* came to see him, because he should shew them a gracious countenance, he tooke off the Marquesses Bonnet from his head, and put on (insted thereof) his owne, which he commonly vsed to weare, that was a German cap, great, thicke, thrummy, and flat, in forme of a Cheese. In regard whereof, all the attendants in his Court (which was a great company at that time) would needs weare Bonnets after the same fashion. And it grew to such an extremity in affection, that such Cappes and Bonnets, as were vsually sold in *Metz* for *thirty *Sols*, within three dayes after, could not bee bought vnder three French Crowns; and yet (at so deare a rate) they were not to be had, albeit the Bonnet-makers laboured night and day in making them, the crowd and presse for them was so great, without any other profite or commoditie ensuing by them, but only that they wold be in the Kings fashion.

Charles the 5 and his manner of beard.

Beards Imperiall or after the Imperiall fashion

The K. changeth Bonnets with the Marquesse.

*Ten French Sols, make an English shilling.

The kings fashion is a great matter.

King *Henrie* the third, by reason hee had some Vlcers in the fore-part of his head, was subiect to a continuall paine & greefe: therefore he wore thicke gummy haire, bound vp behinde (like womens) to couer that defect. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Court, had their hayre gummed and bound vp in like maner, although no paine thereto prouoked them: whereupon some were verily perswaded, that men would fall likewise to weare womens garments, they were so forward in the fashion of their haire. If I would insert all the courses and behauiour of the people, in imitating their Princes fond fashions and habits, I must needs be too troublesome to the Reader: therefore I will now discourse on their vertues and vices, with as much breuity as I can.

Henrie the 3. King of Frāce whose Courtiers imitated his gummed haire, like vnto Womens.

The onely cause why men trauailed into Egypt frō so many parts of the world, and

The cause why so manie men trauailed into Egypt.

and from Greece more then any other country (as did many great and excellent Philosophers, amongst whom were *Plato*, *Democritus*, and others) was for no other end; but in regard of a King of that Countrey, named *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, the onely louer of Learning, and seeker after such men as were learned. And in imitation of him, the Egyptians his subiects addicted themselues so studiously, to ground their vnderstanding in the most laudable Sciences, and that for such long continuance of time, as a man was reputed to haue seene nothing, if he had not trauayled into Egypt. Whereuppon, it is sayde, that *Plato* (admiring their wonderfull erudition) cryed out by way of exclamation: *The Greekes are no better then Children in knowledge, beeing compared with the Ægyptians*. Heere we may obserue, what honour this good King *Philadelphus* won to his subiectes, because by his immitation they made themselues vertuous, and giuen to all commendable qualities.

The example of a Learned King, is no meane motiue to his subiects to affect learning.

The words of Plato the great Philosopher.

Manfor, Emperor of Affrica, and all the Spaines.

The like happened vnder the reigne of *Manfor*, Emperour of *Affrica*, and all the *Spaines*, who gouerned in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, & fiue. This King was such a louer of learning, that he caused all Bookes written in Greeke, eyther concerning Philosophie, Physicke, or Historie, to be translated into the *Arabian* tongue. He founded many Colledges, wherto he gaue very great rents, for the maintenance of poore Students, and professors of learning, whereof a great many are at this day to be seen, in the Cities of *Fez* and *Marocco* in *Affrica*, in *Treuissen*, *Tunis*, *Argiere*, *Hippona*, and else-where, although he was a Mahometane in Religion, yet many other of his successors, that afterwardes followed him, and the people themselues (to this day) in those *Affricane* countries, doe rellish of the good conditions, maners, and vertues abiding in that King, addicting themselues to Learning. Nor appeared this in men onely, but likewise in Women, according as *Leo Affricanus* testifyeth, saying; *The Women of Lybia, in these our dayes, are very Learned and Studious, and aboue all things else, they are sooner busied in good Bookes: then medling with cloathes, Garments, or other Vtensels belonging to houshold.* And I dare boldly maintaine (with many other Learned men, well read in Histories) that but for this King *Manfor*, and his *Arabian* successors: Physicke had neuer beene halfe so fertile in remedies, as we finde it now to bee in these our dayes.

Great vertues in Manfor a louer of Learning, & a famous example to his successors.

Leo Affrican. in Hist de Temp. Of the women of Lybia.

Physick plentifully increased.

Garcias d'Horta, Physitian to the Viceroy of the *Indiaes*, who liued within lesse then thirty yeares, sayeth, that hee had conferred with many Kings both of the *Arabes* and *Affricanes*; and found them to bee learned, as also notably skilfull in the Mathematikes. The like is affirmed by him that hath written the generall historie of *India*, that *Almanfor*, King of *Tidora*, one of the verie greateft Islandes of the *Moluccaes*; was one of the greateft Astrologers in our times, and that the people are not so rude and barbarous, as heere among vs they are reputed to bee. Before *Manfor*, none of them had euer seene the Bookes of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and other Greeke Authours, in any other Language then the Grecian.

Garcias d'Horta in lib de diuers. Gest.

African and Arabian kings learned nowe in these daies

In the time of this King *Manfor*, flourished great store of Learned men and Philosophers: such as were *Auerroes*, *Mesuus*, *Rasis*, *Rabbie Moses*, and diuers others, whose workes (at this very day) are reade in our Vniuersities, and Commented vpon, by diuerse and sundrie great Schoolemen, and it is not to be doubted, but posteritie (for euer) will rest beholding to them.

What learned and worthy men flourished in the daies of King Manfor.

The manner of founding Colledges, wherein to instruct poore youths in good Letters; Hospitalles, for the lodging of maymed, sickely, and needie persons; Conuents and Abbeyes, for the dwelling of godly and religious men, wherein to pray for the augmentation of the Church, and prosperity of Christian Princes; beganne first by Kinges and Emperours, and in their immitation, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Popes, Cardinalles, and Byshoppes, besides other rich men (among the common people did the like. As *Charlemaigne*, *Lewes* the ninth, *Philip* Duke of *Bourgongne*, and diuers other: which is a most plaine and manifest Reason, that all Christendome remaineth yet to this day, embellished with so manie faire and rich Arch-byshopprickes, Byshopprickes, Abbeyes, Priories, Colledges, and Hospitals.

Christian Kings & Emperours first founded Colledges, Hospitals, Abbeyes & Monasteries.

All Christendome beautified with religious houses.

King

Frances, King of France, first of that name, the father of learning.

King *Frances*, first of that name, because himselfe was learned, and cherished men of learning and knowledge; beheld his reigne furnished with a great number of learned and vertuous Schollers, more then any other that went before him. In the same minde continued his Sonne, successor to his Crowne, and all the children of his successour; not meanely cherished and enriched by king *Henry* the fourth. *Margret*, Grandmother to the King now reigning, was a most learned Lady, of whose excellent & most elegant Poems, we haue great store remaining among vs. As also of *Iane* her Mother, both of them being Queenes of *Nauarre*, (and in their imitation) many other great Ladyes of honour, gaue their mindes to the reading of graue Authors, as well Greeke as Latine. Nor is it any matter of meruayle, if in these dayes, wee behold so many Ladyes well seene in good Sciences, and among the rest, that *Italy* affoordeth such plenty of studious women: the custome of the countrey prohibiting, that women should be any great walkers, or so much seene as they are in *France*. And because that famous Queene of *England*, *Elizabeth*, was very skilfull in many Languages, and deeply read in the fayrest and most commended Sciences, as in the Mathematicks, & diuers others: it was also credibly reported, that her house and Court, was bounteously stored with learned and most vertuous Ladies. And that which filled *France* with such plenty of bold and hardy spirits, was by the meanes of king *Henry* the fourth, then reigning: who in all battailes, encounters, and charging of the enemy, was alwayes the formost man himselfe; which taught his Captaines & Souldiors to do the like, onely by imitation of his vnparaled exploits.

Of honorable and learned Ladies, beside two famous Queenes of Nauarre.

Learned Ladies in Italy.

Elizabeth the famous and learned Queene of England.

King Henry the fourth euer the first man in all Battailes, &c.

Now on the contrary, if the Prince bee vicious, his Subiects wil sauour of the selfe same taste. As we reade of one named *Mithridates*, king of *Amasia*, who because he was a notorious drunkard, and accounted it as a vertue to drinke immeasurably: his people addicted themselues to that foule vice, so that the most part of them were full of diseases, as gouts, conuulsions, palsies, & alienation of vnderstanding. *Marke Anthony*, who tearmed himselfe Emperor of the East, so wallowed with his beloued *Cleopatra*, in the delights of *Egipt* (that thē degenerated quite from the vertues of their former King *Philadelphus*) and became so affected to drinking & drunkennesse, intermixing rich flowers and precious stones among the wine they dranke; that he gaue such example to his men of warre, and to the people thorow the East, to drinke and gourmandize after the same manner, that they would be drunke euery day, and held it as an admirable vertue: forgetting the honest policy of the *Romanes*, who would drinke no wine while they were in Armes. And so *Marke Anthony* (albeit hee was a great and worthy Captaine) and all his followers, by hauing discontinued the vertuous exercise of Armes; when hee should come to cope with *Octauius Augustus*, was (with small labour) surmounted. And the best generous acte, that *Anthony* could then deuise to do, and for his latest piece of seruice, was to kill himselfe, like another brutish *Sardanapalus*.

King Mithridates a notorious drunkard, and his people followed his example.

Marke Anthony thorow his drunkennesse ouerthrew all the East.

A wonderfull neglect in so famous a Soldiour.

Darius also, the great Monarch and King of the East, about three hundred yeares before *Marke Anthony*, euen like to him, had (beside his married wife) a multitude of concubines, bardaching boyes, fidlers, vaulters, dancers, fooles, players, and other people of as small account in his Army, eating and drinking, before eyther hunger or thirst vrged any necessity. His Captaines and men of command, with all the rest of his Army, he licenced to the like liberty: for each of his Soldiours might haue his two concubines, beside as many *Ganimedes*, and cheefer men tripled, or (at least) doubled them. In the ende, his Army, thought to consist of eight hundred thousand able fighting men; there could not bee found twenty thousand among them all. For according to the example of their king, they were altogether addicted to luxury and drunkennesse, and became as people vtterly vnmeete for warre. Therefore both he and they were ouercome by *Alexanders* forces, with small trauaile, or losse on his side; because his men were sober, continent, and stout fighting Soldiors, as the king himselfe was. So the Persian Empire, and the Babylonian also, was lost and dissipated in a moment; in regard that their king was lasciuious and of soft temper, which caused his subiects to imitate his example.

Darius the great Monarch of the East.

Where no president of goodnesse appeareth, vice the sooner preuaileth.

The cause of the downfall of Darius.

Princes

The Authors aduertiſemẽt to Kings and Princes in theſe our times.

Princes then, and others, that are aduanced to gouerne ouer people, may be aduiſed by theſe examples and reaſons formerly alledged, to addict their mindes and bodies to vertuous exerciſes, to ſpeak diſcreetly, to be no blaſphemers, to liue in all ſobriety, and to declare modeſtie in their actions and apparrell: but aboue all the reſt, not to ſwerue from vertue and true piety. For therein (doubtleſſe) their people will follow them, and make theyr time of rule the more ſetled and aſſured: for where vice reigneth, rebellion (oftentimes) the ſooner enſueth.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Originall of Triumphs: why they were firſt granted and vſed in Rome: How many they were that triumphed: What a Triumph is: and that there are two ſortes of Triumphes.

Two thinges that mooue men to high matters.

TO ſpeake morally, & as men ſhould doe, there are principally two cauſes, which incite men to vndertake great matters, as well in peace as warre. The firſt is Honor and renowne; the ſecond is profite and commoditie, Magnanimous, Noble and Heroicke ſpirits do chiefly couet the firſt; & baſe and vnworthy ſoules ſeeke for ſalary and hire. *Cicero* ſaith in his Oration which he made for * *Archias* the Poet: *We all are drawne to deſire commendation, and they of greateſt place and expectation, ſaile with full gale after honour and fame: coueting no other recompence, or greater guerdon for their Vertue, then glory onely.* The ſame *Cicero*, in another Oration made for the defence of *Milo*, ſaith; *Wiſe and valiant men do not ſo much labour in exerciſe of their vertue, for the receit of wages, as for the honor that enſueth thereby.*

*A Poet of Antioch, much loued of Tully and Lucullus.

A Romaine, much maintained by Tully.

The carefull conſideration of the Romãs to honor men of merite, and how Rome came to bee Empreſſe of the world.

This being well conſidered by the *Romaines*, they (more then any other Nation) ſought how to honour and illuſtrate (beſide due recompence) ſuch as ſtroue to do any notable or vertuous acte. So that in ſhort time after, and proceeding on with the ſame determination; *Rome* affoorded the reſort (more then any place beſide) of no meane number of worthie men, excelling both in Armes and Gouernment, that by them ſhee attained to ſway the Empire of the whole world. In regard whereof, for example and inſtruction to theſe inſtant times, as alſo to delight ſuch as enquire after Antiquities: I thought it very conuenient, to ſupplye this place with ſome breefe declaration, of the manner obſerued amongſt the *Romaines*, in yeelding honour and renowne to ſuch men, as had obtayned any victory for them.

Triumph, the greateſt among all Honors, & what was ſignified by the word Triumph.

Now becauſe among all honors whatſoeuer, Triumph was reputed to bee the very greateſt; we will diſcourſe thereon, according as we finde it ſet downe for our inſtruction. Triumph was a forme of entrance, or (as we may well ſay) a kinde of Welcome, which they vſed in Rome, to their Captaines and Generalles, with the verie greateſt pompe and ſolemnitie that could bee expreſſed vnto men. And albeit Triumphs were much vſed among the Romaines, yet were they not the firſt inuenters of them. For *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Pliny*, doth both ſay, that *Denis*, called *Dionyſe* in Antiquitie, and named alſo *Pater Liber*, was the firſt that euer Triumphed in the worlde. It appeareth likewiſe, that the *Carthagenians* vſed to Triumph: for *Iuſtine* (among the other honours of *Haſdruball*) ſaith, that he Triumphed foure times.

Diod. Sicul. in lib. 6. cap. 10. Plin. in l. 2. ca. 3

Iuſtin. in lib. 19

Moreouer, wee reade of Triumphes among the Kings of Ægypt, and eſpecially of King *Soſeſtris*. Neuertheleſſe, to ſpeake truely, Triumphes were neuer ſo ſolemnized in any other Nation, as they were among the Romaines: for vpon the day that any Captaine triumphed, the people of *Rome* ceaſed from all kinde of Workes whatſoeuer, and not any matter (concerning profite) was permitted to be done.

No Nation comparable to the Romanes for Triumphes.

And to make this ſolemne Triumph the more compleate, the people of al places neere neighbouring thereto, came thicke and threefold thither to behold it. And all the Cittie, Temples, Streetes, Gates, and Windowes, were enriched & hung with clothes made of Gold, Siluer, Silke, Leafes and Flowers of ſweete ſmelling ſauour, beſide all other magnificencies & coſts that might expreſſe any ſigne of

The acceſſe of people from al neighbouring parts to behold the Triumph.

The Senate, Priests and Romaine nobilitie.

The maner of the Triumphers entring into Rome. Prisoners.

His owne Souldiours.

Chariots of armour.

Chariots of riches.

Gifts and presents.

Conquered cities and forts exactly presented.

The triumphs lasted three daies sometimes.

Triumph not allowed, but according to lawes for the purpose.

* A hill whereon S. Peters church now standeth.

Such men as might lawfully triumph.

of ioy. The Senate and all the Priests, with the whole Nobilitie of *Rome*, and generally the better sort of people, went forth into the fields very honourably apparelled, to entertayne the Triumpher: who entred *Rome*, cloathed in purple, crowned with Laurell, and mounted on a golden charriot, drawne by foure milke white horses. All his prisoners went before him, attired like slaues or seruants, hauing their heads close shorne or shauen: and the Captayne or King of the prisoners by him vanquished, went neareſt to the Charriot before anie other. The Souldiours of his owne Armie entred in due order, bearing branches of Laurell in their hands. Then followed before him, Charriots and Waggons filled full of armour, which hee had taken from the enemy: beside other waggons laden in like manner, with Plate of golde and siluer, money, iewells and other rich shapes or trophees, with such gifts and presents, as hee had receiued of Kings, or any other friends to *Rome*. Great Castles, Towers, and other Engines of wood, made artificially, representing conquered Cities and Fortresses, were likewise carryed before him: making liuely representation, as they marched along, of such battailes as had happened in the last warre, and so exactly to the life; that they were very dreadfull to the beholders. These things were so many in number, so mighty, and of such rare diuersitie, that the Triumph (sometimes) required the vse of three seuerall dayes, because all the representations might be the more amply noted and conceiued. The Triumph consisted of various inuentions, with many rare deuices, too long to be reported.

Nor was this honour of Triumph, allowed and granted to euerie Captaine or Victor; but there were Lawes set downe, and notable occasions to be considered, before such fauour could be obtained. The Captaine that meant to demand it, came not at all into *Rome*: but abode at the **Vaticane*, and thither the Senate returned him answere, whether such grace might bee permitted him, or no. First of all, no chiefe, or commander of an Army might triumph; except hee had beene Consull, Proconsull, or Dictator; for Triumph was neuer granted to any of meaner condition. In regarde whereof, *Marcus Marcellus* had triumph denyed him, albeit he had worthily conquered *Siracusa*; and *Scipio* also, although he had subdued *Spaine*. For, it was necessarily required, that the battell must be great and notable against the enemie, and aboue fiue thousand men at the least slayne therein. Of these matters, *Valerius Maximus* is Author. We likewise reade, that *Cato*, and *L. Marius*, being Tribunes, made a Law, whereby they ordayned seuere punishment for any Captayne, that deliuered a false report of the number slayne in fight. Nor was it enough for a man to win the battell, how doubtfull & bloudy soeuer it were; but hee must subdue the whole Prouince or Country, & leaue it peacefully to his successor, bringing home his army braue & victoriously; which was the cause (sayth *Titus Liuius*) that Triumph was denyed to *Titus Manlius*, notwithstanding all his great victories in *Spaine*: for hee should haue compassed the acquisition of som new country, or entred into a new warre, & not defend that only which was formerly won. Vpon the same occasiō also, great *Quintus Fabius* triumphed not, though he had conquered them of *Campania*.

It was obserued as a custome also, that on the day of Triumph, the Triumpher should invite the Consulls to suppe with him; which they would refuse to doe, because (at this feast) no person should bee present, to whom greater honour might be done, then to the Triumpher. The Triumph alwayes ended in the Temple of *Iupiter* in the Capitoll, where the spoiles (wonne from the enemy) were altogether offred, and deliuered vp to publike vse. And because the triumpher shold not ouer-glory himselfe in these high honors and fauors done him: some say, that a slaue or bond-man was seated by him with permission, to ieast and scoffe at him all the day long, & to reproach him with such iniuries as seemed best to himselfe; as a plaine apparance, that such dignities depended but on transitory graces.

Now, to make this triumphall honor the more intelligible; we will make rehersall of some one or two, especially that of *Paulus Æmilius*, that worthy and famous Captayne of Rome, who obtayned his triumph iustly; for vanquishing & taking

Marcus Marcellus and Scipio denied triumph.

Valer. Max l. 2.

Cato and L. Marius Tribunes.

Prouinces conquered and left in peace. *Titus Liuius in libr. 3. dec. 2.*

Valer. Max. l. 2.

A custome obserued on the triumph day.

The spoyles deliuered to generall benefit.

Triall of the Triumphers patience.

The honorable triumph of Paulus Aemilius.

Perſeus, the powerfull king of *Macedon*, conquering and ruinating his kingdome, and therefore made his Triumph, according as it is remembred by *Plutarch*, in this manner. Our firſt remembrance, concerneth the people of Rome in generall, with them of all the neighbouring parts round about, attired after their very beſt ability of performance, and contending for places in houſes and windowes, where beſt they might take view of the triumph. All the Temples and Churches in Rome were ſet wide open, deckt and richly hung with Tapiſtry, greene boughes of Trees, beſide plenty of incenſe and ſweet ſmelling perfumes, and ſo were all the ſtreetes in like manner. Now becauſe in the Citty the concourſe of people was infinite, reſorting from ſo many ſeuerall places, in earneſt deſire to behold ſuch a ſolemne ſpectacle, there were certain men appointed with ſtaues in their hands, who had charge to make way for the Triumphs paſſage, and looke to the peoples ſafe ſeating, becauſe the matters prepared for this triumph grew ſo great, as they were enforced to diuide them into three ſeuerall dayes.

Plut. in vit. Paul Aem. l.

Concourſe of people to behold the Triumph.

Temples ſet open and perfumed.

Whiflers or Sticklers to make way for paſſage of the Triumph.

The firſt day was ſcarſely ſufficient for entrance of all the Banners, Standards, & vanquiſhed Enſignes; as alſo for paſſage of the Statues, Coloſſes, Tables, and Images, for all theſe were conuayed along in order, in rich and well appointed Chariots, VVaggons, and Thrones. On the ſecond day, the Armour and munition of the conquered king, and what elſe belonged to the *Macedonians*, was brought into the citty: which Armours being rich and gloriouſly glittering, were conueniently placed on beſt ſighted carriages, meeteſt for their full and ample beholding. After theſe chariots and waggons, entred three thouſand men, carrying ſiluer mony (open to be ſeene) on great Plates and Veſſels of ſiluer, each one weighing three talents, of which Plates and Veſſels there were 350 in number, and foure men allowed to carry each piece of Plate. The reſt that ſerued to make vp the ful number of three thouſand men, carried Fountaine Pots, Ewres, Baſons, Lauours, very curiouſly wrought in gold and ſiluer, beſide other veſſels of the ſame mettals, moſt rich and magnificent to behold: and the paſſage of theſe companies continued ſo long, that it required the ſecond dayes whole employment, marching along in due and comely order.

The order for the firſt dayes paſſage.

The ſecond dayes h nour in larger mā ner.

Money carried on Plates and chargers.

Fountaine Pots, Ewres, Lauours, and Baſons of gold and ſil. uer.

The third day being come, the breake of day no ſooner began, but in the firſt band, & beginning of the Triumph, went Drums, Fifes, Clarions, and Trumpets ſounding, not ſweet and delicately, but in ſuch ſtearne and vigorous manner, as if they were inſtantly to enter battail. After them were led ſix ſcore kine, all white, hauing their hornes richly guilded, and their bodies couered with coſtly cloathes: all theſe were helde as ſacred to the Gods, crowned and decked with garlands, and chaplets of faire flowers, & they that guided thē, were braue gallant youths, ſumptuouſly apparelled for this ſeruice, and for the ſacrificing of them; and by theſe kine went as many comely children, carrying Plates of gold and ſiluer for the ſacrifice. Next vnto the kine, were rancked ſuch as carried gold money in chargers of gold, being ſeuenty ſeuen in number. And behinde them, followed they that holpe to beare the great Bolle or Cuppe of golde, weighing ten Talents, which *Paulus Aemillius* had cauſed to bee made, enriched with many ſumptuous and vnualuable precious ſtones. They which carried the chargers of money, were ſuch as had bin neereſt in fauour, about the Kings *Antigonus*, *Seleucus*, and other Kings of *Macedon*, eſpecially the forenamed *Perſeus*. Next followed the chariot of the conquered King, with the Armes and Weapons which he vſed to weare, his Crown, Scepter royal and rich Robe laid vpon the Armour. Behinde the chariot, were the children to the poore king led as priſoners, with a great number of his cheefeſt Officers; as the Maſters or Gouernours of his houſhold, his Treaſurers, Chancellors, Secretaries, and others of high employment in his affaires. They all wept, & expreſſed extraordinary ſignes of greefe, beholding themſelues brought into ſuch a ſeruitude; which moued all the beholders to much compaſſion.

The third & laſt dayes performance of the remainder of the Triumph.

Six ſcore white kine appointed for ſacrifice.

Children with Plates for the ſacrifice.

A Bolle or Cup of gold weighing ten Talents.

The conquered kings chariot and his Armes.

The kings children led priſoners.

Of the children belonging to this king, there were 2 males and 2 females, but ſo yong in yeares, as they were not capable of vnderſtanding their misfortunes; wherby the people were ſo much the more incited to pitty their condition, & thought it vnbeſeeming, that affliction ſhould bee ſeene

Children are weake vnderſtanders of calamities.

The kings wofull going in the triumph

seene in such tender yeares. In this Triumph, the Father followed his children, attired after his Countries manner; but yet in blacke habites, pacing on troubled and fearefully, as indeed he had good reason, considering his present estate, and whence he was falne.

After the King, followed his friends & fauourites, with a great number of his familiars, who all looking on their King, confounded themselues with sorrow, to see his reuerend cheekes furrowed with teares, and many of the *Romans* bemoaned his misery. Then after were brought the crownes of gold, which the ancient Citties of *Greece* had presented to *Paulus Aemillius*, who followed thē triumphantly, mounted vpon a goodly Chariot, cloathed in purple tissue of golde, bearing a Lawrell branch in his hand, and a crowne of the same vpon his head. Behinde him followed the people both on foote and horseback, some hauing branches of Lawrell and Palme in their hands, and some with Banners and Pennons, singing in honour of their Captaine, triumphing thus after his victories, with other most delectable sights to behold; and in this order *Paulus Aemillius* triumphed throgh *Rome*. Others also did the like, with some things added or diminished, and so they went to offer their spoyles, in the Temple of *Iupiter* within the Capitoll; and there, according to the forme and manner, as their blinded religion then required, they gaue thankes to their Gods for the victory obtayned. And notwithstanding that in this fashion they obserued & performed their customary triumphs: yet they had a Law for it, according to which Law, they gaue triumph by desert, making a distinction of the gates & streets, whereat they were to enter, and whereby they should passe along, the times also beeing ordered and appointed. But concerning other things, as sports, playes, & Feasts of diuers kinds, it was permitted, that euery man might augment and enrich his triumph, and his chariot also: for it is found recorded, that they had a custome, to be drawne by four white horses, and yet notwithstanding, some haue bin drawne by as many Buls.

The golden Crownes of the Cities of Greece borne before him, and he following in triumphall manner.

No great difference in the Romane Triumphs.

A Law for the order of triumphing, and by merit.

Sports and Feasts were by free permission.

The manner how diuers were drawne in their triumph.

Great *Pompey*, when hee triumphed for *Affrica*, he entred in a Chariot drawne by Elephants. *Suetonius* saith, that *Iulius Cæsar* when hee made his triumphall entrance, had his chariot drawn by forty elephants. VVith the like Beasts triumphed the Emperour *Gordianus*. And *Flauius* writeth, that the Emperour *Aurelianus*, who was king of the *Gothes*, triumphed in a chariot drawne by Harts. VVe reade also, that *Mark Anthony* in his triumph, had his chariot drawne by Lyons. The Roman Captains had a custome beside when they triumphed, to haue a young childe, or many in their chariots: whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration *pro Munera*. Others caused to be led in their triumphs, an infinite number of wilde and sauage Beasts, as Lyons, Ounces, Beares, Tygers, Rhinocerots, Panthers, Dromi-daries, & other kindes of beasts, as did *Titus* & *Vespasian*, according to the relation of *Iosephus*. Some other also would haue their entrance with diuersity of Musique, as well by instruments as voyces, with infinite other the like delectations. Among all which triumphs, some were more singular then the rest; as those of *Pompey* & *Cæsar*; of the two Brethren *Scipioes*; and likewise of the Emperors, wherof *Blondus* speakes in his Book of Rome triumphing, & according as *Paulus Orosius* saieth, that there were 320 Triumphers in Rome; the last wherof was the emperor *Probus*, from whose time since, Rome ran to her decadence.

Whence the forme of our Pageants wer at first deuised.

Some triumphs more singular then the rest.

In Rome there was yet another kinde of solemn welcom, which was somwhat lesse then triumphing, being called * *Ouatio*, and giuen for victories when as something wanted of such necessary conditions as required triumph. As for example, if the Captaine had not bin Consull or Proconsull, or had made war without great resistance, or little bloodshed in battaile, or had conquered people of slender esteeme; or if the war had bin done without expresse authority from the Senate, & such like other conditions; then in sted of triumphing, this *Ouatio* was granted to him, & it was performed in this manner.

* A small triumph of a Captaine, for a victory without slaughter of men, or very few.

The Captaine entred Rome on horseback, in stead of a chariot, and some of them (in elder times) entered on foote, crownd with the leaues of Myrrhe, which were offerings to *Venus*, because such triumphing was not reputed Martiall, but (as it were) veneriall, according as *Aulus Gellius* saith. The people attending on this Captaine, were not armed, neyther

Aul. Gellius in Noct. Attic. lib. 6. cap. 6.

founded Trumpets, Drums, or any other instruments of warre; but Flutes & sweet musicall instruments, soft and delicate. Neuertheless, they entred in order, and with their booty, and the Senate went foorth of the Citty to meete and receiue him, making a great feast for him, as also highly praysing & commending him.

The first Ouation Triumphers, and that accepted thereof very gladly.

I finde that many excellent Captains haue requested & accepted of this honor, and the first was *Posthumus Liberius*, hauing vanquished the *Sabines*; and *Marcus Marcellus*, for his victory at *Syracusa*. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Octauius Cæsar* entred thus, after the *Phillippick* battailes, & the warre of *Sicily*. The cause why this small triumph was so named, is described by *Pliny*, for in declaring that diuers Captaines were denyed this kinde of triumph, and could by no meanes obtayne it: hee proceedeth to yeelde a reason, why this Ouatio was so tearmed. *The sacrifice* (sayeth he) *which the Captaine then offered, was a Sheepe, which in the Latine tongue is called Ouis: but the other Triumphers offered a Bull, and therefore vpon the word Ouis, the reception and entertainment made vnto thē, was called Ouatio, or Oualis.* Some other say, that it took name by a certaine sound in the peoples voyce, of *Oe*, or else *Oue*: but because this is a matter of small importance, it shall suffice to say, that such a thing was named *Ouatio*, eyther of the word *Ouis*, or of the other voyce of *Oe* or *Oue*.

Plin. in lib. 9. cap. 22.

How this kinde of triumph tooke name at the first, by variety of opinion

A further permission granted to Triumphers of erecting Statues, Pillars, &c.

It was also permitted to the Triumphers, to erect their Statues in Temples, & common places of resort: also to build Arches and Collombs, named Triumphall, framed of Marble, and in or on thē, to insculpt (most excellently) their battels and victories, for their owne perpetuall memory. The vestiges or footings of thē are (at this day) to be seene in Rome: and these things wer thus done, in imitatiō of Trophees, anciently vsed among the *Grecians*, helping themselues thereby in manner following. In the same place, where the Captaine had obtayned any victory, a great tree was prepared, the greatest therabout to be found, the branches whereof were all cut off; and then vpon the trunke was fastened all the coat-armours of the vanquished, as a victorious and honourable memory, and it was called *Tropæum* or *Trophæum*, after the greeke word *Tropi*; which signifieth a fleeting conuersion, or retreated, because (in that place) the enemy was put to flight, or disgracefull retreate, and so the *Romanes* afterward were glad to follow their fashion.

Trophees among the Grecians, and in what manner.

Salust writeth, that *Pompey* hauing ouercome the *Spaniards*, planted his Trophees on the top of the *Pyrennean* Mountaines: and this course (by tract of time) was in such esteeme, that they grew to be made of stone. But this matter can approue it selfe to be much more ancient, & that other Nations haue made vse therof: for we reade, that *Saul* hauing vanquished *Agag*, king of the *Amalekites*, and beeing come to Mount *Carmell*, he erected there a triumphall Arch, as a memory of his victory. In breefe, the honour of triumph was esteemed and affected, more then any other honour in *Rome*, so that for obtayning it, the Captaines would expose their liues to all trauaile and perill. Beside, the Triumphers grew to great wealth, both by the enemies spoyles, and the gifts of their friends, and so much the rather haue I reported these things, because Princes may thereby receiue example, how to honour and remunerate their Captains and Soldiers to their merits. But in these decaying dayes, sluggards, and such as doe nothing at all, are as well, if not better respected, then they that aduenture their liues and goods, both for seruice of their Prince, & profite of their natiue country

Pompeyes Tropnees on the top of the Pyrennean Mountaines.

1 Reg. 15, 12.

Triumph was more coueted then any other honour in Rome.

CHAP. XLI.

Of such names of immortall honour and renowne, which the Romane Captaines had granted and giuen them, according to their seuerall victories.

OVer and beside this high dignity of Triumphs, the Romane Captains had farre greater honours giuen them, by names & sirnames, which were imposed on them by the people and Prouinces, that had bin conquered and ouercome by them. And as it was a notable forme of exaltation to honour; so did they immortalize their houses of discent, by contrary names of glory

A further addition of honour to the Romane Generals.

glory and fame, onely through their memorable actions, which procured so many worthy and illustrious Families in the Citty of *Rome*.

Metellus and two more of his name, had their sirnames according to their conquests.

For our first entrance into this discourse, wee may take an example by the three *Metelli*, whereof one (according as *Salust* and some others write) because he had ouercome King *Iugurthe*, conquering also his lands and kingdome of *Numidia*; was sirnamed *Numidicus*. The second being *Quintus Metellus*, for the victory he obtayned against the king of *Macedon*, was sirnamed *Macedonicus*. And the third, *Creticus*, because he conquered the Isle of *Creete*. But much more ancient then these, were *Martius Coriolanus*, and *Sergius Fidenatus*. The first was named *Coriolanus*, after the Towne *Coriola* in *Latium*, by him conquered. And the other by the like acte on *Fidena*, a Towne in *Italy*. Another *Metellus* also was sirnamed *Balcaricus*, because he had conquered to the *Romane* Empire, the Islands called *Baleares*, now tearmed *Maiorque* and *Minorque*.

Martius Coriolanus and Sergius Fidenatus.

Metellus Balearicus.

Lucius Mummius was sirnamed *Achaicus*, because hee had subdued *Achaia* and *Corinthe*. So the other *Brutus*, in regard he brought the *Gaules* in subiection, was sirnamed *Gallus*. The two *Scipioes*, being brethren, were honoured by the names of the people whom they had vanquished; the one in *Affrica* and *Carthage*, and the other in *Asia*, because he conquered also in *Antioche* and in *Asia*: for hee was the first that displayed the Romane Coullors or Ensignes in *Asia*. Another *Scipio* afterward, sonne to *Paulus Æmilius* (of whose triumph we haue already spoken) & Nephew adoptiue to great *Scipio*, was likewise sirnamed *Affricanus*; because hee assayled and won the great and puissant citty of *Certhage*. Neuertheless, he receiued a greater honor and guerdon, to be sirnamed *Numantinus*, and he himselfe held it in farre higher respect; because in *Spaine* he destroyed *Numantia*, and vtterly ouerthrew the *Numantines*.

Mummius Achaicus.

Scipio Affricanus.
Scipio Asiaticus.

Scipio Affricanus and Numantinus.

I finde in like manner, that Emperours attributed vnto themselues the sirnames of conquered places, speaking them expressely in their Letters missiue and other instruments; namely *Seuerus*, and his successors after him; as for *Arabia*, *Parthia*, *Armenia*, *Germania*, and other Prouinces by them subdued. So one named himselfe *Arabicus*, another *Parthicus*, another *Armenicus*, so *Germanicus*, and *Asiaticus*: each man according to such victories as he had obtayned, so did hee magnifie himselfe.

Emperours sirnamed after conquered countries.

Moreouer, for other matters and reasons, the Romane Captaines were illustrated by especiall names, for their greater magnificence and splendour. As we reade of *Marcus Manlius*, who for defending the Capitoll from the forces of the *French*, was sirnamed *Capitolinus*. The family of the *Torquati* receyued that sirname, for taking a Chaine or Coller from the necke of an enemy, for a Coller or Chaine in latine is called *Torquis*, and so were diuers of them therefore named. *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, because by long delayes & dissimulations, hee had held out *Hanniball* in warre, only for the defence of Rome; they sirnamed him *Cunctator*, which is as much to say, as a temporiser or delayer. And for the same reason also, they termed him (beside) the Shield or Buckler of Rome, which redounded to his greater aduantage and honour.

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus.

Nouellus Torquatus & Manlius Torquatus.
Quintus Fabius Cunctator.

Marcus Marcellus, who liued also in those times, in regard of his great power and valiancy, the continuall battels which (without ceassing) he gaue to the enemy, was called, *The Sword of Hanniball*. And that excellent Captain *Sylla*, though somwhat cruel, was sirnamed *Happy*, in regard of his prosperous victories. *Pompey* likewise was so renowned by his successe in warre, that he had the sirname of Great giuen him, then which title, I know not what could more haue raised and exalted him. So farre extended the dignity of sirnames, granted to Captaines in those dayes, especially to such as were vertuous Commanders and Generals, as they were also called Emperors, which in these more moderne times, is the title of supremest dignity, and which could not then bee giuen, but to a Captaine, Prætor, Consull, or Proconsull, that had bin victorious in some notable battaile, and had desolated the enemies country, by the death of a great number of enemies: As if two thousand of his men were slaine, there must then ten thousand perish on the enemies side, and not otherwise it was granted.

Marcus Marcellus, The sword of Hanniball.

Sylla the Happy.

Pompey the Great.

With this so gracious and happy a sirname, was *Iulius Cæsar*, the Father of *Iulius Cæsar* honored, for the victory which

Captains called Emperors and vpon what respect or desert.

he had againſt the * *Samnites* & *Lucanes*, in the time of *Sylla*. *Pompey* alſo was called Emperour, for the memorable victory he wonne in *Affrica*, againſt *Domitius*. *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, beeing Proconſull in the warre againſt the *Parthians*, was by them of the Army named Emperour, for the victory there obtained. *Iulius Cæſar*, before he was called to the Empire, was ſtyled Emperour, by reaſon of his many victories. But if this Captaine had not ſuffered great reſiſtances in his battailes, he had not beene worthy of that name, & yet notwithſtanding he was reprehended, ſo that *Marke Anthony* murmured againſt him, and yet becauſe he had taken a great City, on the further ſide of the Riuer *Euphrates*, he was content that they ſhould call him Emperour. After *Iulius Cæſar* and his ſucceſſours, inueſting themſelues with the full Seigneury of *Rome*, & knowing well, that the name of King was in horror and deteſtation among the people, they would bee named Emperours, which title hath continued euer ſince, & is the very greateſt of all.

So then we ſee, that for ſuch honors, the *Romanes* fayled not in their gratification, aſwell to their ſtrange frends abroad, being vnder their reward, as to the home-borne ſonnes of *Rome*. Becauſe like as they were powerfull and rigorous, in fighting againſt enemies; ſo were they as gracious and liberall to ſuch as aſſiſted them. So that in the ſame kinde of bounty they gaue to king *Atalus* the Prouince of *Aſia*, with the title of king: for which (afterward) he was ingratefull, becauſe (by his teſtament) hee returned all his profits to *Rome*. To *Eumenes* the brother of this *Atalus*, becauſe he had well ſerued and aſſiſted the *Romanes*, in the war againſt *Antiochus*: the Senate gaue him all the Cities and Townes, which hee had conquered from *Antiochus* in *Aſia*. To king *Deiotarus* of *Galatia*, becauſe hee had ayded *Pompey*, in the warre againſt *Mithridates*, the *Romans* gaue him the Prouince of the leſſer *Armenia*. In the like manner was king *Maſsiniſſa* of *Numidia* guerdoned, hauing beene embraced by *Scipio*, as his companion and friend to the people of *Rome*: to him was giuen all whatſoeuer he had conquered in the kingdome of *Syphax*, who had aſſiſted the *Carthagenians*.

Nor were theſe gifts and preſents allowed to Captaines, and men of apparancie onely; but likewiſe to them of the meaneſt condition, they gaue gifts, prerogatiues, and great honours. The Conſull *Marius*, knowing the well deſeruing of two companies, that had fought valiantly againſt the *Cimbrians*, a people among the *Allemaignes*, and were come into *Italy* with him, he receiued them as Citizens of *Rome*. When being reproued for doing ſuch a thing contrary to their Lawes, he made anſwer: *In the noiſe and clattering blowes of weapons, there is no voice of the Law heard.*

* Called alſo Sabelli, a people of the Mountaines betweene the Sabines and the Marſi in Italy.

Mark Anthony was offended at Cæſar.

The name of King hateſull in Rome.

Well deſeruing ſtrangers as much reſpected and rewarded, as the natiue ſonnes of Rome.

Atalus King of Aſia.

Eumenes brother to Atalus.

Deiotarus king of Galatia.

Maſſiniſſa king of *Numidia*.

Meane men reſpected by the Romanes as well as great. A worthy example of the Conſul Marius.

CHAP. XLII.

Of ſuch Crownes, with other recompences and ſalaries, which the Romanes *gaue to Soldiors. Alſo of puniſhing offenders, comprehending (in this caſe) an excellent form for warre, and good gouernment of a common-wealth.*

THE *Romans* were not careſull onely for honouring & gratifying their Captaines, but offered them (beſide) infinite other graces & fauours, rewarding them honourably in diuers and ſundry kindes, with Crownes & Iewels; as holding them in particular eſteeme and reputation, and according to the merit of their actions in Armes, in the ſame ſort were they reſpected and requited.

When a Captaine had obtained a victory in ſome notable battaile, were it vpon the Sea or Land, and had therein taken ſome Towne by force, or done any other ſingular enterprize; immediately after, they had a cuſtome to make diligent inquiſition, concerning the valour of the particular bandes and ſquadrons. Then mounting vpõ the Theater, after they had giuen thanks to the Gods for the victory obtayned: in generall they commended the whole Army, and eſpecially extolled the band or ſquadron, that had fought with moſt man-hood. Afterward they reuealed particular men in the companies by their names, publiſhing the worth of

Diuers kinds of recõpences vſed among the Romanes.

The manner of publiſhing the merit of their Armies vpon their open Theater

of their vertue and courage, in no leſſe meaſure then they had deſerued: terming them friends and louers of their country, ſaying alſo, that the Common-wealth ſtood highly obliged to them. And this beeing done, they gaue then preſents of Gold and Siluer, of Crownes, Girdles, Bracelets, Iewels, as alſo very excellent armour for horſſes, made ſo curiouſly, & deliuered with ſuch defences and prohibitions, as no man was ſuffered to vveare or haue the like, without he had deſerued it in the ſame manner. Hiſtories are full of theſe things, and particularly *Titus Liuius*, ſpeaking of the Conſul *Papyrius Cenſor*, ſaith; that he gaue Bracelets of Gold to fourteene Centurions; and afterward to a ſquadron, he gaue very rich & coſtly Ornaments. As much hee ſaith of *Scipio*, being in *Spaine*, and other places.

Tit. Liu. in li. 10 & 30. Papir. Cenſor.

The ſeuerall crowns which the Romanes gaue.

Now, concerning the Crowns which they gaue, they had diuers names, and were according to the degrees of merite. They had the Crowne *Obſidionalis*, the crowne *Triumphalis*, the crowne *Oualis*; *Corona Ciuica*, *Corona Muralis*, *Corona Naualis*, and *Corona Caſtrenſis*. *Pliny* ſpeaketh of them all, and ſo doeth *Aulus Gellius*,

Plin. in lib. 16. & 22. Aul. Gellius in lib. 5.

But that Crowne of greateſt excellencie, and more eſteemed then all the reſt, was *Corona Obſidionalis*, which extended to the circkled or ſiedge of the Campe, and it was giuen onely, for hauing deliuered an army encloſed and beſiedged within a Towne or Citie, or when a camp was ſtrictly enuironed. So that by ſuch a worthy deede of armes, the place or people accounted themſelues to bee deliuered from death, or mercileſſe impriſonment: for no other action whatſoeuer, was this honor & reſpect to be giuen. The crown was made of greene leaues, for they cared not to haue it made of Golde, or other mettall, but of the graſſe and hearbes of the ſame field, where the enemie had bin ouerthrowne or forced to flight. With this Crown was crowned the Great *Quintus Fabius*, becauſe when *Hannibal* vvas before *Rome*, hee defended and deliuered it from his beſiedging. *Æmillius Scipio*, was alſo crowned therewith in *Affrica*, for hauing deliuered the Conſull *Manlius*, with certaine bands. *Calphurnius* obtayned it alſo in *Sicily*, and ſo did the valiant *L. Cincinatus Dentatus*, and ſome other.

Corona Obſidionalis, & wherfore it was giuen, being the Crowne for raiſing a ſiege

Such as had the honor to be crowned with this Crowne.

Corona Ciuica, or the Citizen crowne, was made of Oaken leaues and branches, with the fruite or Acornes hanging on it. This was giuen to him that had ſaued a Cittizen, when his life was in extreame perill, killing his enemy, & making good the place where the danger hapned. This crown was ſo much made account of, that ſometimes it fell to ſuch a mans Honour, who for ſauing one *Romane* cittizen, at his deliuerance ſlew two of his enemies. But becauſe he defended not and made good the place from future peril, doubt vvas made, whether he had deſerued this Citizen Crowne, or no. Neuertheleſſe, Law was diſpenſed withall, and it was concluded to be giuen him, ſeeing hee had deliuered the Citizen, and ſlaine two of his enemies in a place ſo perillous, which was not in his power ſtill to protect, although the Law imported ſo much. And albeit a man had deliuered a King, or a Captaine of confederates and friends, yet could he not haue his crowne to reward him, except he had deliuered a *Roman:* I find that *Pliny* recordeth, that this very ſame crown had beene giuen to one, who ſlewe the firſt enemie that mounted on the wals of a City or Fortreſſe, being defended by or for the *Romanes*.

Corona Ciuica, the Cittizegs Crown, giuen for ſauing a citizens life.

Law may ſom times bee diſpenſed withal on needefull occaſions.

Plin. in Li. 16. c. 7

This *Corona Ciuica*, was the moſt excellent, next vnto the Obſidionall, and might dayly be worne, and in all places. Likewiſe, he that deſerued this Crowne, was of ſuch account and eſteeme, as hee might ſit in the Theater, or at Feaſtes, where hee had alwayes his place neereſt vnto the Senate. And when hee entered, the Senate would riſe vpon their feete, to do him honor.

The reputation & eſteeme of this citizen Crowne.

He ſtood alſo free and exempt from any Office or charge whatſoeuer, except his pleaſure was to accept it: and moreouer, for his ſake, and in regard of him, his Father and Grandfather (if they were liuing) ſtood exempted alſo. Many *Romans* obtained to weare this Crowne, & eſpecially the moſt valiant *Cincinnatus Dentatus*, named before, who wonne fourteene of them. The ſecond *Capitolinus* had ſixe; and to *Cicero*, by particular diſpenſation, one of them was granted, becauſe he had defended *Rome* from the conſpiracy of *Catiline*. Theſe Crownes, whereof wee haue made relation, although they were made but of Hearbes and Leaues, and might

What Romans had the honor to wear this Crowne.

might more properly be called Garlands, or like to the *French* chaplets of floures: yet were they (notwithstanding) much more esteemed and renowned, then if they had beene of the finest gold.

Corona Muralis giuen for first scaling the walles of a Cittie or Castle.

As for the Murall Crowne, called *Corona Muralis*, it was of golde, and giuen to him that had assaulted and ascended the walls of a citty, or a castle, mounting first vp the scaling Ladder, and both freeing and defending the walles; which caused, that the Crowne was made in forme of an imbattelled wall. The first (according to *Pliny*) that obtained this crowne, was *Manlius Capitolinus*. *Scipio* also gaue it to *Quintus Trebellius*, and *Sextus Digitus*; becausе that they (both together) wonne first the enemies wall, before any other.

Corona Castrensis, as belonging to the Campe and Barriers ther of.

Corona Castrensis, siue Vallaris, was giuen to him that (in the fight) entred first into the Barriers, Railes, or Listes of the enemies Campe, comming off againe with credite and reputation: this Crowne also was made of gold, and shaped according to Bastions and Rampires of a field for warre.

Corona Naualis for boarding shippes at Sea.

Of the like mettall was the Nauall Crowne, *Corona Naualis*, which was bestowed on the man, that first (in fight at Sea) boarded and entred an enemies shippe: and it was in the shape of the prow or poynt of a ship. *Marcus Varro* made no disdaine of this Crowne, when it was offered vnto him by great *Pompey*, in the war against the Pirates. *Octauius* presented it also to *Marcus Agrippa*, and to *Sylla*: many other likewise had the honor thereof, wherof now I omit to speak.

Other worthy rewards for of merit.

When any Souldier of *Rome*, were he noble or ignoble, had made any proofe of his bodie, were it at the course of Launce, or in single combate: the *Romaine* Captaines or Generals were wont to giue him or them collers or chaines of gold and siluer, or bracelets, or girdles, accordingly as they had deserued, with other priuileges and preheminences. And such prizes they might giue to his frends, that had assisted them in the war: but as for the Crownes, they were reserued only for *Romaines*. Of all which things wee finde many notable examples in the Romaine histories.

Suet. in vita Octa. Cæsar.

Suetonius writeth, that *Octauius* permitted to *Marcus Agrippa*: that he might beare Banner of Azure colour: in regard of a victory which hee had obtayned at Sea, against *Sextus Pompeius*. He further affirmeth, that it was he who deuised first the gifts of Collers and Flagon chaines, with other particular presents beside, allowed only in such affaires, which would require too long a space heere to report. And heere it is well worth the remembring, that the Romanes were so valiant, that some one man hath wonne the honour of all these rewardes, or the greater part of them. For *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe name such men, amongst other *Marcus Sergius*, who obtained the most part of them. And in the warre at * *Thrasymenus* and *Trobia*, where the Romaines were vanquished by *Hanniball*, he wonne the crown called *Corona Ciuica*, as also in the ouerthrow at *Cannas*. This man was so valiant, that hauing lost his right hand in the battel, he shewed great valor with the left, and by meanes of a steele hand made him, in stead of the other lost, he foyled and slew 4. men in one day in the field of *Battell* ech after other: in which braue day of fight, and others beside, he receiued 23 wounds, & al in the fore part of his body.

The first deuiser of Collers, Chaines and other giftes.

Plin in libr 10. *cap.7.* *Iul Solinus in cap.9.lib.7.*

* A Lake in Hetruria.

Marcus Sergius a valiant Romaine.

Yet notwithstanding, neither this *Marcus Sergius*, nor any other beside, did euer deserue and attaine to so much as *Lucius Cincinnatus Dentatus*, Tribune of the people, of whom we spake a little before. Of him write *Plinie*, *Solinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Aulus Gellius*, affirming, that in iewels and presents of price, some greater then other, he obtained onely by actions of Armes, 320. and more. Beside, that he entred *Rome* with 9. seueral Generals, when they performed their solemne triumphs, & whom he had assisted in their victories. He had a great number of brokē Spears, shiuerd Lances, shafts of Iauelins, pikes without heads of steele, giuen to him as signalls of honour. He had 18. collers and gold chains; 83 of siluer: Of armors and furnitures for horses fitting war seruice, and thereunto particularly appoynted, hee had fiue and twenty: an hundred and fortie bracelets; eight Castrenses; three Murales, one Eliodionale, and I know not how many Nauall. In seuerall fought battailes, hee had taken fiue and fourtie wounds, all of them before vppon his bodie; and no more then one only behind, and thirty foure times he

45. wounds all before on his body, and but one onely behind.

The Romane Achilles Lucius Cicinnatus Ventatus.

hee had disarmed and dispoyled the enemy, hauing personally bin present in sixe score encamped battells. Nay, he was so valiant and fortunate in Armes, that hee was sirnamed the *Romaine Achilles:* and although his performances may seeme to the world incredible; yet notwithstanding the multitude and conformitie of histories doe auouch them.

* The chiefe Chaire in the Councell-houle.

Statues allowed to be erected by Captaines and Generalls, & their enemies Armies in Temples.

Manubiæ, the spoiles of enemies.

The *Romaines*, for famous actions in Armes, conceded (beside) other honours and preheminences, as power of publique iudgements, and sitting in the chaire of **Curules*, which was the seate of the *Ædiles* and *Prætor*, and which was permitted to *Scipio*. Somtimes also there they gaue consent, for the greatest authorities of Souldiers, according as they were suffered by the people to doe: concerning a degree or state, submitted to the libertie of the *Patriottes* and people. Captaines likewise were permitted to erect triumphall Statues, and to decke and cloathe themselues, euen as if they had beene Consulls. The Senate granted (by forme of salary and congratulation) that they might place in Temples, the armes and spoiles of enemies conquered by thē in battels: and such things were tearmed *Manubiæ*, as much to say, as spoyles and booties taken from an enemy.

Respect of slaine Souldiers children, and men of long seruice, for their dwelling and abiding.

Furthermore, the *Romains* had a commendable custome, concerning such as had beene slayne in their warres; that their children should haue and enioy the like wages, as they gaue vnto their fathers liuing. And to olde Souldiers, that had long time followed the wars; such good allowance of land, as they might well and easily liue thereon. Suffering them also to dwell in Citties, Townes, and Prouinces conquered and subiected, where themselues pleased to make election. In this manner the Cittie of *Siuill* was made a Colony for *Rome* by *Cæsar*: which Colonies (according to the common *French* saying) may be tearmed a new dwelling, or transmigration of people. In briefe, the *Romaines* neuer left a good action vnrequited, nor without some great priuiledge; for the which cause, more valiant men were found among them, then in all other nations beside.

No good act left vnrecompenced by the Romaines.

I spare to speake of many other requitalls, which the *Romaines* vsed in respect of Armes, thinking already I haue sayde enough. Notwithstanding, it is a matter most certaine, that as they excelled all Nations, in both acknowledging and rewarding honest seruices: so they came not a iote behinde vs, in teaching and correcting where occasion required. For when men were not to bee moued by regard of honour and vertue, or by necessity and gaine, to doe what was good; yet they were compelld to doe no vile thing, both in respect of shame, and feare of punishment. For the paines were great and rigorous against such as shewed themselues to be slouthfull and negligent: because when they lost honour, beeing called thereto, and might by their owne indeuour haue had it; they were well and soundly whipt, till the blood followed. Some were manacled with yrons like slaues; and if they fled away, and forsooke their Captaines in battaile, they were impaled or spitted on stakes, or else crucified: for, answerable to the delict, so was their punishment.

No want of doctrine and discipline among the Romaines.

Correction and punishment for idle and negligent persons.

Titus Liuius writeth, that the Souldiours of a Squadron, belonging to *Appius Claudius*, to whom the keeping of a place was giuen in charge; forsooke and lost it. He being desirous to inflict punishment, and yet to mixe it with mercie: they were selected by numbers of tenne, and then to cast lottes, and they on whom the lot fell, were put to death for all the rest. *Iulius Frontinus* sayth, that *Marke Anthony* did the very like to a band, which had not defended the rampires, but suffered the enemies to set fire on them. Other inflictions also hee imposed vppon Souldiours, for disobedience and other offences, requiring more time then I am permitted. Wherefore I will shape my conclusion thus onelie, that as those times wanted not remunerations and honours for well doing; so, they were as forward in correcting wicked and bad actions.

Tit. Liuius in Dec. 9. lib. 4. c. 7

Iul. Frontinus in lib 7. cap. 3.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

¶ *Of the reaſon wherefore Sleep was granted and giuen to man: And likewiſe, that too much ſleep is vicious and hurtfull.*

SLeep was naturally giuen to man for his conſeruation; becauſe there is not any naturall worke, but it hath neede of reſt and repoſe. *Ariſtotle* ſayth, *Euery creature that hath bloud, ſleepeth:* and there he proueth by good reaſon, and likewiſe by experience, that fiſhes doe ſleepe. Sleepe is a repoſe of all the ſences, and proceedeth from the fumes and euaporations, which (in regarde of foode receiued) ariſe from the ſtomacke to the braine, by the coldneſſe whereof, the hot vapours are temperated, and make the exteriour motions and ſences ſleepy: then retyring the vitall ſpirits to the heart, all the members become drowſie, and reſt from their trauaile, vntill ſuch time as the vitall ſpirit (which is the inſtrument whereby the ſoule frameth her operations, gouerning and commanding the whole body) doth recouer new forces, and ceaſſing or diminiſhing thoſe vapours, man awaketh from ſleepe, and then the ſences and powers returne more freſhly, with farre greater power to their operations.

Ariſt. in Animal. lib. 4. ca. 3.

What ſleepe is ſaid to be.

What ſleepe worketh by his courſe in the body of man.

Concerning the occaſions of ſleepe, *Ariſtotle* diſcourſeth at large in his Book of Sleepe and Vigilancie: and *Plutarke* declareth diuers opinions of the Philoſophers, beſide ſundry naturaliſts. But although it is for the reſt and health of the body, yet it muſt be taken moderately; *Becauſe long ſleepe* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *weakeneth the naturall and animall ſpirit, euen as the moderation thereof doth giue them vigour:* for many things are neceſſarie, which neuertheleſſe are hurtfull, if they be receiued exceſſiuely. Foode is both needefull and ſauourie, and yet notwithſtanding, if it exceede meaſure, it harmeth, and hath no relliſh at all. In like maner, moderate trauaile is wholeſome; but vſed with extremity nothing is more damageable. And ſo I ſay of ſleepe, that it ſhould not be taken but vpon neceſſitie, for recreation and repoſe of the ſences, the ſpirits and members of the body.

Ariſtot. in lib. de Som. & Vigil. Plutar. in Mor.

Too much ſleepe is very dangerous.

All things are to be vſed with moderation and diſcretion.

Ouer-much Sleepe (as it ouer-loadeth the members and ſences, making them ſlouthfull, and enfeebling them by idleneſſe) ſo it ingendreth ſo many humidities in the bodie, that they make it ſicke, and killeth it, becauſe in the time of ſleep, all the moiſtures of the bodie (with the naturall heate) retire themſelues to the exteriour partes, and then they make no euacuation of the ſuperfluities and humidities thereof. Alſo, ſleepe immeaſurably vſed, not onely is prohibited by naturall Philoſophers and Phiſitions; but likewiſe it is reprooued by all wiſe men of vnderſtanding. *Ariſtotle* ſayth, *During the time of ſleepe, there is no difference betweene the wiſe man and the foole.* And queſtionleſſe, although a wiſe man had not any other occaſion to make litle vſe of ſleepe, but for equalling himſelfe with a ſottiſh Ideot; yet hee ſhould auoyd and ſhunne the exceſſe (though ſleepe maintaineth life, and is very wholeſome) in conſidering with his beſt cogitations, that he which ſleepeth, is not liuing. And as *Plutarke* ſayth in his Booke of the contention betweene fire & water: *The man that ſleepeth hath no more ſtrength or knowledge in his ſleeping, then if hee were dead.* *Pliny* is of the ſame opinion, ſaying; *Sleep taketh from vs the halfe part of our life, conſidering, while we are in ſleepe, we neither know nor feele, whether wee are liuing or no.* *Ouid*, and other Poets beſide, with men of no mean learning, do call ſleepe, *The ſimilitude of death.*

Excеſſiue vſe of ſleepe both ſickeneth and killeth the body.

Ariſt. li. vbi ſup.

Sleepe equalleth a wiſe man with a foole.

Plutar. in trib cont. de Ig. & Agn.

Plin li. 36. ca. 9

Saint *Paul*, in the fourth chapter of his firſt Epiſtle to the *Theſſalonians* ſayth, *Brethren, I would not haue you ignorant, concerning them that are aſleepe:* in ſpeaking theſe words, hee plainely meaneth death. Then it followeth thus: *Such as ſleepe in Ieſus Chriſt, will God bring with him.* Sleepe likewiſe is the reſemblance of negligence and ſlouthfulneſſe, accor- to Saint *Gregorie*, who ſaith; *For a man to ſleepe, is to keep himſelfe and perſeuere in his ſinnes.* If ſleeping thus had not beene vnderſtood to ſinne, Saint *Paul* would neuer haue ſayd ſo many times: *Awake yee iuſt, and ſinne no more.* A man then may very

1. Theſſ. 4. 13. 14.

S. Gregor. in lib. 8. de Moralib.

2. Corinth. 7. 9

very well ſhame, to ſpend the moſt part of his life ſleeping in his bed; for therein he ſinneth no leſſe then he that ſitteth all day at a Table feeding: in regarde, that theſe things ought not to be taken, but for the ſuſtentation of life, and not the hurt thereof, and of the ſoule alſo; wherefore ſleepe is allowed for ſuſtenance, and not for voluptuouſneſſe.

Sleepe to be vſed for ſuſtenance, and not for voluptuouſneſſe.

Seeing then it ſhould bee employed onely for the health of the bodie; let vs now vnderſtand, after what maner a man ſhould lie in his bed for Sleep, to the end it may be profitable to him. I reade, that the moſt profitable kinde of ſleeping for any well diſpoſed perſon, is firſt to beginne ſleepe vpon his right ſide; and afterward (for the moſt part of the night) to turne and reſt vpon his left ſide; and in the ending of his ſleepe, to turne a while on the right ſide againe. The reaſon is, becauſe the ſtomacke of a man is ſeated in ſuch ſort, that the mouth thereof leaneth ſomewhat more to the right ſide then to the left; but the hollow heart or bottome thereof, declineth a little toward the left ſide. So that by lying down to ſleepe (for an houre or two) on the right ſide, the ſtomacke extendeth it ſelfe and reſteth vpon the liuer. And hence enſueth two eſpeciall commodities; the firſt, that the ſtomacke ordereth it ſelfe, and in that preparation, the foode deſcendeth downe the more eaſily: the ſecond, that the humidity of the meate receiued, refreſheth the liuer, and by that refreſhing, naturall heate taketh ſtrength in the ſtomacke, to beginne and cauſe digeſtion.

In what manner a man ſhould lie in his bed.

How the ſtomacke is placed in the bodie.

Two benefits by lying down and reſting on the right ſide.

After that theſe two good effects haue followed one another, then it ſhall be fitting to turne vpon the other ſide, becauſe by being ſo turned, the liuer cometh and couereth the ſtomacke, and embraceth it euen with wings, (as it were) ſo that his foode retaineth more to the liuer, and thereby perfecteth digeſtion. Neuertheleſſe, it is good in the morning, for a finall conſummation of that times ſleepe, to turne againe vpon the right ſide, to the end that the ſtomack may beginne to eaſe and diſcharge the liuer, and likewiſe to expell the ayre or ſuperfluitie of the paſſed digeſtion. This rule is good, and will bee well acknowledged by him that hath a qualified liuer, and his ſtomacke not cold, but that theſe two members are ſound and temperate in him. But he that hath an ouer-hot liuer, and a cold ſtomacke, as many times it commeth ſo to paſſe: it is not good for him to ſleepe vpon the right ſide, becauſe the ſtomacke falling vpon the liuer, ſtraineth and preſſeth it in euery part, heating and enflaming it exceſſiuely, ſo that the vpper part of the ſtomacke continueth vncouered by the ſuperiour part, cooling and weakning it more and more; whereby the very greateſt heate of the liuer carrieth and beareth vpon it, all the little left in the ſtomacke before, whence enſueth bad digeſtion, and conſequently a ſickly diſpoſition. Wherefore the man that hath a cold ſtomacke, and a hote liuer, it is not wholeſome for him to ſleep on his left ſide; becauſe the ſtomacke being wholly couered with the liuer, it maketh digeſtion; and as for the liuer, lying ſo aloft vpon the ſuperior part, it is both diſcouered and diſcharged, and by that meanes refreſheth it ſelfe, and is not enflamed at all.

The benefit by turning vpon the left ſide.

The reaſon for turning againe on the right ſide to finiſh ſleepe.

Of an ouer-heated liuer, and a colde ſtomacke, and what infirmities do attend thereon.

Of a cold ſtomacke and inflamed liuer.

There are ſome alſo, that make a cuſtome of ſleeping on their belly, which helpeth and comforteth digeſtion, becauſe it aſſembleth and retayneth naturall heate in the ſtomacall part, which is in the better diſpoſition for euacuating ſuperfluities. The contrary commeth to ſuch as ſleepe on their backe, with the face openly diſcouered: in regarde that naturall heate extendeth it ſelfe abroad, by which meanes digeſtion is weakened, and the ſuperfluities can not be purged by the mouth, nor by the ordinarie conduites and paſſages: but remaine in the breaſt and in the throat, which oftentimes cauſeth ſtuffings and ſuffocations, with Epilepſies and other infirmities.

Of ſuch as do ſleepe vpon their face and belly.

Of ſuch as ſleepe vpon their backe, and what enſueth thereon.

The wiſe therefore doe alſo councell and aduiſe, that a man ſhould not ſleepe too much ſtretcht out in his bed, becauſe thereby digeſtion is greatly weakned and impaired: for according to the Philoſophers rule; when the vertues and forces are vnited together, the operation is ſo much the better. But being moderately and indifferently heaped or doubled, the carnoſitie which couereth the ſtomacke, ioyneth the more cloſely to it, heating and ſtrengthening it better then before. Theſe rules whereof I haue ſpoken, are neceſſa-

Of ſleeping too much ſtretcht out in bed.

neceſſary for ſuch as bee dainty and delicate, and thoſe of weaker diſpoſition, but that be healthfull, luſty, and able, the beſt rule that they can obſerue, is to keepe the cuſtome which they haue bene moſt vſed to.

CHAP. XLIIII.

Of an ancient vſe and cuſtome in Spaine, *in making their account of times, by theſe words; Here de Cæſar: What that Here is, and wherefore, and when the vſe thereof was left.*

Here de Cæſar obſerued as we do the yeare of our Lord God,

IN auncient times they had a cuſtome in *Caſtile*, when-ſoeuer they dated writings & inſtruments of reckoning or worth; they wrote downe the words of *Here de Cæſar*, in ſuch ſort as we ſet downe the yeare of Grace, or of our Lord God, and the ſame ſtile was obſerued in Chronicles and Hiſtories, as hath bene obſerued by many diligent Readers. And although this matter hath bin ſeene and diſcourſed by many; yet few people haue vnderſtood the occaſion and originall of this vſe, neyther wherefore the word is tearmed *Here*.

The firſt reaſon conſider ning the word Here.

In mine opinion, there may bee two good reaſons rendred. The firſt, that this word *Here* was written with an aſpiration, and ſo haue I found it in ſome places of the Spaniſh Hiſtory; although in ſome other it is not ſo. But being ſo, we ſay, that it commeth of the Latine word *Herus*, which is as much to ſay, as Lord: and thereby it followeth, that *Here* may be vnderſtood for Lordſhip, Soueraignty, Monarchy, or Reigne and Dominion: and that *Here de Cæſar*, implyeth the Monarchy of *Cæſar*, that is to ſay, the beginning of Monarchy, which is vnderſtood of *Octauius*. Of this opinion is *Antonius Nebricenſis*, for in his vacabulary for the Spaniſh Language, he ſaith; *Here de Cæſar*, is namely the Monarchy of *Cæſar*.

Here de Cæſar, the Monarchy of Cæſar.

Anton. Nebricenſ. in Vocabular.

Aſtrologers in their accounts, and eſpecially king *Alphonſus* in his Tablets, nameth the beginning of reignes by the word *Here*: as that of *Philip*, that of *Alexander*, that of *Nabuchodonoſor*, that of *Cæſar*, and many other. And yet notwithſtanding, although this may ſeeme to bee a caſe cleare and euident, yet there is a kinde of difficulty, wherein it is expedient to yeeld ſatisfaction. To wit, that as *Euſebius*, *Paulus Oroſius*, and diuers other writ, Chriſt was borne in the 42 yeare of the Empire of *Octauius*: if it be ſo, it appeareth that *Here* ſhould anticipate the 42 yeares of Chriſts Natiuity, in regard that it hath reſpect to the beginning of *Cæſars* Empire, according to due conſideration. Neuertheleſſe, it anticipateth but of thirty eight yeares, according to king *Alphonſus* his ſetting downe: wherefore the Text hath not fayled, for euermore *Here de Cæſar*, precedeth the birth of Chriſt thirty eight yeares.

A queſtion concerning the Natiuity of Chriſt.

The four firſt yeares Octauius had no command in Rome.

The account of Aſtrologers.

I vnderſtand this to enſue from *Euſebius*, *Oroſius*, and all the reſt, who naming the birth of Chriſt, to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of the Empire of *Octauius*; begin their account of his Empire, at the firſt day of his entring Rome, ſoone after the death of his vnkle *Iulius Cæſar*, where he arriuing, was made Captaine with the Conſuls *Hirtius* & *Penſacus*, againſt *Mark Anthony*. In ſetting downe the account of time ſo, and not otherwiſe, the birth of Chriſt commeth iuſtly to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of his Empire: notwithſtāding, they that make their account by *Here*, leaue out foure yeares at the beginning. And it ſeemeth they had good reaſon ſo to doe, becauſe in thoſe 4 firſt yeares, *Octauius* held no commaund in Rome, neyther had the gouernement without reſiſtance: for at the entring of thoſe foure yeares, he had warre againſt *Marke Anthony*. Then going afterward to Rome with his troopes, he had the Conſulſhip perforce, in the place of *Hirtius*, he being dead at his comming.

The diffrence of Writers in the ſetting downe their account.

The Triumuirate of Octauius, Marke Anthony and Lepidus, and their bloody proſcription.

When theſe things were done, hee made an accord & conuention with *Mark Anthony* and *Lepidus*, where they became all three (one after another) to gouerne for a certaine time, and made the cruell proſcription, whereby they did put to death diuers of the principall mē in *Rome*. Moreouer, he and *Marke Anthony* paſſed into *Greece*, in perſecution of the murderers of *Cæſar*, where they fought a battaile againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: after whoſe death

death and discomfiture, he left *Mark Anthony* in those Eastearne parts, and returned into *Italy*, where he opposed himselfe against *Lucius Antonius*, the brother vnto *Marke Anthony*, and besiedged him in * *Perusia*, constraining him to yeelde to his mercy. Thus hauing vanquished and expelled all his enemies, hee came (without any contradiction) to *Rome*, to gouerne *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, and *Germany*: for *Lepidus* was in *Affrica*, and *Marke Anthony* in *Asia*; therefore his entrance and Seigneury, was foure years after his comming from *Greece*.

* The Citty Perousæ in Hetruria.

In regard whereof, the account of *Here* and Monarchy, beginneth (by good reason) there, which is thirty eight yeares before the birth of Christ: so that *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and all the rest, who set downe the birth to bee in the two and fortieth yeare of *Octauius* his Empire, doe begin their reckoning, from the day that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine, he being his Vnkle. And this is prooued apparantly, because it appeareth by all histories, that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare seuen hundred and ten, from the foundation of *Rome*: & our Lord was borne in the yeare seuen hundred, fifty two, whereby there is a distance of two and forty yeares, all which are granted to the empire of *Octauius*. In like manner, according to *Eusebius*, *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the yeare of the worlds creation, fiue thousand, one hundred, fifty seuen: and our Lord (after the same *Eusebius*) was borne in the yeare fiue thousand, one hundred, ninety nine, wherein there is a difference each from other, of the same two and forty yeares.

When the account of Here and Monarchy iustly began, according to the proofe of Histories.

The death of Cæsar, according to Eusebius.

Account made according to the Olympiades.

If wee come to account by Olympiades, *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine in the second yeare of the 164 Olympiade; and Christ was borne in the third yeare of the 194. inclusiuely; which is also the same difference of two and forty yeares: in which respect, they set the empire of *Octauius*, two and forty yeares before the Natiuity. Albeit his true empire began four yeares after the time when his *Here* had original, and thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity: for during those foure yeares, hee was no Lord nor Commander, as all the Romane Histories do approue. *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Dion*, *Suetonius*, and more then all the rest, *Titus Liuius*, or to speake better, *Lucius Florus* saith, *That Octauius comming to* Rome, *when his Vnkle was slaine, was but eighteene yeares of age, and was Consull at nineteene. Then the warres being past, and all his enemies vanquished and gone; he returned victoriously to* Rome, *& Monarchised in the three and twenty of his age.* So that by this account, and likewise that of *Titus Liuius*, the empire of *Octauius* began foure yeares after the death of his Vnkle *Iulius Cæsar*, which agreeth with the account of *Here*, thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity.

Lucius Florus in Epit. lib. 125

The Empire of Octauius began foure yeares after his Vnkles death.

Some others doe allow of another reason or opinion, concerning this *Here*, by writing it with a dipthong Æ, without aspiration, and they say it is deriued of the Latine word *Aera*, for coine or money, *ex Aera conflata*, and that it had originall, from the beginning of taxes or tribute money, which was payed to *Octauius*, and called *Ære*, or the tribute of *Cæsar*, and not the empire of *Cæsar*, and that it was tearmed *Aera Aeræ*. It is further affirmed, that it was the name of a coyne or money, which was reckoned at a certaine value, and that from the time that was ordered and imposed, so they numbred and counted the *Ære*. Saint *Isidore* is of this opinion, speaking thus. *Aera singulorum annorum constituta est a Cæsare Augusto, quando primo censu excogitabo Romanorum orbem descripsit. Dicta autem Aera, quod omnis orbis æs reddere professus est reipublicæ.* Therefore it appeareth plainly, that this manner of account, came and receiued name of his money and tribute then payed. So hee auoucheth in the chapter following, in speaking of the Quinquennall yeares, where hee saieth: *Ad huc enim Consules, ad huc Aera non erant.* In like manner it seemeth, that *Ambrose Calepine*, in his Dictionary gaue this diction such originall, saying. *Astrologi quoque initium, à quo supputationes incipiant, Aeram vocant: dicta Aera ex eo, quod omnis orbis æs reddere professus est reipubli.*

The second reason concerning this Here, to come of Cæsars tribute mony.

Isidor in lib. 5. de Etimol. c. 36.

An account made from fiue yeares to fiue yeares.

Ambrosius Calepinus in Dictio.

Fryer *Alphonsus*, of the Order of S. *Dominick*, in his Euchiridion of times, hath these very words. *Another beginning came of accounting by the Ære of the same Octauius, who hauing the whole world in his hand, would know what people he had vnder his Empire: and therefore commanded by Edict, that euery one should be registred in the towne of his birth, to the end, they might giue*

Alphons. Fr. Dom. in Euchirid. Temp.

The name of Aera deriued from the tribute payed by them.

him (in signe of Seigneury or dominion) a kinde of money; and because this money was of mettall, the description thereof was named Aera. So that (according to these Authors) this manner of numbring the years by *Heres*, came from the tribute which they payed, and it was so written in Latine, *Aera*.

A question concerning the beginning of Cæsars Edict of taxation.

Notwithstanding, there remaineth yet another difficulty, of no meane importance, to wit, it seemeth that the Edict of *Cæsar* began not so long time before the Natiuity, as the thirty eight yeares which they count of the *Here*. Also it appeareth by the second chapter of S. *Luke*, that it began in the yeare when our Lord was borne, because he saieth *Exijt Edictum à Cæsare: There came out a decree from Augustus Cæsar*, and therfore the beginning accordeth not with that of *Here*. Wherevnto (in mine opinion) answer may bee made,

An answer to the former question.

that on the hither side of the East parts, to wit, those of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spaine*, this Edict might be begun by the commandement of *Octauius*, when hee had beene enstalled Lord and Emperor peaceably in *Rome*, which was thirty eight yeares before Iesus Christ was borne: but in *Assyria* and *Iudea* it was not then made knowne, because the Prouinces remained vnder the gouernment of *Mark Anthony*, vntill they came vnder the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, nd there is no contradiction to be found, but that eight and thirty yeares (before) he gouerned *France* and *Spaine*, and measurably impatronizing himselfe of the Prouinces, hee caused the Edict to be accordingly published. Wherfore it might so come to passe, that the first which was made knowne in those Countries, was that whereof S. *Luke* speaketh, and yet neuertheless, there were other Countries and Prouinces, where that *Here* had receiued beginning before.

The Edict could not so soone be knowne in remote parts as neerer home.

Venerable *Beda* sheweth this clearely, writing vpon the same chapter of S. *Luke*, expounding the words, *Vt describeretur vniuersus orbis*, he saith thus. *Signant hanc descriptionem, vel primam esse harum, quæ totum orbem concluserint, quia pleraque iam parte terrarum leguntur fuisse descriptæ. It seemeth this description, to bee the first that was vniuersall to the whole world; because before it, many Citties and Townes in particular, had bene described or set downe.* S. *Ambrose* affirmeth as much vpon the saide chapter of *Luke*, saying: *There were found many other Lands and Prouinces, which had beene registred downe.* *Lucius Florus*, in his abreuiation of 133. Bookes of *Titus Liuius*, writeth: *That* Cæsar, *soone after hee had vanquished* Marke Anthony, *imposed a tribute vpon al France, which was little lesse then thirty yeares before Christ was borne.*

Beda sup. 2. cap. S. Luc.

Ambrof. sup. 2. cap. S. Luc.

Lucius Florus in Abre. Tit. Linius.

But whether the cause arose by the first reason, of tearming it by the name of *Here*, or by the last; it is sufficient that it began eight and thirty years before the Natiuity. This custome of accounting by *Heres* is very ancient, especially in *Spaine*, as also among the *Arabes* and *Sarrazines*, and I think that the *Gothes* afterward vsed it, and it was not left so long as the Romanes reigne endured. *Isidore*, in writing of the *Gothes*, and of this *Here*, approueth it to be ancient. And although I cannot directly say, when it began, yet I know well enough, that it hath bene long time vsed in *Spaine*, as appeareth by the Spanish Chronicles, euen vntil *Iohn* the first, King of *Spaine* (who lost the battaile of *Aliubarata*, in the fift yeare of his reigne) commanded, that from thence forward, the *Here de Gæsar* should no more be vsed in writings and histories, but the birth of Christ; which was in the yeare 1383. and in the *Here de Cæsar*, 1421.

A finall conclusion of the two reasons.

Isidor in lib. vbi supra.

At what time Here de Cæsar ceassed.

THE.

The End of the Fourth Booke.

OF NOBILITY POLITICALL AND CIVILL.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

NObility, which many of the greater ſorts of wits, with great proofe of vncorrupted verity,& much flowing Eloquence,haue gone about to deriue out of diuers foundations, is of three ſorts: and is diuided into Nobility *Cæleſtiall*, which conſiſts in *Religion*: Nobility *Philoſophicall*,which is got by Morall vertues: and Nobility *Politicall*, whereof this preſent Treatiſe is. Out of the two firſt ſorts of Nobility,no man can come Noble,except that he the ſame,be a good man alſo. But out of this third ſort,a man, although he bee neuer ſo wicked and vngracious, may yet excell the reſt of men,euen in the higheſt degree of Nobility: ſo as did *Caligula*,*Nero*,and ſuch others like.

Nobilitie { *Cæleſtial* *Philoſophicall.* *Politicall.*

This Treatiſe concerneth onely Politicall Nobility.

The matter of Nobility, was in ancient time accounted of two ſorts,viz. *Theologicall* and *Morall*: For why,Nobility is a thing honourable,and of it ſelfe laudable: But without vertue, nothing (according to the opinion of *Cicero*) can be commẽdable,or praiſe-worthy. Of which thing, the ſeate and ſcituation of the *Temple of Honour* among the *Romanes*, was a notable example: whereunto there was no entrance or way,but by the *Temple of vertue*.

The Temple of Honour among the Romanes.

But by the prepoſterous innouation and change of things,that Nobility which was proper onely to the good,gaue place, and in ſtead thereof, that Nobility which is alike common vnto the bad and to the good,ſtept to the helme: yea, euen the word *Nobilis* (or Noble) it ſelfe, which ſome will haue to haue beene ſo called, as who ſhould ſay, *Noſcibilis, or remarkable, or for ſome vertue Notable*,began to be indifferently taken into both parts,good & bad: as *nobile Scortum*, a noble harlot,*nobile Scelus*, a noble villaine. Neyther in queſtion of Politicall Nobility,are wee any more to haue recourſe vnto the Diuines or Philoſophers, and much leſſe to the ancient Romane Conſtitutions (for the moſt part) diſcerning all thinges by Magiſtracies,Charges, and Offices, but onely vnto the diſpoſitions of the Princes and Monarchs of the world: who hauing the power of the gouernement of the world (as it were in a ſort common together with God)after their maner,gouerne Nobility according to their owne pleaſure and good liking, and ſo haue made the ſame hereditary. And heereof is it, that a ſtranger, made a Nobleman at Rome, or elſe-where, is not at home accounted in the number of the Nobility, his Prince being thereto vnwilling, and ſo contrariwiſe alſo. VVherefore, they which examine Politicall Nobility, according to any other rule, then the cuſtome of euery Nation, are vtterly out of the way. Yet in this ſo great diuerſity of manners and cuſtomes of Nations in all places, the ſame Definition of Ciuill Nobility agreeth vnto them all, viz. *Quod ſit qualitas, ſiue Dignitas qua quis legitimé à Plebeia conditione eximitur &*

Politicall Nobility commõ aſwell to the bad as to the good.

In queſtion of Politicall Nobility,we are not to haue recourſe vnto Diuines, or Philoſophers.

Barthol. Conſtitutudo,in vnaquaq; Regione eſt omnium Dignitatum origo, forma & Principium.

Politicall Nobility reſteth vpon the cuſtome of Nations.

per gradus erigitur. That it is a quality or dignity, wherby a man is lawfully exempt and by degrees promoted out of, and aboue the estate of the vulgar & common sort of people. Of this Nobility, there be two kindes, viz. Nobility *Natiue*; that is to say, by birth: and *Datiue*, which is by the Princes guift. For as for violent Nobility, such as was that of *Nemrods*, I vtterly reiect it.

The definition of nobility Two kindes of Nobility, viz. Datiue and Natiue.

But that these things may bee made more manifest, we will by certaine of the better Common-weales, euen vnto these our times, deriue the beginning of this dignity, and the manner of obtaining the same, as it were euen from the first infancy thereof, taking both the matter & the examples we therein vse, out of most authēticall and approued Authors, the sentences almost nothing, and much lesse the words, much changed, so that the well affected Reader, cannot of right, lay any thing thereof to our charge.

CHAP. II.

Of the Nobility of the first Age.

Nobility which in Adā was first Datiue in him began to be Natiue.

I Dare contrary vnto the common receiued opinion affirme, nobility *Datiue* to haue bin before, & more excellent then Nobility *Natiue*, exāple being taken frō *Adam* himselfe, whom all men know to haue bene made, and not borne: and verily to haue bene a Noble-man (if any other) as formed by God to the Image of himselfe, endowed with all good gifts, and made Lord and Soueraigne Ruler of all creatures; yea, euen of the whole world. But that cœlestiall Nobility he soone (alas, too too soone) lost, by hearkning vnto his wife: and that worldly Nobility which he yet retained, being vnto his children deriued, began first in them to be *Natiue*, or Nobility by birth. If any man therfore consider *Adam* his owne race and Progeny, he must needs confesse all the men of that age, to haue bene together Noble. But as in mans body for the preseruation of the whole, diuers functions, and offices of members, are required; euen so, in that first society of men (as in all others) a distinction of persons was necessary: wherefore the first Common-weale, which was of the family of *Adam*, and of his children, consisted wholly of Noblemen (to wit) of the children of one Father, and he the same, being a King, a Prophet, and a Priest; but yet not all of them to be with like honour reuerenced. For he, that first Housholder as it were by the decree of Nature, gaue the preheminence and cheefe place vnto his first begotten Sonne, so long as hee kept the right of his Birth-right, which order other families. Afterward following, constantly obserued: so that he which was first by Nature, should be accounted also first in honour. Yet neuertheless, was it altogether lawfull for the *Father of the family*, to make choise of his own children, that so according to euery one of their desarts, he might bestow vpon them honours, or take them from them.

A distinction of persons euen in the first society of men.

The prerogatiue of birth-right obserued.

Of the great number of *Adams* Progeny, & the discord of the Brethren among themselues, at length arose the diuision of Families, and so consequently, the vncertainty and forgetfulnesse of kindreds, and deadly hatreds and fallings out withall. By warre, the change of mens estates and conditions, and seruitudes are brought in. The vanquished, of Noble become base and vnnoble: & contrariwise, the victors, of base persons, became Noble. Men for the preseruation of themselues, haue out of families assembled together into Villages; out of Villages, into Cities; and out of Cities haue growne together into Prouinces, and so into most great kingdomes. In dangers and distresses, according to the rule of reason, wise men are called vpon for their counsel, valiant men for their aide and defence, vnto whom, as vnto men most worthy, the gouernment is committed; whereas the rest are enforced without difference, to obey without any respect of their stocke or kindred.

The diuision of Families.

Families to haue growne into Villages.

Villages into Cities. Cities into Prouinces, & Prouinces into Kingdoms.

These things to haue thus beene in the *Iewes State and Common-weale*, is vnto all men knowne, which are but easily read in the old *Testament*. First, that Principality and prerogatiue, was giuen vnto the first begotten, you shall easily vnderstand, if you shall diligently consider, that when *Adam* by reason of his great yeares, was not able longer to attend to the gouernment of the church, and of the common-

weale,

weale, *Seth* was made Gouernor, who the held the place of the first begotten. Vnto *Seth* euen for the same cause succeeded *Enoch*: vnto *Enoch*, *Conan*: vnto *Conan*, *Mahaleel*: vnto *Mahaleel*, *Iered*: vnto *Iered*, *Canoc*: vnto *Canoc*, *Methusehel*, vnto *Methusehel*, *Lamech*: vnto *Lamech*, *Noah*: who ruled ouer his Progeny an hundred & ten yeares after the Deluge; at which time, the disperſing of his posterity happened. Which disperſion being made, euery one of them bare himselfe as Prince of his owne family; which preheminence passed still vnto the first borne of that stocke and family: so that the first begotten of the principall family, still held the same. Neither ought any man to doubt euery one of the Patriarkes to haue ruled as cheefe men ouer their owne Tribes and Families vntill that the gouernment of the whole people was deliuered ouer to *Moses*. But concerning *Moses* himselfe, we reade in the fourth of Exodus, him and *Aaron* to haue gathered together all the Elders of the children of *Israel*, which was the first Assembly. In the 24. of Exodus, the Lord commandeth seuenty of the Elders of the children of *Israel*, to come vnto him, together with *Moses*: which seuenty (in the same chapter) are as it were by a knowne name called Nobles or cheefe Persons of the children of *Israel*. *Moses* beside, oppressed with the multitude of sutes, following the counsel, of *Iethro*, chose out of the people certain Captains of thousands which should beare rule ouer a thousand families: others of hundreds, who commanded ouer an hundred: others of fifties who had the command ouer fifty: and others of ten, who bare rule ouer ten, & determined of their lesser sutes and controuersies. Now that there were many Captaines of thousands, euen in one and the selfe-same Tribe, it is out of holy Scripture manifest; and these men, *Moses* here & there calleth, *The Heads of the Fathers, the Heads of the Tribes, Princes, and Heads of the Soldiers*; and amongst them were 12 chiefe Princes, especially chosen of the 12 Tribes, who somtimes were alone by thēselues chosen out for some especiall commission. But what manner of men *Moses* made Rulers ouer the *Israelites*, and what manner of companions he chose forth as assistants vnto himselfe in the gouernment of the common-weale, he himselfe in the first chapter of Deuteronomy thus plainly witnesseth. *And I spake vnto you the same season, saying; I am not able to beare the burden of you my selfe alone. For the Lord your God hath multiplied you: and behold, you are this day as the starres of heauen in number, &c. Bring (from among you) men of wisedome and of vnderstanding, & men knowne in your Tribes, that I may make them Rulers ouer you. And you answered me and said; that which thou hast saide, it is good for vs to do. And so out of the Tribes I tooke the Captains (men of wisedome and experience) & made them Rulers ouer you, Captaines ouer thousands, and ouer hundreds, ouer fifty, & ouer ten, & Officers among your Tribes, &c.* But wee enduced both by the weight of the words, and by reason, are enforced to cōiecture, *Moses* being a wise man, in this election and choise, to haue preferred men for their wisedome & experience famous and wellknowne, both for the gaining of the fauour and obedience of the people, and also for the better gouernment of the common-weale: neyther to haue any thing regarded such, as boasted onely of the prerogatiue of their birth; for otherwise, instead of helpers, he should rather haue associated vnto himselfe, the perturbers of the publike peace. Wherefore we set downe those seauenty Iudges by the commandement of God, appointed by *Moses* to haue bin of the dignity of Senators, vnto whō some men adde two moe, viz. *Moses* himselfe, and the High-Priest, as if that six had bin appointed out of euery one of the twelue Tribes.

Wherefore, by those things which we haue now already spoken, it is euident, as well *Datiue* as *Natiue* Nobility, to haue bin in vse amongst the *Israelites*, & sometime euen in one and the same family, to haue passed vnto the first begotten alone, or to some other graced with some publike Office in some family, whilst the rest borne of the same stock, in the mean time stucke fast within the bounds of them of the vulgar state and condition. And concerning the kings of the *Israelites*, it is to be thought also, as it is of the kings of other nations, that they according to their pleasure, ennobled many, eyther by reason, or by affection moued and induced so to do. But let vs now from the *Iewes*, passe ouer vnto the *Gentiles*.

The first begotten were still Princes of their owne Families.

The Nobles or cheefe Persons of Israel.

Captaines of thousands.

Centurions.

Captaines of fifty.

Decurions, or Captaines of ten.

The Heads of the Fathers.

The Heads of the Tribes.

Princes.

The Heads of the soldiers.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the first Greeke Nobility.*

NOthing was euer more vnconstant thē the greek Common-weale, with perpetuall changes still floating vp & down. The beginning of their Monarchy, I (as most are wont) will no further fetch, then from *Cecrops*. He first called the rude *Athenians* out of the fields, into a ciuill society, built twelue Townes, and diuided the Cittizens of them into Souldiers, Artificers, Husbandmen, and Shepheards. Euery Citty had Magistrates of it owne, neyther did they but in times of great danger resort vnto the King: yea many of them at times tooke vp Armes against their Kings. They which inhabite the *Champaine* Country, were commanded by some few. The Mountiniers were gouerned by a popular estate, and they which dwelt by the Sea-coast, had a mixt gouernement, in a meane betwixt both. And they which out of the whole body of the people, were called vnto the gouernement of the Common-weale, were honored for Princes, Senators, and Noblemen. *Plutarch* writeth, such men as were of greatest power in the Cities, to haue bene thrust out by *Theseus*, that hee himselfe might so alone raigne, yet diuided he the people into Senatours, Husbandmen, and Artificers: of whom hee would haue them of the first ranke, to excell the rest in dignity: them of the second sort, to excell the rest for necessary vse; & them of the third, to exceede the rest in multitude and number. But in the choise of the Senators, he had respect vnto their wealth, their learning, and especially their vertue, which things were required also in the person of the King. For *Demosthenes* in his Oration against *Neæra* sheweth, after the Common-weale set in order by *Theseus*, neuertheless by his hands stretched out, to haue appointed a King out of the number of thē which were thought to excell in vertue. Vpon the Senators he imposed the charge of bearing of Office, to consider and determine of matters of Religion, to interpret and expound the Law and sacred rights: and when he was desirous more to encrease the Citty, hee called all men indifferently vnto an equall part of the Common-weale. VVherefore, in *Theseus* his Gouernment, Nobility was gotten by riches, knowledge, and vertue. After the Kings, there was in the Citty a double *Democratie*, one which consisted in the power and gouernment of the richer sort of the Cittizens; and another, which rested in them all in generall which were free-men. *Solon* (the discord betwixt the common sort, and them of the richer sort of the people being appeased) after the slaughter of the *Cylonians*, restored vnto his country, the Democraticall or Popular gouernment, the Oligarchy or gouernment of some few, being quite taken away. He deuised foure orders or degrees of Cittizens: Them, which could of their dry & wet commodities, fill fiue hundred of their measures (called *Modÿ*) hee placed in the first order or degree. Them which could fill foure hundred of those measures, hee placed in the second ranke. Them which could fill three hundred, in the third, and al the rest in the fourth. And called the first of these *Modiales*, the second *Equites*, the third *Zeugitæ*, and the fourth *Thetæ*. All publike Offices, he appointed to be committed to them, which were placed in the three first degrees, and they so hauing borne Office, were accoũted in the number of the Nobility, but vnto the fourth ranke was no publike Office or Magistracy communicated; & therfore that ranke was altogether base and vnnoble. But after *Solon*, *Aristides*, and *Pericles* participated the Magistracies, euen vnto the basest and lowest sort of the people also, as *Xenophon* in his Booke *concerning the Athenian Commonweal*, setteth it down for right and reason, that they, euen of the meaner and poorer sort, should indifferently be called & admitted vnto all preferments in euery part of the Commonweale, for that they more profited for the enriching of the Citty, then did they of the Nobility. Euen plaine Cittizens, hauing well deserued of the Commonweal, were therefore among the *Athenians* ennobled. So *Leo*, for that he for the welfare of the commonweal, had solemnly vowed his daughters to death, was accounted & registred amongst the ten Worthies. And Nobility once by the Father obtayned, enno-

The first diuision of the Grecian common-weale by Cecrops.

Who were Princes, Senators, and Noblemē, among the Greekes.

A new diuision of the Athenian people by *Theseus*.

After Theseus a double Democratie in the Athenian Commonweale.

Foure orders or degrees of Cittizens ordained by Solon.

1. *Modiales.*
2. *Equites.*
3. *Zeugitæ.*
4. *Thetæ.*

ennobled his Children also.

But the *Athenian* commonweal was not so lauish & prodigall in the communicating of Nobility, as was in auncient time the Romaine Common-weale sparing and curious in the bestowing thereof. Wherefore this the Romaine State and Common-weale shall affoord vnto vs greater store and plenty of matter of this kinde and nature.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *Of the first Romaine Nobilitie.*

Romulus to draw strength vnto the city of *Rome*, but lately before by him built, ordayned an *Asylum* or *Sanctuary*, wherevnto the poore and base people out of Countries and places thereby by flockes resorting, gaue the first encrease vnto so great a citty. And out of this rabblement of people *Romulus* chose an hundred *Senatours*, which by *Iuuenall* the Satyricall Poet is in these verses noted.

Et tamen vt longè repetas, longèq; reuoluas
Nomen, ab infami gentem deducis Asylo:
Maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut Pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

And though from far thou dost repeat thy pedegree & (name,
Yet frō the base *Asylum* thou canst but deriue the same:
For he that was first Author of thy stocke and pedegre,
A Shepheard was, or else such one, I list not name to (thee.

Fathers.
Senatours.
Patricii.

Then *Romulus* for their honor, would haue to be created, *Fathers:* and for their age, *Senators*, and both them and their progeny he appoynted to be of the ranke of them that were of the *Senatours* discended. But afterward, the Common-weale being communicated also with the *Sabines*, he chose out another hundred. *Tarquinius Priscus* (or as some other rather would haue it) *Brutus* added vnto them another *C.* called the *Senatours* of the meaner sort of the People. *Valerius Publicola*, after the Kings were driuen out, chose threescore and foure more then an hundred, of the order of Gentlemen (in stead of so many *Senators* slaine by *Tarquinius Superbus*) which were called *Adlecti*, or men chosen: for after the kings driuē out, such as he saw to be wise, ancient, and of approued honesty, he ascribed into the *Senate*, as into the most graue & reuerend Counsell. After those first foundations of the Romaine Common-weale thus layed. Cittizens of *Rome* discended of the stocke of *Senators* (who before had borne the chiefe and greatest Honors) were by the *Dictators*, *Censors*, or *Triumuirs*, created *Senators*, and afterward also of the Order of Gentlemen were called into the *Senate*.

Adlecti.

Ordo Equester, or the order of gentlemen.

Wherefore, the Order of *Patricij*, and of the *Senatours*, to haue ennobled such as were thereof, there was neuer anie doubt; but concerning the order of Gentlemen, some there be, which make question. *Tiraquellus* thinketh the Romaine Gentlemen to haue holden the middle place betwixt the *Patricij* (or them which were discended from *Senatours*) and the *Plebeij* or Common People: for that *Tacitus* calleth them *Illustres*, or men of marke. *Martiall* also calleth the Order of Gentlemen, the Lesser Order and the Order of *Senators*, and of them that were discended of *Senatours*, the Greatest Order.

Many are also of opinion, Nobilitie to haue beene giuen amongest the Romaines, by the bestowing vpon them Rings of Golde: and most certayne it is, such gift of Rings to transferre the state and condition of a Free-borne man vnto them to whom they were so giuen, without which free estate no Romaine was deemed capable of Nobility. But when the vse of rings of Golde began in *Rome*, it is not manifest. *Pliny* writeth it of long to haue beene the Badge or Cognisance of them which were about to goe Ambassadours vnto forraigne Nations, and the rest of the *Senators*, to haue beene without them: neyther was it the manner and fashion for anie other to vse them, then such as had for that cause publiquely receyued them. And such Golde rings they vsed onely abroad, and iron rings at home in their houses.

The golde ring.

But afterward, the custome of wearing of Gold rings beganne to be vsed of all the Nobility, as it is written in *Titus Liuius* in his ninth booke, in these words; The *Senate* to haue burnt with such rage, and disdayne, because *Cneius Flauius* a late freed man was made *Ædilis*, that many

ny of the Nobility thereupon, laid aside their gold Rings, and Trappings of their Horses: wherein *Plinie* witnesseth many to haue beene deceiued, which thinke them of the order of Gentlemen to haue then done the same. For that (sayth hee) is also added: but the Trappings were also layde aside, for which the name of Gentlemen is put too. It is also recorded in the *Annales*, Rings to haue beene then layde aside by the Nobilitie, but not by the whole *Senate* in generall. Whereby it is manifest, that the Gentlemen as then had no right to weare a Ring, and that it belonged but vnto the Nobilitie onelie; that is to say, vnto the *Patricij*, and the *Senators*, although they were not themselues *Patricij*; that is to say, discended of *Senators*, for that the dignity of a *Senator* gaue beginning to Nobilitie.

The right of wearing of a Ring, to whō it belonged.

The dignitie of a Senator.

But after that Iudiciall causes were translated from the *Senate* vnto the *Gentlemen*, the vse of Rings together withall, passed vnto them also; which was not then so much the cognisance of *Gentlemen*, as it was of *Iudges*, and yet not of all them, but of them which were of greatest dignitie and honour. Rings (sayth *Pliny*) diuided the other Order from the vulgar People, as soone as they once beganne to be men of marke and fame, and afterward. But, Rings verily put a middle and a third Order or Degree of men, betwixt the Common-people, and the *Senators* or *Fathers*: and that name which horses of seruice before gaue vnto men, this name (I say) the Iudges now giue vnto money: neyther was that long agoe done: for *Augustus* the *Emperour*, disposing of the *Courts*, the greater part of the *Iudges* wore Iron Rings, and they were not called *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) but *Iudices* (or *Iudges.*) The name of *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) rested in the troops of publique horsses. But afterward, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of *Tiberius*, when the Order of *Gentlemen* was come into an vnion (for so he termeth it) order was taken for the credite of the wearing of Rings, as that they should be vnto all *Gentlemen* common. And at length (saith hee) when as *Caius Sulpitius Galba* going about to gaine the credite of a youthfull good name with his Prince, by the fines of Tauernes and Victualling houses) had complained in the *Senate*, euen Chapmen and Pedlers to be defended from the penalty of such their misdemeanor, by the wearing of Rings; it was for this cause by the *Senate* decreed, that it should not bee lawfull for any man to wear a Ring, but vnto him who being free born, both by his father and grand-father by the Fathers side, was valued at 40. *Sestertices*. And by the Law *Fuluia* concerning the *Theater*, to such as had place and did sit in one of the foureteene orders or degrees. Heereby it came to passe, that they seemed to be of the Order of *Gentlemen*, which did weare golde Rings, for that it was not lawfull for any so to doe, but such as had a *Gentlemans* substance. And therefore *Suetonius* writeth, *Iulius Cæsar* when as in exhorting of his Souldiers, he oftentimes shewed the finger of his left hand, and said, that he could willingly, for their sakes, be content to pluck off his owne Ring; to haue been thought in so doing, couertly to haue promised vnto euerie one of them, the right to weare a Golde Ring, and the substance of a Gentleman. But after that it was permitted to all Gentlemen indifferently to weare them; that marke (sayth *Plinie*) beganne to bee indifferently of all men desired: For before, Gentlemen and Iudges were knowne by their Iron Rings; but at length, whilest the Order of Gentlemen is seperated from the Free-borne-men, the wearing of Rings was communicated with them that were bond-men, and of seruile condition: that is to say, with such as were of bondmen and slaues, become free. Howbeit this right of wearing of gold Rings, was not wont in ancient time to be giuen to any other, but to such as had right manfully and valiantly behaued themselues in the wars; neither was the right of wearing of a gold Ring, euer giuen to such, as were of bond-men made free, except they were also made free-men borne, (which was in auncient time a Priuiledge not to be granted but by the Prince.) And it was alwaies in ancient time, accounted a greater matter to be a freeman borne, then to be rewarded with the right to weare a gold Ring: For that sheweth vs euen from our birth to be freemen born, whereas this right of wearing of a gold Ring, indeed, either blottes out, or as much as it can, washeth away the staines of seruitude; yet so, as that the

Ingenuitie or freenesse of birth.

signe

signe thereof for euer remaineth. But the creating or restoring of a man vnto Gentry, commeth nearer vnto Nature, which bringeth with it all the commodities of naturall Gentry, and that belonged onely vnto the Prince, to restore agayne a man banished or cast into exile, vnto his former estate and place: who beeing so restored vnto their bloud or birth-right, were not onely ingrafted into the number of the cittizens of *Rome*, but also inrolled among the *Quirites*; that so, they might be partakers of all the honours and offices of the Common-weale. Therfore it is of *Pliny* called, *ius Quiritum*; that is to say, *The right and Priuilege of the Quirites.*

The right of Statues or Images.

There was also among the Ancients, a certaine right of hauing of *Images* or *Statues*, which was by the *Senate* giuen vnto such, as had notably borne some great Office, or worthily deserued some great honours, which was not so much for the marke and signe of *Nobilitie*, as of the stocke and Family whereunto they were giuen. For, they which obtayned *Statues* for their stocke and family, there was no doubt, but that they thereunto brought *Nobilitie* also. And I know not what greater or more excellent thing there was, then to haue the right and power to vse *Statues* and *Images*.

Plinie in his nine and thirtie Booke thus writeth; *Apud Maiores, Imagines in atrijs erant, quæ spectarentur, expressis vultus singulis disponebantur armarijs, vt essent Imagines quæ comitarentur gentilia funera, semperq; defuncto aliquo, totus aderat Familiæ eius qui vnquam fuerat populus. Stemmata verò lineis discurrebant ad Imagines pictas. Tablina verò codicibus implebantur, & monumentis rerum & magistratuum gestorum.* In the time of our Aunceſtours, *Images* and *Statues* were in their Courts to be seene, liuely counterfaits and portraictures were in all their Studies and Closets placed, to the end that there might bee still Images, to attend and set forth the Funerals of such as were to be buried of that stocke and Family. And alwayes, when any Gentleman of note and marke dyed, all the whole race of them that were then liuing of that house and Stocke, accompanied the dead corpes; and from their Armes, lines were drawne along vnto the painted Images of them whose Armes they were. As for their Studies and Closets, they were full of Bookes and Records, testifying the Noble acts by them worthily performed, and the honourable Offices by them in the State & Common-weale borne and discharged, whilest they yet liued. Whereby it is declared, Statues and Images to haue bin rather the signes of some great Office well discharged, then of any Nobilitie. Neyther, that all the Images, of all that were of the stocke and race of them, to whom the right of Images belonged, were wont to be carried at the Funerall solemnities of their kinsmen, but onely the Images of them, who with great prayse and glorie, had borne and discharged some honourable Office, and who had of the *Senate* obtayned that right and priuiledge.

Wherefore *Cicero* reckoneth vp this right of hauing Images, amongst the ornaments of Magistrates. Such as are, the *Gowne*, the *Senators Robe*, the *Chaire of Estate*, and, *to haue the prehemінence to deliuer his minde and opinion first*: All which things passed not vnto their posteritie, so that they might vse the same in such sort as did the Nobility, of such as had beene *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and such like: which the *Romain Lawes* would haue to discend vnto their Nephewes in these degrees; that as well the women, as the men, vnto the Nephewes sonne, should be accounted of the same dignitie that their Ancestors were of. In briefe, he that had brought the right of hauing of Images into his Family, is to be thought to haue done no more, but that his owne Image might be carried foorth at his owne Funerall, and the Funeralls of them of his owne stocke and Kindred; and not, that the Images of his posterity, should also in such Funerall solemnity be carried; but onelie the Images of them who had gotten the like right. And these Images were kept at home in their houses, and were carried foorth at the Funeralls of them of theyr house and stocke, for an example of their Noble acts by them done. But concerning Images and Statues, many thus doe thinke, That they which had the Images of their Aunceſtors, were accounted and called *Ancient Noblemen*, and those which had but onely their owne Images, were reputed and called *New Noblemen*: but such, as had neither Image of their owne, nor

Toga Pretexta. Sella Cerulis.

nor of their Aunceſtours, they were reputed as baſe and vnnoble. And yet they of the common ſort of the people, hauing obtained the Offices (called *Curules*, or of the *Iuory Chayre of Eſtate*) had alſo their *Images*. And thus much concerning the right of Images and Statues: Now wil I againe returne vnto *Romulus*.

As *Romulus* had diuided the people into two degrees or orders (*viz.*) the order of the *Senators*, and of the *Common perſons*, calling their Progeny *Patricios* and *Optimates* (or the Progeny of the *Fathers*, and of the *Nobility*) and the Progeny of the other *Plebeios* (or a Progeny diſcended from the vulgar and common ſort of people) ſo deuided he their Offices and vocations alſo. Vnto the *Patricii* or ſuch as diſcended of the *Senators*, hee left the liberall profeſſions (*viz.*) the bearing of Armes and Offices, the making of Sacrifices, the deciding of controuerſies in Lawe, and the adminiſtration of all buſineſſes belonging in publique vnto the cittie and Commonweale: But to the *Common people* he left the bearing of Armes, alſo the tilling of the ground & the feeding of cattle: other baſe trades and occupations (not beſeeming free-men borne) he aſſigned vnto ſtrangers, Marchandize, and ſeruile miniſteries, he wholly committed vnto them.

The Romaines themſelues, he would not haue to exerciſe any baſe trade, or laborious and painefull buſineſſe; vnto whom hee forbad all vnhoneſt maner of gaine, for all ſuch manner of gaining was thought vnſeemely vnto ſuch as were *Fathers* in the Common-weale: neyther in ancient time could one be choſen *Senator*, or one of the *Patricii*, but by an expreſſe Law, to that end and purpoſe propounded to the people, which was the greateſt office belonging vnto a *King*, a *Conſull*, or a *Dictator*. But in what things the *Patricii* were diſcerned from them of the common ſort of the *People*, is by many examples tried: for the *Patricii* which excelled in Nobility, and which were honeſtly begotten and well brought vp, had a *Tablet* or *Iewell* on their breaſts, and little Moones on their feet, for they vſed Iuory Buckles, crooking horned wiſe, like vnto the *Moone*, which they ſay was ordained by *Numa*, that *Senators* and their poſterity, ſhould vnto their black ſhooes tie Moones, as if by the Character of the *Moone*, the number of an hundred had beene deſigned and figured, in which number the *Senators* were then contayned. But the Tablet they wore was of Gold, made in forme of an heart, wherewith they of auncient time, are reported to haue alſo ſealed their Letters: which Tablet free-borne boyes, and the ſonnes of ſuch as had ſerued on horſe-backe, vſed to weare, together with the imbroidered Gowne called *Prætexta*, vntill they were ſeuenteene yeares olde, which time expired, they then in a ſolemne feaſt hanged it vp vnto their houſhold, or harth-gods, whom they called *Lares*. Euerie honourable and noble youth wore this *Prætexta* or imbrodered Gowne about his coat, but after child-hoode paſt, this *Prætexta* being left off in the ſeuenteenth yeare, and ſometime in the ſixteenth, and fifteenth alſo, they put on the gowne (called *Toga virilis*) or *Mans Gowne*: that which was imbroidered with Purple, was wont to be giuen only to them whoſe fathers had borne the great Offices (called *Curules*) or ſome other great honors. The order of *Gentlemen*, and the *Common ſort of People*, in auncient time did weare no *Purple*. The garment of the *Tribune* of the *People*, and of them of the *Comminaltie*, was a cloake, ſuch as they called *Sagi*, *Endromides*, and *Cuculli*, *Caſſocks*, *Mantles*, and *Cloakes with hoodes*. But in ſucceeding times, the Commoners indeede did weare Purple, but yet different from that which the *Senators* wore (*viz.*) of a darke colour, and died with the iuyce of hearbs, and not with the right *Tyrian purple die*. Beſide that, *the Patricii*, by the inſtitution of *Romulus* had the *Auſpicia* or offices of *Diuination* belonging vnto them, and the *Senate* the offices of Prieſthood. But this ordinance (ſaith *Dionyſius*) continued not long, for that al things were made common with them of the Comminalty. And leſt any man ſhould thinke the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators* to be the ſame; *Tacitus* reporteth, the Emperour *Claudius* to haue ſelected out of the *Senate*, euery one of the moſt auncient ſort of the *Senators* into the number of the *Patricii*, there being now but a few left of thoſe families which *Romulus* called *Maiorum*, and *Lucius Brutus*, *Maiorum Gentium*. But there is another thing where-

The vſe of the Prætexta, or imbroidered Gowne.

Sagus. Endromis. Cucullus.

A Tablet
A litle Moone

Why the Romans vſed the Character of the Moone on their ſhooes.

whereat thou wilt happily more maruell, which is, that the *Comminaltie* growing strong (as there was a passing ouer from the state of a *Commoner* vnto the degree of one of the *Patricii*) so diuerse of the *Patricii* also went ouer vnto the *Comminaltie*, and so became of their numbers. The election of the *Senators*, according to the alterations and changes of times, belonged sometimes vnto the Kings, afterward to the *Consuls*, and to the *Dictators*. After the kings driuen out, we reade, the *Consuls* to haue chosen such of the *Patricii* as were deereſt vnto them, and afterward some of the *Commoners* also to bee *Tribunes* of the Souldiers with *Consulary* power, vntill that it was by the Law prouided, that the Censors should Warde by Warde make choice of them in the Senate. By and by after a substance was required for the creating of a *Senator*, and if he that was so chosen, did afterward waste and weaken his said substance, he lost also his order and degree.

A Senators substance.

Wherefore it is manifest, the *Romaine Nobilitie* to haue beene established in the dignitie of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators*, which not to haue beene denied vnto the Order of *Gentlemen*, we gather of that which followeth, although some others be of other opinion. *Dionysius* affirmeth, three hundred *Gentlemen* to haue beene chosen by *Romulus*, out of the most honourable Families, tenne out of euery Warde. Some of the *Gentlemen* were such as serued vpon a publike horse, altogether in the Cittie; othersome of them were such as serued vpon a priuate horse in the Armie abroad. The publike horse the *Censor* appoynted, and publique Horse-men, or Gentlemen, he created, as well out of them that were discended from the *Senators*, as out of the *Comminaltie*, who at length were for their substance created also, as were the *Senators*. But a *Gentlemans* substance was foure hundred thousand *Sestertices*, which being consumed and spent, the reputation and dignitie of a *Gentleman*, therewith took end also. *Isidore* writeth, That although a man were by birth a *Senators* sonne, yet vntill he came to lawfull yeres, he was but a *Roman Gentleman*, & so afterward came into the order of the *Senators*. *Liuy* bringeth in *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, thus speaking. *Equites Romani principis iuuentutis, Equites Seminarium Senatus, inde lectos in patrum numerum Consules, inde Imperatores creant.* The *Romaine Gentlemen* (saith he) are the Princes of the youth, the *Gentlemen* are the *Seminarie* of the *Senate*, out of them being chosen into the number of the *Fathers*, they create their *Consulls*, out of them they create their *Generals*. The *Romaine Gentlemen* did weare the *Robe of Estate*, neither could any man be of the order of the *Gentlemen* of *Rome*, but that hee must be free-borne. Wherefore, to be a *Romain Gentleman*, was somewhat a greater matter, then simply to be a free man borne. Yet *Pliny* hath written, the wearing of Rings, to haue inserted and put a middle and third Order into the People; and them to haue begunne to be euerie where renowned, and to haue diuided the other Order from the vulgar sort of People, or the Comminaltie; as if hee should haue saide, The *Gentlemen* at the first to haue beene Commoners, but afterward to haue been men of better note & marke: which according to the words of *Isidore* before recited, may seeme to be compared vnto the *Senators* children, who were accounted among the *Equites* or *Gentlemen*, vntill they came vnto the *Senators* age.

A publique horse.

In the question of *Nobilitie*, not onely the ignorant, but euen the learned also, much erre, whilest that they agree not vpon the proper signification of these words, *Eugenia*, *Nobilitas*, *Generosus*, *Nobilis*, *Ingenuus*, *Gentilis*; that is, *Honour of birth*, *Nobility*, *a Gentleman*, *a Noblemaan*, *a man free born*, *a Gentleman*, For while they interpret *Eugenia* the Greeke word, *Nobilitas* in *Latine*, (and with vs *Nobility*) the more generall word is brought in place and steed of the more particular: or as the *Logicians* vse to say, *Genus pro Specie*. For why, *Eugenia* or honour of *Birth*, is but the one kinde of *Nobilitie*, called *Natiae*, (and not all kinde of *Nobilitie*) requiring a certaine antiquitie of stocke, of riches, and of vertues as *Aristotle* would haue it) whose words are these: *Non diuites, neque boni, sed qui à virtutibus, diuitijs, vel antiquis bonis descenderunt Eugenes sunt habendi:* Not the rich men only, neyther the good men alone, but they which haue descended from Vertues, Riches, and good Aunceſtors, are

A Senators sonne, vntil he came to be of lawfull yeares accounted but a Gentleman of Rome.

to

to be accounted *Noblemen borne*.

Eugenia or Nobilitie of birth.

Nobility of birth, which is called *Eugenia*, is of *Osorius* defined: *Splendor vel dignitas generis in quo maximæ virtutes extiterunt vitæ Communi salutares & commodæ*. The luster or dignity of stocke, wherin most great vertues haue flourished, wholesome and commodious for the common vse of mans life. Which *Osorius* affirmeth, to be as it were subiect to rottennesse, and with olde age to be able to be consumed and ended. But this rule is not in our Court receiued. *Symon Symonæus* in these words reproueth *Osorius*, his name beeing concealed, or else some other man of the same opinion with him. *Supine loquntur qui aiunt quemadmodum summa Senectus mentis vini & consilium debilitat, sic etiam Nobilitatis splendorem mediocri vetustate augeri, extrema vero Senecta confici.* They speake ydly (saith he) which say, that as great old age doth weaken the force & iudgement of the minde; so also, the glory and luster of *Nobilitie* to be with moderate antiquitie encreased, but yet to be with extreme olde age extinguished. For as the similitude (saith he) agreeth not, so neyther doth it well conclude: For the more auncient that a Stocke or Family is, by so much the credit and reputation thereof is greater. And yet hee the sayde *Simon* forgetting himselfe in another place stumbleth at the same stone, by setting bounds and limites vnto the same *Eugenia*, or *Natiue Nobilitie*, and by decreeing that a long and continuate race of Noble Progenitours, in whom great vertues haue oftentimes shined vnto the number of three discents, doth make a true Noble *Stocke*, or *Eugenia*. And that the beginning of a Stocke or Familie, is no further to be deriued, then from the fourth Predecessor, lest in searching further, euen *Kings* themselues (as sayth *Plato*) should be deriued from *Slaues*, or *Slaues* from *Kings*.

Of this *Eugenia* or *Natiue Nobilitie*, all ages haue best thought, but yet so, as that all the right of *Nobilitie* should vpon it be ground: for a man may be Noble, although he be no *Eugenes*, or from *Nobiles* discended; yea, he may be more honourable then he which is so discended, although not so ancient a *Gentleman*. As a new made Earle, compared with an *Esquire* of a most auncient Family. As *Agathocles*, of a Potter made a King. What was *Romulus?* What was *Tullus Hostilius?* And what was *Tarquinius Priscus?*

But let vs now come to search out the signification of the aforesaid words: The *Romaines* diuided their People into *Free-men* and *Slaues*; of *Free-men*, some were of Bond-slaues made Free-men (whom they called *Libertini*) other-some, were *Free-men* borne, (whom they called *Ingenui.*) The *Libertini* were Cittizens of *Rome*, who were three wayes manumised or made free; that is to say, by *Will* or *Testament*, or in the open *Congregation* or assembly of the people, or before some publique *Magistrate* which had power so to doe. And hereupon happily in auncient time, when as this our Kingdome was much oppressed with seruile state and condition, the word *Francklin*, for a man made free, or enfranchised, was in vse, except you had rather it to haue beene vsed, for a *Free-borne-man*.

Of Free-men, some were freemen made some were Free men borne.

A Franklin.

But they were called *Ingenui*, or *Free-borne-men*, who neyther themselues, neither their Auncestors had euer serued as Slaues. And their Ancestors they reckoned vp, euen from their Grand-father, which is euident by these words of *Liuie*. *An vnquam fando audistis Patricios primos esse factos non è Cælo dimissos, sed qui patrem Cicere Auumque possint?* Did you euer heare it spoken, the *Fathers* to haue beene first made, and not sent downe from Heauen; but such as could reckon vp their Father and Grand-father: that is to say, nothing but *Free-borne-men*.

Ingenuitie or freedome of Birth.

Freedome of birth, opened a way vnto all degrees of Honours, which (euen as *Politicall Nobilitie*) was eyther *Natiue*, or *Datiue*; that is to say, by birth, or by gift. *Datiue Freedome* was by certayne *Magistrates* giuen, and at length onelie by Princes themselues, and that two maner of wayes, the one secretly and not so plainely, by the gift of a *Ring*, the other more expressely by name and perfectly, by restoring of men to their birth or blood. And whereas men of seruile condition were but by one name called and knowne, *Free-borne-men*, and *Men of free estate* and condition, had two or moe names. And the name which they tooke from their Stocke or Familie, is called *Gentile*,

The name Gentile is teken from the ſtocke or family a man co meth of.

Gentile, or proper to them of that race or kindred. And yet it is to be noted, names giuen by chance ſomtime to becom proper to a ſtocke or family. As *Tullius* was a name proper & peculiar to a Family, but *Cicero* was a name gotten by chance, and faigned of the Pulſe called *Cicer*, (or the *Cichpeaſe*) the forme whereof one of that family had vpon the end of his noſe, who thereof was firſt ſo ſirnamed: but that ſame name of *Cicero* began to be *Gentile* or proper to that Family, as to *Cicero the Orator*, to his Brother, and to their poſterity. *Tully* in his *Tropicks* defineth, *Gentiles eſſe qui eodem inter ſe ſunt nomine, qui ab Ingenuis oriundi ſunt, quorum Maiorum nemo ſeruitutem ſeruierit: qui Capite non ſunt diminuti*, them to be *Gentiles* (or of the ſame ſtocke and family) which are among themſelues of the ſame name diſcended of Free-borne-men, none of whoſe Anceſtors had ſerued as ſlaues, or had beene condemned to looſe their liberty, ſtate, or Country.

Who are to be accounted Gentiles, or of ſtocke and family.

They which were called *Gentiles* (or of the ſame ſtocke or family) were of neceſſity to bee diſcended from *Ingenui* or Free-borne-men; for that of Slaues, and of them whom they called *Libertini* or men of ſlaues made free, there is no ſtock or family. Wherefore, the right of *Gentility*, or of hauing of a Stocke and Family, although it was different from *Nobility*, yet is it not to be doubted, but that it was in great eſteeme & reuerence among the Romaines, and to them, to haue aboue all things deſired to bee called *Gentiles*, as men that had beene diſcended from ſome good ſtocke or kindred. And that deſire hath euen yet vnto this day poſſeſſed all *Italy*.

For among the *Venetians* they are called *Gentilhuomini*, who deriue their ſtock from the firſt Inhabitants of that Iſland; and which are themſelues *Patricij*, or diſcended from the *Senators*. And that word *Gentilhuomo*, as it were by hand deliuered from the *Italians* to the *Frenchmen*; from the *Frenchmen* remoued to vs; and at the length, together with the new place of dwelling, hath begunne to put a new ſignification, differing from that which *Gentilis* or *Gentilitas* was of, amongſt the auncient *Romaines*.

For it is falſe which ſome, & they learned alſo, haue deliuered, *Gentilitie* to haue beene proper onely vnto the *Patricii*: for why, it was common vnto the vulgar ſort of the people (as was *Ingenuity* it ſelfe) which appeareth by this one place of *Suetonius*. *Patricia gens Claudia (fuit etiam & alia plebeia nec potentia minor nec dignitate) orta eſt in Regillis*. The *Claudian* ſtocke and family, of the order of the *Patricij*, (for there was another houſe of them alſo of the Comminalty, neither in power nor in dignity inferiour to the other) riſe vp at *Regilli*. But they ſeeme to haue beene deceiued, by that which *Liuy* writeth, *Romulus* to haue created an *hundred Senators*, which he called *Maiorum gentium* (or of the greater families) and *Brutus* another *hundred* alſo, called *Minorum gẽtium* (or of the leſſer families.) But this proueth not, that we muſt therefore grant, only them of the order of the *Patricij*, to haue had a ſtocke and family; neither did this ſo calling of them, *Maiorum* and *Minorum gentium*, diuide them from the common people, but thẽſelues among themſelues only; for that, whereas they were all choſen of *Free-borne-Cittizens* (and which had their ſtocke and family) yet ſuch of thẽ as *Romulus* had created, brought the honour of the order of the *Patricii* ſooner into their ſtocke and family, then did they whom *Brutus* had freed vnto them. They are alſo called *Gentiles*, who in likenes of name agree among themſelues (although there be no kindred amongſt them at all.)

Among the *Athenians* they were called *Genitæ*, that is to ſay, *Gentiles*, not they which were ioyned among themſelues in ſtocke or blood, but were of thoſe ſort of people, who, diuided into Wardes, grew into a certaine ſociety and fellowſhip among themſelues. For among the *Athenians* there were foure Tribes, and euerie Tribe was diuided into three Wardes, which made twelue VVardes. And euery VVarde was diuided into thirty parts, which they called *Gentes* or Kinreds. But againe to the purpoſe.

VVhy a ſtock or family among the *Romaines* is to be deriued from the *Grandfather*, neyther could conſiſt but in two at the leaſt (*viz.*) the *grandfather* and the *father*: Some thinke the reaſon thereof to be, for that the *Latine* word *Gens* ſignifieth a multitude, which requireth mo then one: and yet *Gens* ſeemeth to be called, as

it were *Genus* (that is to say a stock or kindred) the Letter V. beeing taken away. Howbeit these two words differ, the one of them from the other, for that *Genus* signifieth a stocke and beginning; but *Gens* importeth as it were a certain multitude of Stocks, and of beginnings of Families and Houses.

Ingenuity, hath the grace thereof from Nature.

Ingenuity, or freedom of birth, had the Ornaments thereof from nature, and had respect vnto liberty, which it still deriued from the Grand-fathers. But *Gentility* was a matter of the ciuill Law, and was referred vnto the ancientnesse of *Agnation* (or kindred by the fathers side) differing from the other onely in antiquity of stocke: for it is not needfull to deriue or take *Agnation* farther then from the *Father*.

Which if it bee so, then *Gentility* and *Nobility* are all one and the same thing. And they confound *Gentility* (wherof the common people no lesse vant and boast, then doe the *Noblemen*) with *Nobility*: which deny him to bee a Noble-man by birth, but he whose Grandfather was *Noble*; neither agree they with themselues, when they dare to affirme (but by vvhat authority I knowe not) *Nobility* together with the seed of the Parents to bee passed ouer vnto their posterity, according vnto that saying of *Mantuan*:

Qui virit in folijs venit à radicibus humor:
Et patrum in natos abeunt cũ semine mores.

The beauty of the faireſt branch,
doth from the roote proceede:
And so the Fathers manners do
in their off-spring abide.

And otherwise out of *Horace*:

Est in Inuencis, est in equis, patrum
Virtus: neq; imbellem feroces
Progenerant Aquilæ Columbam.

In Bullockes, and in Horses eke,
the Syres worth we proue:
Nor doth the hardy Eagle hatch,
the weake and fearfull Doue.

By which Analogies, the learned Poets verily went about to stirre vp Noble and couragious youths, to the imitating of their Fathers vertues, being otherwise not ignorant *Nobility* whereof we intreat to be a thing ciuill or *Politicall*, & not naturall. And indeed of vnreasonable creatures, there be diuers kindes, but of men there is but one sort. VVherefore, as an Eagle bringeth not forth a Doue, so neyther doth a man beget a Hare. But admit that good men are begotten of good Parents, and valiant men, of valiant fathers. But if this be vnto mankinde proper, why are not good and valiant children begotten by good and valiant common persons also? For why, they are men aswell as the other, but nothing is then this rule more deceitfull. For through the corruption of mans nature, we see it oftentimes to happen, an vnthrifty sonne to be born of a thrifty Father: a foole, to be begotten of a wise man; a Coward, of a valiant man. Neither is this now any noueltie or new matter, but such as tooke roote euen in the first corruption of our Nature. For accursed *Caine* was the first begotten sonne of *Adam*, a most good father, and of him the same was good *Abel* begottẽ. *Iacob* also and *Esau*, were the twinnes of a most blessed father: of which two, God loued the one, and hated the other. And if there be any thing of great operation, which is passed ouer together with mans seede, it is altogether vice; so farre off is it from being of any vertue, which is euer with labour and study begotten, but born neuer. An Emperour (as *Ferretus* writeth) for his bodily substance is no better then other men; and yet for the highnes of his dignity, is most like vnto God. *Demosthenes* saith also, wicked Sonnes (as it were by a certaine fatall destinie) to bee borne of good Parents. It is also commonly saide in the Greeke Prouerbe, *The misfortunes of the Worthies sonnes*. VVhat should I produce the *Mathematicians* and *Astrologers*, which affirme *Nobilitie* and *Ignobility* much more certainly to depend of the force and influence of the starres, then of the constitution of parents.

And yet the vulgar sort, and not without cause, vseth to expect some greater thing in Princes children, then in poore mens; of which their hope and expectation, there are many causes alledged, as the great means Noblemen haue, for the best bringing vp and instructing of their children (for it is a shame vnto the sonne if he shou'd degenerate from his Father, being a Nobleman.) In briefe, the plenty of Kinsmen and Friends, giuing thẽ good Counsell. Neither was the Poets minde any other, if you marke his conclusion.

Adde quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes: Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.

Doctrina sed vim promouet insitam;
Rectique cultus pectora roborant.

Instruction, helpes Dame Natures powres,
And teaching, strengths those mindes of ours.

By *Natures ingrafted or hidden power*, hee vnderstandeth certayne seedes of vertues, which by the goodnesse of God alone, are yet in mans Nature, which become not otherwise fruitfull then do the seeds of Hearbs, according vnto the maner and fashion that they are manured & ordered with; so that a man well brought vp, may much more easily obtayne Philosophicall Nobilitie, then can a man that hath beene well borne.

Wherefore poore Countrey-mens Children, who know nothing more then their beasts and cattell, seeme rather to be rude *Siluans* then men. Whereas others, borne in better place, euen in the same Schooles, and in the same Studies, striue with Noble-mens Children, and would to God they did not so do, both with greater profit and praise.

Other reasons yet remaine, which prooue *Politicall Nobilitie* not to bee a thing substantiall, but meere accidentall: for why, it may be both present and absent, without the corruption of the subiect whereof it dependeth; so that the passage thereof may be letted by some heynous offence committed. It is also lost by voluntary departing or relinquishing of the same (when as Nature in the meane while cannot be thrust away with a forcke) which wee reade to haue beene done, of many of the Romaine *Patricij*, who refusing their *Patriciat* dignity, took on them the state and condition of the vulgar sort, or Commoners. Now many, through the Lawyers termes, are in this matter deceiued, who call the extinguishing of Nobility for some offence committed, *The corruption of blood*: which manner of phrase and speech, they vse not, for that *Natiue Nobility* is naturally and essentially in the humour of blood, more than other hereditarie facultie, but because the right of inheritance, which is by the degrees of the communication of blood directed, is by that meanes determined or ended, & in hatred of the crime, it is called *Corruption*, with the infection whereof, all their children are polluted and defiled.

Neither can a stronger argument be deuised, to proue *Nobility* not to be mingled with the blood, then that the *Nobility* of the *Grandfather* ennobleth not his nephue by his son, condemned to lose his liberty, state, or country. Of which this ciuill institution, a naturall reason is giuen; to wit, for that an vnable mean letteth & hindereth the extreams to be ioyned together. But yet it was wont to be demanded with vs, no otherwise thē it was long agoe with the ancient Romains, whether the nobility of the father being a *Senator*, do profit his son, being borne before his father had obtained that dignity? And whether such Nobility in the son, be *Natiue* or *Datiue*? Whereunto I answer, The child by our custom, to be immediatly by his fathers nobility ennobled, & their children, like the boughes of a tree, remoued into a richer ground, are green & florish with the same new moysture that the bodie of the tree doth. And such Nobility hath deserued to be called *Natiue*, for that it extendeth not but to them, which are borne of such a father. As for example: A Baron, being honored with the title of an Earle, his first begotten son forthwith taketh vnto him the title of some *Barony*, and all his daughters are saluted **Ladies** and **Madames**.

Natiue Nobilitie is not necessarily to be deriued farther then frō the father.

Wherfore we conclude *Natiue nobility* to be drawne from the father, & not to be needfull for vs to seek for it further: for it may be, that somtime it cānot be deriued from the grandfather, as in case that some great offence of the father come betwixt: for a man born of a noble father, is without all doubt by discent noble. But if anie man wil contend him, not properly to be *Eugenes* or nobly descended; I answere, the common sort of people most of al, do respect the same, but the *Iudiciall Court* to haue thereof no care at all. For otherwise some new Princes should be of lesse *Nobility*, then some meane Noblemen, if the priuileges of Nobility should be bestowed, after the ballance of proper and true *Eugenia*. Adde moreouer, that if true *Eugenia* should be vrged, it requireth not only our great grandfathers grādfathers, but euen all the rest of our aunce stours in continuall order, after them to be *Noble*, *Rich*, profitable for the Common-weale, good mē, & without spot or imputation.

An hard speech indeed, but an harder rule, and a consequence, of all most

hardeſt: Such a noble diſcended perſon, is a rare Bird, and yet ſome ſuch there be: but concerning that matter, heare *Ariſtotles* opinion. *Eugenia*, verily (ſaith he) I haue found but in few, and no where an hundred good *Eugenes*. Wherefore the Athenians called their Noblemen by more vſuall words, *Eupaterios* and *Eupatrides*, as who ſhould ſay, *Men borne of Noble fathers*: although I do know theſe words to be oftentimes confounded with the word *Eugenes*.

It to be no hard thing to affirme, that Nobility may be deriued from the mother.

I haue frankly affirmed Nobilitie to diſcend from the father to the children; and what if I ſhould ſay the ſame force to be in the Mothers nobilitie alſo? Surely, both reaſon and the opinions of Doctours, and ancient cuſtomes alſo, will be preſent for the defence of this cauſe. If Nobility draw any thing naturall at all from the Parents, almoſt the whole conſtitution of the Childe, is to be giuen vnto the Mother. It hath alſo ſuch ſhape (if we may beleeue Philoſophers) as the Mother conceiueth, together with the ſeede. For firſt, it taketh life from the Mother, it taketh likewiſe nouriſhment of and from the Mother, encreaſing from the Mother; and in briefe, by the conſent of all men, it, together with ſpirit and vitall humour draweth from the mother, affections, Vertues and vices. And that ſuch power is in the Mother, it is manifeſt by the precepts of Phiſitians, who command Parents to be moſt carefull to what Nurſes they put their children to be nurſed. In briefe, if the vertue of the Father be in the children to be reuerenced, why ſhould not the Mothers be ſo alſo? The manner of the Sex, doth neither diminiſh nor encreaſe Nobilitie, which is for it ſelfe to be deſired. Nay, in tender women it ſeemeth to haue both more admiration and grace.

It is of a certayne Lawyer well written; That amongſt the cauſes for which the honour and dignitie of perſons, is encreaſed or diminiſhed, that is of others the lighteſt, which is drawne from the difference of the Sexe: *Vlpianus* reporteth, the ſonnes of the women of the *Ilienſes*, of *Delphos*, and of *Pontus*, to haue beene aſſigned vnto the houſes of their Mothers, and not of their Fathers. *Plutarch* writeth, that amongeſt the *Xanthij*, the Sons were ingrafted into the ſtocke and family of their Mothers, and from them the name of the ſtocke and kinred to be deriued, and not from their Fathers. The ſame thing *Herodotus* reporteth of them of *Licia*: as that they ſhould take the name and credite of their ſtocke and kindred from their Mothers, and that he was with them a free-borne-man, and *Noble*, that was borne of a free-born-woman, and Noble; although his Father were a Slaue or baſe common perſon; yea, and by the Lawes of the *Romaines*, the Sonnes in ſome caſes follow the beginning of their Mothers. Neyther is it a thing vnheard of with vs, nor with other Nations, Sonnes to haue taken vnto themſelues, names from their Mother, which were of greater nobility then their Fathers; as *Rainatus de Clara*. *Spartianus* and *Trebellius Pollio*, haue written, *Macrianus* or *Macrinus*, to haue beene by his Mother noble, his Father being but onely a valiant and martiall man. You may alſo with *Cornelius Tacitus* reade this ſentence: *Iam depulſo Nerone, quiſnam eligeretur inquirebant, & omnium ore Rubellius Plancus, cui Nobilitas per matrem ex Iulia familia. Nero* being now depoſed, great inquiry was made, who ſhould bee choſen, and *Rubellius Plancus* was in euery mans mouth, who was nobly borne by the mothers ſide of the *Iulian* Family. And from theſe, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and *Statius Papinius* diſagree not, whoſe verſes I haue thought good heere to ſet downe.

VIRG.

Genus huic materna ſuperbum
Nobilitas dabat: incertum de Patre ferebat.

His Mothers noble birth, to him did giue a noble race,
For by his fathers ſide he was, born but obſcure & baſe.

OVID.

Eſt quoque per matrem Cylenonen *addita nobis*
Altera Nobilitas.

And by my Mother *Cylenonie*,
Is doubled my Nobilitie.

IDEM.

Hinc fuit Euander, qui quanquam clarus vtroque,
Nobilior ſane, ſanguine matris erat. (were

From hence did old *Euander* come, who thogh he noble
By both ſides, yet by Mothers blood, more noble did (appeare

PAPINIVS.

Sed quicquid patrio ceſſatum eſt ſanguine, mater
Reddidit, obſcurumque latus clarescere vidit
Conubio gauiſa domus. ——
Stemmate materno fœlix, virtute paterna.

What

What wanted in the Fathers blood,
the Mothers did requite the same;
And the base house reioyced much,
by such a match to grow to fame.
By Mothers Stocke accounted blest.
And Fathers vertues with the best.

Now the Reason which many Doctors bring, to proue the Sonne to be partaker of his Fathers Nobilitie, is this; *Euerie thing compound, partaketh of the forme and matter which agreeth to both the parents.* Wherefore, where the Law repugneth not with reason, this rule is to bee holden for true.

And now concerning *Nobilitie Natiue* (or by birth) I haue thus much spoken: and from hence I will directly proceede vnto *Nobility Datiue*, or to *Nobility* which commeth by gift.

CHAP. V.

¶ *The diuers beginnings of Nobilitie Datiue.*

BEeing about to search out the other kinde of *Politicall* or *Ciuill Nobilitie* (viz.) *Nobilitie Datiue*, and that euen from the first beginning thereof, certayne things before sayde, seeme heere necessarily to bee againe called vnto remembraunce. Their argument is first to be refuted, which say: That seeing *Adam* was a common Father vnto all men, whereof commeth it, that one man should be better then another? It is thereunto answered out of the same *Olde Testament*, out of which the question is risen, beeing of the like Authoritie and credite both with the Christians and the Iewes. *Noah when he had planted a Vineyard, and had tasted of his planting, hauing drunke of the wine, lay drunken and bare in his Tent. And Cham seeing the priuities of his father, tolde it to his brethren, who vpon a naturall honestie and vertue, with a Cloake cast vpon their shoulders couered their sleeping father with their eyes turned from him, and not seeing their Fathers nakednesse. But Noah awaked, and knowing what his younger sonne had done vnto him, he cursed Cham, commaunding him to be a slaue of all slaues.* By this shamefull and vnworthie fact, *Cham* with all his generation, carryed away his Fathers curse, seruitude, and the Title of obscure and base persons; whereas contrary-wise, *Sem* and *Iaphet* found all the Names and Titles of Honestie, Nobilitie, and Vertue, and their Fathers blessing withall.

Necessitie the cause of Nobilitie.

The *Datiue Nobilitie*, whereof our present speech is, was for many causes raysed and inuented. And first of all, vpon vrgent necessitie. For when as euill and wicked men preuayled, and good and honest men were oppressed: it was necessarie the good to be distinguished from the badde, and for the preseruation of the publique tranquility, to be seperated and diuided from them: wherefore, wise, iust, and vertuous men, and the lights, as it were, of the world, shining before others, were set ouer the rest, that they might bee vnto all men an example of godlie and honest life, that they might decide and determine all things. And at that time such wise men and prouiders for the Common-weale seemed by vertue to procure vnto themselues *Nobilitie*. For the olde Prouerbe preuailed with them: Vertue, and not blood to ennoble men. Such men were by the People called, chosen, & appointed Counsellers and Iudges, who by their subiects were elected and created *Kings* and *Princes*. And they, which for their worthy deeds had obtained such honourable Titles and Offices, ennobled both themselues and their posterity.

The ignorãce of the vulgar and common sort.

Another cause, also why *Nobility* began to be honoured, was the *Ignorance* & vnskilfulnesse of the *vulgar* and *Common sort af people*, who haue their sence, reason and vnderstanding so dispersed and scattered, as that they cannot gather, discerne, or iudge any thing certaine, firme, or sound. VVherefore, for the maintenance of the publike peace and tranquilitie, it was necessarie to make choice of *Princes* (that is to say, of Gouernours) men, for their vertue and wisedome, famous and Noble, who might compose and set in order the troubled estates, for lacke of knowledge disordered, and

with singular wisedome, and action, as it were by a certaine cunning, drawe the rude people vnto a more ciuill kinde of life, and courtesie of behauiour: such as were *Iupiter*, *Pallas*, *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo*, and many others. And these men, by their wisedome, vertue, and skill, obtayned not onely the Titles of Nobilitie and Dignity, but were of the vnskilfull multitude, accounted for gods also, and receiued from them euen diuine honors.

Wealth and riches.

We see *Nobilitie* to haue risen also, of the aboundance of wealth and riches: for many pinched with extreame pouertie, enforced to hang vpon the richer sort, and giuing themselues altogether ouer into their power, reputed them for *Noblemen*, and for such, both esteemed of them, and honoured them.

Noble actes.

Nobilitie also beganne of Noble and worthy acts done; for in auncient time, when as Nations were by their enemies oppressed, if any valiant and couragious man had from such oppression deliuered his Country, he therefore was aboue other men worthily honoured. Many also in ancient time by Martiall prowesse obtained *Nobility*, and therefore of the people accounted Noble: as was *Dauid* for the death of *Goliah* the *Philistine*. Some, immediatly from God were elected and called vnto Nobilitie, as *Iosua*, *Gedeon*, *Iepthe*, and the rest of the *Iudges* of *Israel*, who were Generalls ouer great Armies: othersome, were againe by God chosen euen from the Plough, to be rulers ouer the people, as the Princes of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*. King *Saul* called out of the field; *Dauid* from feeding of his flock, who thought themselues vtterly vnworthy of such a princely calling. But such as God hath ennobled, are of vs aboue all others to be accounted most noble.

Men immediately by God called vnto Nobilitie.

Knowledge in martial affairs

Yea, no small part, but euen the greatest part of *Datiue Nobilitie*, gained vnto themselues honor and glory by their skil in martiall affaires, carrying home with them victory and triumph ouer their enemies; so as did *Horatius Cocles*, *Titus Manlius*, *Scipio Affricanus*, and his brother *L. Scipio Asiaticus*: I speake not of great Emperours, such as were *Vespatian*, *Domitian*, *Nerua*, *Traian*, *Antonius*, *Seuerus*, *Theodosius*, and many others, who were part of them accounted *Fathers of their Countrey*; part of them *Benefactors*, but all of them best *Princes*, whose Images are vpon their Coines, euen yet carried about; and publique Statues were in the honour of them, with certaine solemne Ceremonies erected, to the intent that all others with their valour and vertue, should with their deedes, as it were, in striuing-wise, aspire and grow vnto the like glory.

Magnanimity and wisedom

Others also, borne of most base and low condition, who by Armes in time of warres, for their wisedome and courage, haue beene promoted to be great *Emperours*, *Cæsars*, *Dukes*, *Princes* and *Earles*: as were *Tullius Hostilius*, *Numa Pompilius*, *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Octauianus Augustus*, and such other like, from hence, tooke the beginning of the Titles of their vertues. For certaine it is, at the first vnder the *Roman Empire*, when as they had subdued the *Germaines*, *Italians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Brittans*, the *Gauls*, and other most mighty kingdoms, *Dukes*, *Earles*, and *Barons*, not then to haue bin in such sort, as now they be, but from thence to haue afterward sprung vp and risen. All their Offices were executed by *Tribunes* and *Lieutenants*. There was a greater *Tribune*, who was next vnto the *Emperour* and his successour. There was also a great Officer called *Tribunus Celerum*, *Lieutenant* of the Armie, of the light armed and most readie Souldiers. Those which with a *Cohort*, or band of men, were the Keepers, and had the guarding of the Emperours person, and they among the *Romanes*, which were of the first Order, next after the Emperor, were called *Tribuni Celerum*, as they were long agoe in the time of *Romulus*, and of the other sixe kings succeeding him.

The great Officers, called *Magistri Equitum*, or *Maisters of the Horssemen*, had like power with the *Dictators*, and with the *Emperors*, as *Lucius Fenestella*, *Pomponius Lætus de Magistratibus Romanorum*: and also *Flauius Vegetius*, and *Marcus Cicero* doe, intreating of Martiall affaires, describe. But *Pomponius Lætus* writeth *Romulus* to haue called the Generall of an army, whom the *Germans* call **Hertzogen** *Tribunũ Celerum*. *Salust* in his Treatise concerning the *Conspiracie of Cateline*, hath called them *Dictatores*, & *Imperatores*; that is, *Dictators* & *Emperors*.

Beside that, Great Magistrates called

Præfecti

Præfecti Prætorio, were of so great credit and authority, as if appeale had bin made from their sentence, they might againe appeale from the Emperor, vnto the *Præfecti Prætorio*. For most wise, good, and iust men, by the Emperours chosen out, were created *Præfecti Prætorio*, vnto whō they were wont to commit almost the whole estate of the Common weale. The Emperour *Seuerus* granted many things vnto the Great Officers called *Præfecti vrbis*, and *Præfecti Prætorio*, of all which, heere to speake, were but needlesse. For heere we speake onely of the authority of the *Præfectus Prætorio* (or Captain of the Guard) which the Emperour onely gaue vnto him, who is the chiefe, liuely, and very essentiall Law it selfe: who were of power to thrust Cittizens into exile, and to restore them vnto their estate againe. Whereby it is most euident, Princes and Gouernours of People to haue had the power and authority of the sword, to punish the offenders, and to administer Iustice: wherby they were afterward thoght to procure and get a great name of Nobility, both vnto themselues, and to their posterity: and right probable it is, the authority of Princes and Dukes to haue first risen of the *Tribuni* and *Præfecti*: which Princes, at such time as the Romane Emperours remoued out of *Germany* & *Italy* into *Greece*, are read to haue taken vnto themselues the Imperiall power: which authority and regall priuiledges wee see (euen at this day) by Kings and Emperors to bee granted vnto Dukes and Princes: so that the election of Princes & Dukes dependeth not of their Subiects (as doth the election of Kings) but is Datiuely, as of gist, to be referred vnto the fauour and bounty of the Emperours and Kings, to whom they haue beene subiect. And in the former times, the names of Duke and Prince were names of Offices, and not of Honours and Dignities. And so in the times of the Romans, the Roman Kings, their Dictators and Consuls, & also their Emperors, were in the administration of their ciuill affaires, all martiall men, both horsemen and footmen.

But beside these great Offices of the *Tribuni* and *Præfecti*, there were other publike offices and charges; some called *Ordinarij*, for that they kept orders in the army, and stood in the front of the battaile. Those in the time of *Augustus*, were wont to be called *Augustales*: and of *Fl. Vespatianus*, *Flauiales*: some called *Aquiliferi*, carrying an Eagle in their Ensignes, and othersome called *Imaginarij*, bearing the ensigne of the common or generall Army of the people of Rome notable with the Letters, S.P.Q.R. that is to say, *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*: or the *Senate and people of Rome*, whom wee can more fitly compare vnto none, then to our Standard or Ensigne-Bearers.

But if wee would heere prosecute all things in order, this Treatise should without measure encrease. But now in this place wee onely goe about, slightly as it were to shew the beginnings of Noble Dignities & Offices, least any man should suspect them to be but altogether things faigned, and vpon no reason grounded. Rehearsing these things in the mean time by the way, that when we shall come vnto our owne age, it may appeare, how much Powers, Dominions, and Nations differ among themselues. For they who in ancient times were vnder kings and emperours appointed Gouernours ouer Regions and Countries, are now become hæreditary possessors thereof: & they which before were but Noble Ministers or Seruants, are now become absolute Nobles.

Beside that, in the meane time it most plainly appeareth of that which is aforesaid, that the kindred, stocke, and discent of the Nobility in former ages flourished and became famous onely for vertue, noble actes, and valour of minde. And that Vertue being set apart, wee are all forasmuch as concerneth mans nature, the sonnes of *Adam*. VVherefore, according to the rule of Theologicall or Philosophicall Nobility (whereunto our Ancestors especially addicted themselues) to boast of Nobility by birth, without vertue, was but a vaine thing.

Nam genus & Proauos & quæ non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra duco.——————

For our proud Stocke and Pedigree,
and things we did not make,
VVe scarse reckon them for our owne,
or for our owne them take.

VVherefore wee pray and exhort all men,

men, that foraſmuch as vertue commeth not by inheritance, euery man would endeuour himſelfe, of himſelfe to become Noble. For they which otherwiſe vaunt and boaſt of Nobility, ſeeme onely honourers of vertue, vpon another mans credite, and liue not by their owne, ſeeing that they be rather baſe perſons, bearing themſelues brag, vpon another mans vertue. But for the moſt part quite out of order, ſo the faſhion and manner of the world now is. For what cannot flattery, the fauour of Princes, and too much indulgency do, and bring to paſſe.

PARERGON.

IT is ſufficiently manifeſt, by that which is aforeſaid, what the iudgment of my Friend and Vncle *Robert Glouer* was, concerning Politicall Nobility in ancient time, amongſt the Gentiles: which Philoſophers heeretofore, haue ſet forth to vs, as a wauering thing, (and Diuines as a thing vncertaine) whilſt they in ſpeaking thereof omitted the Ciuill Rights of perſons.

It were verily to be wiſhed, that the ornaments of vertue ſhould euery where be conferred and beſtowed vpon none, but vpon ſuch, as in whom vertue it ſelfe reſteth: for that as the encreaſing of honor, ſo the credite and reputation thereof alſo, is propounded to be gotten, not by ambition, but by induſtry. But ſeeing that Politicall Nobility is another thing, whereof there be diuers beginnings, and thoſe of ſuch ſort and condition, as maketh in euery man that hath them, a beginning and excellency proper and peculiar to themſelues; it is from the reſt of the kindes of Nobility (viz. Theologicall and Philoſophicall) by this only difference diſtinguiſhed, that whilſt they reſt onely vpon Religion and Vertue, this Ciuill Nobility reſteth vpon the cuſtome of Nations.

In the proſecuting whereof, for that he finiſhed not the ſame, I verily tooke it moſt greeuouſly: for many things ſeemed to me to be therin wanting, which might much haue concerned the matter: As the peculiar forme of enobling of men, vſed in euery kingdome apart, and eſpecially in this Empire and Iſland, as the very method and order of the worke ſeemed to me to make ſhew of. But foraſmuch, as he in his life time perfected not theſe things: For,

——*Abſtulit clarum cita mors Achillem.*)

Vntimely death ſoone tooke away
Achilles, and clos'd him in clay.

Leaſt *Venuſſes* head being onely by *Apelles* perfected, the body beeing not yet drawne, the whole worke in the meane time altogether imperfect or deformed, ſhould lye neglected and vnregarded, I thought it a thing worth the labour, to ſupply that defect, with ſuch thinges as hereafter follow: to the intent, that at length amongſt others, I might in fewe words, and as it were at a glimpſe, ſhew what orders of Nobility are with vs alſo: what Rites and Ceremonies are vſed in promoting of men vnto the degrees of Nobility, that from hence the forme of creating of thē being before vnderſtood, I might afterward with greater fruite, and fuller pleaſure, come vnto the perſons themſelues, with their families, marriages, changes, and noble actes; and at length in a iuſt volume (if God ſhall ſee it good) more at large, and fully delight the Readers.

But if we ſhall compare theſe old and moſt ancient times of the Romane Empire with ours, wee ſhall finde no ſigne or token of that auncient Nobility in the Courts of Princes. If you ſhall ſeeke for ſuch as they called *Patricij* or Senators (whom the Romanes reuerenced as men ſent downe from heauen) you ſhall finde them no where but in Citties, exerciſing Vſury and Merchandize (trades vtterly forbidden the Romanes) at whom (although within their owne walles they be much regarded and eſteemed) our noble Courtiers were wont to ſcorfe & ieſt. Or elſe if it pleaſe you, goe vnto the time of Pope *Vrban*, who (forſooth) made *Charles* the Sonne of King *Lewes* the 8. in *France*, a Senatour of *Rome*, when as he ſhould rather of his owne right, haue graced him with the Cardinals hat. Indeede, it was a very ridiculous compari-

ſon

ſon of the French King his Sonne with a Senator of *Rome*, as the matter now ſtãdeth.

VVherefore let vs ſee, and as breefely as we can touch, how, & by what degree after the empire of that Citty (which firſt built by Shepheards, at length became Miſtris of the whole world) began to decline from ſo great an Eſtate, together with the change thereof, by little and little, drew with it the change of Noble dignities and titles alſo.

After the tranſlating of the Romane empire by *Conſtantine* the Great, all that excellency of publike dignities, whereof it is expreſly and ſufficiently enough before ſpoken, ſeemeth to haue bin changed into a certaine other forme, and a new manner of ennobling of men to haue bin deuiſed. And verily, the names of Honours and Dignities in the eaſt-empire, ſeeme to haue bene diuers from the weſt-empire: and the *Latines*, after the empire rent in ſunder, and ſeated at *Conſtantinople*, ſeeme to haue beene ſubiect vnto the *Greekes*. For he that was there next vnto the Emperour, eyther by reaſon of the neereneſſe of blood, or by inſtitution, and was of the *Latines* called (*Primas*) was of the *Greekes*, by a generall name ſaluted *Deſpotes*; that is to ſay, LORD: as he is at this day cald *Monſieur* among the *French men*. The later VVriters, were wont alſo to call him, the ſame man *Sebaſton*, according as the emperors had deuiſed honourable titles, where-with they might grace their friends, and binde them vnto them. The third in dignity from the emperor, was the *Sebaſtocrator*; whom hee whom they called *Cæſar*, followed as fourth.

Deſpotes.

Sebaſtos.

Sebaſtocrator Cæſar.

But whilſt the emperour *Baſilius*, was wont to be called *Sebaſtos*, & alſo *Cæſar*, he the ſame man, at one & the ſame time enioying all theſe titles, theſe dignities were then as offices, and not as titles of honour. But afterward, they as honourable names of dignities, euen without any offices at all belonging vnto them, began to bee according to the emperours pleaſure, beſtowed and diſpoſed of. And for a time, the next in honour vnto the emperour, was called *Cæſar*: as *The king of the Romanes* at this day, is in the VVeſt. But afterwards, *Sebaſtocrator* was the ſecond in honour, & *Cæſar* the third, at ſuch time as *Alexius Comnenus* appointed his Brother *Iſaacius* to be *Sebaſtocrator*: of whom *Zonoras* ſpeaketh more at large. And laſt of all *Alexius Paleologus* beeing *Deſpotes*, was made next in honour vnto the Emperour, vnto whom he the ſame Emperor *Comnenus* hauing no Sonnes, betrothed his eldeſt daughter *Irene*, and graced him with the Title of the *Deſpotes*, as hee which ſhould haue beene heire of the empire, if he had not before dyed.

Protoſebaſtus had the firſt place & degree of honour from the emperour. And at length *Panhyperſebaſtus* begã to be the moſt ſtately and maieſticall name of all others, being a new title, of a new dignity, inuented by *Alexius Comnenus*, to gratifie *Michael Taronitus* withall. *Eparchus* was alſo a name of great honor, as who ſhould ſay, the cheefe of all the Prouinciall Preſidents. *Contoſtaulus* was Generall of the Auxiliary forces, which out of *France*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*, ſerued in the Eaſt. Whereof he was called *The Great Contoſtaulus*: and otherwiſe *Comeſtabilis*, which of the *Italians* is interpreted *Contoſtabile*. *Drungarius* was he, which had the command of a Fleet at Sea. But him which commanded the Army at Sea, they called, *The great Duke*, and in Greek, μεγας δυξ, for diffrence ſake, imitating therein the *Latines*. For he which led the Army at Land, was called *Egemon*; but hee which ruled at Sea, was called *Dux*. And ouer the Army at land, commanded alwayes, eyther the emperor himſelfe, or the *Deſpotes*, or the *Sebaſtocrator*, or the *Cæſar*, or the *Panhyperſebaſtus*. And vnto this Great Duke whom they had as cheefe Admirall, they made ſubiect all the Drungars of their Fleete, their *Admirals*, their *Proto-Comites*, and him the Great *Drungarius* himſelfe, before whom they alſo appointed the emperors Statue on horſe-backe (which they called *Contus*) to bee carried before him in their forces at Sea. They had alſo their Great *Logotheta*, whom we at this day call the Chancellor. Their *Logariaſtes*, whom the *Frenchmen* call *Controlleur*. And their *Protoſtator*, or *Marſhall* of their Army. Their *Primicerios* alſo and *Primauguſtos*, and many others of that ſort, I willingly paſſe ouer, leaſt in proſecuting of euery one, my diſcourſe ſhould grow too long and tedious. Theſe were all honorable dignities, and that for the moſt part not ſo

Proroſebaſtus Panhyperſebaſtus.

Eparchus.

Contoſtaulus.

Drungarius.

Mega-Dux.

Egemon.

The Great Logotheta. Logariaſtes. Protoſtrator.

Primicerios. Primauguſtos

ſo much for the neceſſity of their Offices or order, as ſo made by the fauour and good liking of the Emperor.

But whilſt it ſeemed ſo good vnto the Emperors, ſo to appoint the ſeate of the Empire at *Conſtantinople* (where al things now lye ſwallowed vp of the Turkes) they left the weſt bared of their Legions, and ſtrengthned onely with Fortes, vndefended and ſubiect vnto the inuaſions & fury of the barbarous Nations: vppon the fall and decay whereof, the ruine of the Eaſt Empire (at length) enſued alſo. *Italy* and *Affricke* was at that time gouerned by their *Exarchi*, *Toparchi*, *Comarchi*, *Carthularij*, *Spatharij*, *Guſtaldi*, and *Capatani*. But at length, when *Narſes* the Eunuch, and one of the *Romane Patricij*, was by *Iuſtinus* the Emperour, appointed Gouernour, he brought in them whom they called *Conſulares*, *Præſides*, and *Correctores*. But after, that hee that *Narſes*, prouoked with the iniuries and deſpightes of *Sophia* the Empreſſe (and with anger enraged) had called in thither the *Longobardes* out of *Pannonia*, they became by little & little to vary, concerning the titles of Honour, and names of Dignity.

For *Narſes* beeing dead, *Longinus* (one of the *Romaine Patricij* alſo) by the ſame Emperour choſen Gouernor or *Exarcha* in his ſtead in *Italy*, for the repreſſing of the *Longobards*, but a little before called forth by *Narſes*, and euen now about to come, ordained Dukes thoroughout the Prouinces (haply to the imitation of *Conſtantine* the Emperor, who is reported to haue prouided by Law, that Countreyes and Townes ſhould be aſſigned to *Dukes*, *Earles*, and olde *Captaines*, which hauing lōg ſerued, were to be rewarded for their good ſeruice done and paſt.) And vnto this purpoſe tend the words of *Guicchiardine* himſelfe, which I haue thoght good hereunto alſo to adioyne.

By the tranſlation of the Empire vnto *Conſtantinople* (ſaith hee) a way was opened vnto the power of the *Roman Byſhops*; for the authority of the Emperours, dayly more and more weakned and decreaſing in *Italy* (both by their continual abſence, as alſo for that they were ſtill buſied with warres in the eaſt) the people alſo by litle and litle reuolting from them, & the City of *Rome* it ſelfe, being at length oftētimes by the *Goths* and *Vandals* taken & ſacked; the authority of the Emperors began to decay and vaniſh away in *Italy*. But the barbarous people, at length again driuen out of *Italy* by the power of the Emperors, the gouernment began againe to be managed by Greeke Magiſtrats (of whom he which commanded ouer the reſt, was called *Hexarchus*, and had his ſeate at *Rauenna*) who appointed Gouernours ouer the reſt of the Citties of *Italy*, which Gouernors they called Dukes. From hence, came the name of the *Hexarchatſhip* of *Rauenna*, wherein al places were comprehended, which had not Dukes of theyr owne, but were vnder the commaund of one *Hexarchus*. Not long after, a notable change and alteration of matters enſued from the *Longobardes*: For they, a moſt fierce and cruell people entering into *Italy*, poſſeſſed the country called *Gallia Ciſalpina*, of whome it hath alſo taken the name of *Lombardie*. They added alſo vnto their Gouernment *Rauenna*, with all the *Hexarchatſhip* thereof, beſides many other parts of *Italy*, extending their armes as farre as *Picenum*, *Spoletum*, and *Beneuentum*, ouer which, they appointed Gouernors to rule and commaund, whome they called Dukes, &c. So the *Longobards* raging and roaming farre abroad in *Italy*, at length, with thirty of their Dukes, in vaine attempted to haue taken the Cittie of *Rome*. And ſo it came to paſſe, according to the manner of warres, that the Titles of the dignities of the former empire being neglected, all things began to bee gouerned by the Generals and Commanders of the armies, viz. by ſuch as they called *Dukes*, *Earles*, and *Princes*.

Dukes, Earls, Princes.

Theſe people, *Charles the Great*, ſon to *Pipin* King of *France*, by the *Romanes* called into *Italy*, hauing taken *Ticinum*, the Metropoliticall Cittie of the *Inſubres*, & there ſlain *Deſiderius* (of a *Conſtable* promoted to be King of *Italy*) ouercame and ſubdued, and was foorthwith by the generall conſent of all men choſen emperor of the VVeſt Empire: who as hee would haue the Empire it ſelfe to be called, *The French Romane Empire*, ſo euen in the beginning therof he had a purpoſe to make it hæreditary, and made the *Great men*, & ſuch as were with *Honourable Titles* graced, to be altogether free: and bound them by oath, as men in Fee, holding only of the King, and of the Emperour: ſo that

The French Romane Empire.

that if by chance they ſhould fall from their faith and allegiance, or dye without iſſue, hee then ordained thoſe their dignities to be transferred vnto others: & that his ordinance was called *Inueſtitura*, or an *Inueſture*. The bounds and townes of his kingdome, he committed to be gouerned by Counties or Earls. The bounds & borders they called *Marchias*, or *Marches*: whereupon, the Gouernours of the *Marches*, began to be called *Marchiarum Comites*, (or *Counties* of the *Marches*) and at length *Marchiones*, or *Marqueſſes*. And them whom he ſet and placed in the Prouinces, for the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and the keeping of the people in their allegiance, were then called *Miſsi* (or *Men ſent*) or otherwiſe *Legati*: that is to ſay, The Emperours Legats or Lieutenánts. But ſuch as the people afterward of themſelues created, for the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and the gouernment of Citties, being two or moe in number, beeing choſen after the manner of the ancient *Roman* Common-weale, were called *Conſuls*. The *French Romane* Empire, with this ſucceſſe made by *Charles* the Great, was left vnto his poſterity almoſt hæreditary: which in ſhort time after alſo, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Groſſe (Nephew in the fourth degree vnto *Charles* the Great, & before, King of *Germany*) deuolued from the *French-men* vnto the *Germanes*. Vnto whom alſo (within a few yeares after) *Otto* the Great, king of *Germany*, and he Emperour, alſo ſucceeded; who following the ſteps of *Charles* the Great, gaue ſuch perfections vnto his beginnings, in beſtowing and diſpoſing of honours & dignities, as that he is not ſo much for his firname and noble actes, to bee compared with the moſt mighty emperours, as for his wholeſome Lawes, and heroicall Ordinances, of all poſterity of right for euer to be commended. For this man, after the ancient manner of the *Longobards* and *French*, entertaining euery moſt valiant man into his wars, graced with Royalties ſuch of them, as had done him worthy & faithfull ſeruice (and theſe Royalties were all manner of dignities, lands, & gouernments of Prouinces) which he according as he thought good, beſtowed vpon ſuch as had of him well deſerued. And now men began more plainly to make a difference of titles and dignities. For the titles of Dukes and Counties (being with the ancient *Romanes* but the bare names of perſonall offices and charges) now receiued other cuſtomes: and a Duke (at firſt choſen for his vertues & noble acts) they now began ſo to call him of his Dukedome: as they did alſo a *Marqueſſe*, of his *Marquiſat*, and an Earle of his Earldome. And he which had the command of people, from ſome King, Marqueſſe, or Earle, was called *Capitaneus* (or a *Capitaine*.) But they which had ſuch command from *Capitaines*, were called *Valuaſores* (or *Valuaſours*.) And they which had it from theſe *Valuaſors*, were called *Valuaſini* (or *Valuaſines*.) Whereupon this new beginning of Politicall Nobility, beeing far & wide diſperſed through the kingdomes of the Empire, they at length were deemed rightly Noble, according to the mãner and cuſtome of euery place & Country, who eyther themſelues, or their anceſtours liued, ſo graced with theſe, or ſuch like priuiledges.

And theſe be the things, which according vnto the variety and alteration of times, we haue read in the moſt approued Authors, concerning the titles of honors and dignities. In recounting of which, we haue thought this moſt eſpecially worth the noting, that all the ſtreames of Nobility (but eſpecially the greateſt & cheefeſt of them) came and iſſued all out of the Campe. Which degrees of honour and Nobility, before that wee compare them with ours, it ſhall not repent vs in diſtinct rankes, orderly to runne through the beginning of euery one of them.

And firſt to begin withall, They in Campes were called *Principes*, or *Princes*, (of whom at this day, wee euery where make ſo great account) which ſerued in the firſt rankes, excelling others in ſtrẽgth and age; and which followed the Speare-men, diuided into fifteen bands or troops, ſo placed, as it were for a refuge & releeſe for them: to the end, that if in battaile the Speare-men ſhould be enforced to retire, they might in ſafety flye vnto thoſe *Principes*, as vnto principall men of more approued and aſſured ſeruice. Whereof *Caſtra Principalia*, the *Principall Tents*, and *Porta Principalis*, the *Principall Port*, where thoſe *Principes* or *Principall* men were wont to lye with their bands; are ſo often read of in *Liuie*.

Inueſtiture.

Marqueſſes.

Lieutenants.

Conſuls.

The Empire deuolued frõ the French-men, vnto the Germanes.

Royalties.

Dukes. Earles. Marqueſſes.

A Capitaine.

Valuaſors

Valuaſines.

Princes.

Next vnto *Augustus* the Emperour, they which in the emperors name gouerned the *Romane* affaires, were called *Principes Senatus*, or Princes of the Senate. But afterward, the emperour would haue the place or title of a Prince, to bee a dignity next vnto a Kings, who amongst the ancient *Saxons* were called *Ethelings*, and with vs *Clytones*. But now it is as it were a generall name, diuersly giuen and attributed vnto many at once, and orderly comprehending in it all the greater sorts of dignities: yea in some places, according to the manner and custome of the places, the title and dignity of a Prince, is inferiour vnto the title and dignity of a Duke, or an Earle.

Dukes.

Duces or Dukes tooke their names from the Latine word *Ducendo*, as who should say *Ductores* or *Leaders*; for that they marching before, led their followers. Whereof we reade the Latine phrase, *Ducere bellum*, that is to say, *to leade Warre*; for *Gerere bellum*, to make warre. And so *Hij bellum assidue ducunt cum Gente Latina*. These men make continuall war with the Latine Nation. And they which as Dukes or Generals were leaders of Armies, were wont to vse such Ensignes as the Consuls did: whereupon, the word *Ducatus*, sometime signified the Region or Country, ouer which the Duke commanded: and other while, the Military gouernment and commanding authority it selfe. Vnto which manner of men, for things by them honourably and valiantly in the wars atchieued and performed, triumphall Ornaments were sometimes awarded. Amongst the ancient *Germanes*, vnto a Generall or Leader of an army, were assigned twelue Counties or Earles to attend vpon him.

Marquesses.

Marquesses were so called of a certaine iurisdiction bound vnto some certaine place. So he which had the command and gouernment of any frontier Territory or Sea-coast, was called *Marchio*, or a *Marques*: and they which receiued of thē Fees, were properly accounted the *Valuasars* of the king, or of the kingdome, as men standing with the Generals *Ad valuas Regni*, at the gates and entrances of the kingdome. Other-some there bee, which goe about to deriue the word *Marchio* from *Marca* (a word of the *Celtes*) from whence they deriue the word *Marchare* in *French*, to ride: and the *Marcomanni* as a people so called, for that they excelled in good horse-manship.

Counties or Earles.

Now of Counties or Earles, as there were diuers kindes, so of them amongst the ancient VVriters, are read diuers and sundry sorts and orders; such as among the rest wer *Comites Sacri Palitij*, or counties of the *Sacred Pallace*: *Archiatri* (or *Principoll Courtiers*) and *Comites-stabuli*, or *Constables*. For *Desiderius* from a *Constable*, by the *Longobards* chosen and appointed to be king of *Italy*, was slaine by *Charles* the Great. And it is elsewhere read, hee sent *Burchardus* the *Constable*, with his Fleete to *Corsica*.

There were also *Comites Militum*, or *Counties* of the Souldiers, of whom the *Romanes* would haue always two residing in the East, and were thereof sometimes called *Comites Orientis*, or Counties of the east. And in breefe, there were Counties of Prouinces: such as were the Counties of *Spaine*, of *Brittaine*, and of the *Saxon*-Coasts in *Brittaine*.

The *Gustaldius* in *Italy*, and a County, seeme in ancient time to haue bene all one: There be some also, which beleeue a County in olde time to haue beene called *Comarchus*.

Vicounts.

The name of a *Vicount* sheweth a beginning not to be doubted of: For he to whom the County in the Camp committed the authority of his iurisdiction, was called *Vice-Comes* or *Vicount*; as were in the ancient time the *Proconsul*, & the *Proconsull* his Lieutenant or Deputy.

Barons.

But whereof the *Barones* or *Barons* were so called, is not yet wel knowne; For vnto the *Romans* as concerning their dignity, they were vtterly vnknowne: howbeit, that they affirme it to bee a Latine word, by that saying of *Cicero* to his friend *Atticus*. *Apud Patronem reliquosque Barones te in maxima gratia possuit*: Hee brought you into great fauour with your Patron, and the rest of the Barons.

Other some obtrude vnto vs the greek word *Βαρυς*, which signifieth *Graue*. But howsoeuer it commeth to passe, if credite be to be giuen to our most learned Lawyer *Bracton*, the Barons were still accounted for most valiant men, for hee would haue them to be called, *Robora belli*, or the strength of warre. And by the Lawyer *Baldus*, a Baron is defined to be a man hauing

uing from his Prince the power and authority of the greateſt, middle, and loweſt correcting of offendors. But ſufficeth it now concerning theſe matters, to haue ſayde thus much, as purpoſing of the ſame, to ſpeake more at large heereafter.

And let vs now come nearer vnto the matter, by comparing of ancient things, with others of latter time; to the intent, that by applying of thoſe ancient things vnto this our Age and Time, the reaſon as well of the Names as of the Dignities themſelues, may the better and more manifeſtly appeare.

The Empire decaying, the Nobilitie beganne to get both other cuſtomes and Names.

Like as the *Empire* of the *Greekes*, was by the Turkes ouerthrowne and brought to nought, euen ſo alſo was the empire of the *Weſt*, by the cunning and ambition of the Biſhops of *Rome*, rent in ſunder and weakened. Which, how great it was, the very ruines thereof doe now ſcarcely declare. The maieſtie whereof, is yet by the Seauen Princes *Electors* (of the Germains called **Churfurſten**) vnto the Ornament of the Chriſtian world vpholden and maintayned. The Septemuirat of *Germany*, the Emperour *Otho* the third, and Pope *Gregorie* the fift, ordained in the yeare 960. Vnto whom afterwards the Emperour *Charles* the fourth engaged the reuenues of the *Empire* (hauing promiſed vnto euerie one of the *Electors*, an hundred thouſand crownes) that he would appoint *Wenceſlaus* his ſonne, heire of the *Empire*. But the Money beeing not payed, it came to paſſe, that the Patrimony of the *Romaine Common-weale*, which was appointed to the vſes and maintenance of the warres (and for that onely cauſe was ſubiect to alienation) was priuately diſtributed and diuided amongſt them, vnto euery one of them a part, whereby the power of the *Empire* was afterward almoſt brought to nothing, the Seauen Princes *Electors* of *Germanie*, keeping all vnto themſelues, and compelling the *Emperors* by oath, that they ſhould not reuoke the Lands and Pawnes before ingaged.

The Seauen Electors were firſt inſtituted in Germany about the yeare, 960.

And Kings, to whom it was a pleaſant thing to be deliuered from another mans power and command, erected to themſelues Monarchies.

A Duke.

But they which in moſt great Kingdoms hold the ſecond place, next to the Kings and the Kings ſons, are according to the forme of the *Emperors* army, called *Dukes*. The title of an *Archduke* is but one alone, belonging to the houſe of *Auſtria*, by the emperor *Frederick* diuiſed, to grace his *nephew Phillip* withall, at ſuch time as he was to marry *Ioane* the heire of *Spaine*.

An Archduke.

The name of *Vayuode*, is a title of dignity onely in *Tranſiluania*, and *Valachia*. And ſo alſo is the *Doge* of the *Venetians*, who is alſo called a Duke.

A Vayuode.

A Doge.

And as in warres Counties or Earles were aſſigned vnto Dukes, ſo our Counties now at this day, are thought next in dignity to follow the Dukes.

An Earle.

For a *Marqueſſe* at this day, is nothing elſe in his owne proper ſignification, then a *Countie* vpon the Frontiers & Borders: which in the Germaine tongue is more ſignificantly called a **Wartgraue**: with whome a *Countie* is called **Graf**. And whereof come thoſe honourable names of the **Pfaltzgraue**, **Landſgraue**, **Wartgraue**, **Rheingraue**, & **Burghgraue**: that is to ſay, *The Countie Palatine, the Countie of the Prouince, The Countie of the Borders, The County of Rhene, The County of the Caſtle or Garriſon*. And yet according to the diuers cuſtome of places, *Marqueſſes* in ſome places are preferred, and goe before *Counties* or *Earles*.

A Marqueſſe.

The beginning of a *Vicount*, the very *etymology* of the name it ſelf hath taught vs.

A Vicount.

Barons are alſo euery where according to the dignity of their degree, power, & grauity accounted honourable. *France* hath alſo onely foure peculiar Great and principall *Lords*, whom they call *Vidames* (*viz.*) *Chartres*, *Chalons*, *Amiens*, and *Gerbery*. So hath it pleaſed men according to the cuſtome of places, vnto new forms of Honours and Dignities, to giue olde names. But nothing is euery where, and in all places ſo ſincerely obſerued and kept, as is that olde and generall diuiſion of People, into Noble and Vnnoble, with a certain difference of the Vnnoble ſort among themſelues, as of the Nobler ſort among themſelues alſo.

A Baron.

Vidames.

Noble and Vnnoble.

For ſuch with eaſie exerciſes get their liuings, ſuch as excell in wit in the knowledge of Martiall affaires, in learning, in wealth, or in vertue: theſe men, in theſe times, are as it were the Seminaries of *Nobility* (as were in ancient time the *Gentlemen* whom they called *Equites*, among the Romans, the nurſery of the *Senators*.)

The Seminary of nobility.

Many noble & famous Gentlemen, haue also from Lawyers and Merchants discended. And although some of the vulgar & common sort of the people, be among them of better account and reputation, then some others of them, yet in respect of the Nobility, they are altogether base and vnnoble: like as all free-borne men, which are not of the vulgar and common sort of people, are indifferently and alike noble, according to the French Prouerb: *Ie suis Gentilhomme comme le Roy*, I am a Gentleman as well as the King. *Il foy de Gentilhomme*: The faith of a Gentleman.

All the vulgar people are base and vnnoble.

Al gentlemen are alike Noble.

Yet it is to be knowne, antiquity and high functions, to haue their estimation in Politicall Nobility, as they haue in other things. And heereof as seemeth vnto me, are those distinctions of Nobility, named, and vnnamed: or of the greater and lesser Nobility, as some others would haue it. And *Named* Nobility I call that which is by hereditary succession graced with Titles and Fees. As a king taketh that his denomination of his kingdome: a *Duke*, of his *Dukedome*; an *Earle*, of his *Earledome*; and a *Baron*, of his *Baronny*: who may also be called *Maiores Nobiles*, or *The greater Nobility*, although not altogether so properly, for that that distinction of Nobility, indiffrently comprehendeth all sorts of Noblemen, & the higher Magistracies (bestowed vpon men for tearme of life onely, or during the Princes pleasure.) The rest of the Nobility vnder the degree of Barons, may bee called *Nobiles Innominati* (or vnnamed Noblemen) or *Minores Nobiles*, that is to say; the lesser Nobility.

The differences of Nobility.

Nobility, the greater and the lesser.

And yet there are some of them which seeme to haue *Named Nobility*, although they bee not in the same ranke and order to be placed: such as are Knights and Esquires. But forasmuch as the Titles of Knighthood and of Esquires, are not hereditary, they are accounted amongst the lesser Nobility.

In some places of Italy there be hereditary Knights.

The *Frenchmen* in the meane time, and we *Englishmen* also, doe by more knowne words, better discerne the greater Nobility from the lesser, but not without a certaine injury and wrong done vnto the latine tongue, from which wee derive our Nobility. For who is he which knoweth not the Latine word (*Nobiles*) indifferently to comprehend all such as are aboue the common and vulgar sort of mē? Which word is in *French* or *English* expounded (*Noble.*) By which word, the common sort of *Englishmen* calleth or noteth no man, vnder the degree of a Baron.

What the latine word Nobilis signifieth with the Frenchmen and Englishmen.

The rest vnder the degree of Barons, are in *French* called *Gentilzhommes*, and in english, Gentlemen. Of which, such as are neyther Knights nor Esquires, we call them but onely Gentlemen, without any addition; and in *French*, *Gentilzhommes simples*, or plaine Gentlemen. Although it may be that some of these mē can shew moe Armes of their stocke, and deriue their Pedigree further, then can some others of greater dignity, or euen the emperour himselfe.

Wherefore, in Politicall Nobility, being simply vnderstood, these plaine tearmed Gentlemen are not inferiour vnto the Princes themselues, but yet in honor and dignity much. For the titles of *Kings*, of *Dukes*, of *Marquesses*, of *Earles*, & *Barons*, are as it were the names of most honourable Offices, and by reason of such additions, one becommeth more famous and nobler then another.

Noblemen how they are to be distinguished.

These things beeing thus somewhat more at large and in general spoken, concerning Nobility, seeme as it were to open the way vnto the particular degrees thereof with vs. But the diuision of the orders & degrees of men, which our english Common-weale and Empire well beareth, at other times, by others sette forth, is exceedingly well set downe: who haue diuided the same into a King, into Nobility of the greater and of the lesser sort, Cittizens, Men liberally brought vp, and Labourers. But forsomuch as I haue purposed to speake onely of the degrees of Nobility, and that the intention and scope of this worke tendeth no farther, I haue determined to entreat onely of the Kings, and of the cheese named Nobility, whom it pleaseth vs to call, *The Peeres of the Kingdome*, *The Common Fathers of the Common-weale*, & in briefe, by one name, *Great Estates, or Noblemen.*

Yet in so great conuersions of things, and inundations of forraigne Nations, where-with this our Iland from the first inhabiting thereof, hath bene oftentimes troden vnder foote, and for a long time most

A Transition vnto the English Nobility.

moſt greeuouſly afflicted: to write ſuch a ſerious diſcourſe, as to ſet downe, what were the beginning Titles of our Noble-men, with the orders and degrees of honours, ſeemeth a thing moſt difficult and hard.

Concerning which things (freely to confeſſe the truth) ſeeing that I haue not well ſatisfied my ſelfe, I dare not with too much haſty confidence to affirme much, eſpecially ſeeing that heere, as well as elſewhere, the Victors haue ſtill eſpecially endeuoured them-ſelues, not ſo much to oppreſſe the people by them ſubdued, as they haue done to innouate their cuſtomes, and to change their lawes. Seeing that it is ſo by Nature ordered, that with the ſame fate where-with Monarchies and Kingdomes are ouer-whelmed, euen the Nations themſelues, and Noble Families fall, and come to vtter ruine alſo.

For firſt, the *Romanes* by ſubduing the *Brittaines*, the naturall Inhabitants of this Iſland, went about with their Legions to ouerthrow all things.

But the *Romanes* about fiue hundred yeares more or leſſe after, beeing againe tranſported into *France*, the *Saxons*, or rather *Engliſh-Saxons*, called in by the *Brittaines* vnto their aide, raiſed warre againſt their Hoaſts, and thruſt them quite out of their auncient Seates, and firſt of all others, gaue vnto the kingdome the name of *England*. And theſe people the *Danes* alſo for a ſpace thruſt out of the kingdome.

But at length, when as this kingdome began (as it were) againe to breathe vnder *Edward the Confeſſour*, a moſt holy King, and laſt of the *Engliſh-Saxons* race, he being forth-with dead without iſſue, gaue occaſion to the *Normanes* to paſſe ouer. VVho at length preuailing, (*Harold* who with-ſtood them beeing ouercome) and the *Engliſh-men* beeing thruſt out of their ancient inheritance, began foorth-with to aſſigne the Landes and groundes in euery place vnto their companions and fellow-ſouldiors, and alſo to bring in the *Normane* cuſtomes and faſhions.

Many things for all that, are yet extant in the moſt auncient Records, euen in the *Heptarchy* of the *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings, concerning thoſe Noble-Men which were Rulers ouer the Countries of *Cheſter*, *Leiceſter*, and *Lincolne*, whom we reade to haue beene indifferently alſo called *Dukes*, and Counties of the *Mercians*. The *Danes* had alſo their *Heretoches*, and the Princes of their *Heretoches*. And *Edward*, the *King* and *Confeſſour* yet reigning, euen in the time next vnto the comming in of the *Normans*, in the charters and monuments of Churches, are found there to be *Ethelings*, *Clytons*, *Patricij*, *Conſuls*, *Earles*, *Palatines*, *Dukes*, *Senators*, *Stalhers*, *Thayni*, *Theotthani*, *Miniſters*, and *Princes*. But yet with great inconſtancy, of ſuch their names and callings. For whom thou ſhalt reade to be called Counties, thou ſhalt elſe-where finde euen at one and the ſelfe-ſame time to be called *Dukes*. But the ſtile of *Clyto*, at firſt ſignified the Kings eldeſt Sonne, but afterwards, it was a title common to all them that were deſcended of the kings bloud.

The Titles of *Countie* and *Conſull* ſignified the ſame thing, differing, but in that *Comes* (or a *County*) was ſo called a *Comitatu* (or of a *Shire* or *County*:) and a *Conſull* of *Conſulendo*, or of giuing of Councell. A *Stalher*, and *The Gouernor of the Kings houſe*, to haue beene all one, it is out of diuers writings manifeſt. The *Partricÿ* and *Thaini* were Noblemen of the better ſort; and I could almoſt affirme them to haue beene equall vnto our Barons at this day. Miniſters and Princes, who in old Charters are ſet as loweſt witneſſes, ſeeme to haue beene names of one and the ſame ſignification, and alike ſignifie Noble-men: but what degree of honour or Nobility they were of, is altogether vnknowne. Neither ſeeme theſe honourable Titles to haue beene foorthwith together with the victory, by *William* the *Normane* changed. For theſe men whom King *Edward the Confeſſor* in his Charter, concerning the Priuiledges by him granted to the Abbey of *Waltham*, in the yeare 1062: taketh to witneſſe by the name of *Counties Palatine* (whom he but euen a little before had called Dukes) and by the names of Procurators, Chamberlaines, and Princes of his Court: the Normane himſelfe, in the ſecond yeare after his victory, in his confirmatory Charter granted vnto the ſame Abbey, doth by the ſame Stiles and Titles take to

witneſſe alſo.

But, after that he had now confirmed the kingdome vnto himſelfe in ſafety, the *Counties* whom he by his Royall Charter had rewarded with *Counties* and Lands, began to be one from another, diſtinguiſhed, by the addition of the Title, of ſuch and ſuch a *Countie*. As witneſſe *Alanus* Countie of *Richmond*; witneſſe *Hugh* Countie of *Cheſter*: witnes *Roger* Countie of *Shrewsbury* and *Arundell*.

VVherefore the *Engliſh Saxons* by little and little, eyther dead without iſſue, or oppreſſed, or thruſt foorth into exile, and ſo liuing in other places, all things were ſo framed vnto the *Norman* maner, as that of our *Nobilitie* at this day, there is not any which can ſo much as any little breathe of the Stock and Race of thoſe moſt ancient *Saxons*.

Theſe foundations of the auncient VVorthies and *Nobility* beeing layde by *William* the *Conquerour*: and oftentimes afterwards by Succeſſours, according to the diuerſe occaſions and occurrents of times, by little and little continued and augmented, beganne at length in the reigne of King *Henry* the third, and *Edward* the firſt, to ſhine foorth, who hauing now vanquiſhed the VVelch-men their Neighbours, and contending with the Scottes bordering vpon them, for Principalitie and Soueraignetie; entreating of all things concerning the Common-weale, with the three States of the Kingdome (which conſiſted of the *Nobilitie*, the *Clergie*, and the *Comminaltie*) they themſelues in their Royall Maieſtie ſitting in Parliaments, appoynted vnto euery man a preheminence, according to the place of his dignitie: from whom, eſpecially all the *Nobilitie* of our age, may ſeeme to deriue the diuerſe and appoynted degrees of Dignities and Honours.

A King. VVherefore a King, who may with vs bee alſo called a *Monarch*, hauing in himſelfe the ſupreame power, is of ſuch great Maieſtie, as that beſides GOD alone, hee hath none his Superiour. Who from Equitie and Iuſtice ſeeking his chiefeſt praiſe and commendation (when as any matter of greater weight or importance is to bee decreed and ſet downe, concerning the welfare and honour of the Common-weale) doth eyther make new Lawes, before conceiued by the three eſtates of the Kingdom, or elſe abrogateth the old; and free from all homage for his Empire, is with the ſacred ſolemnities of his Countrey, with a royall Crowne, by his ſubiects crowned, whom afterwards we with ſo great reuerence obſerue and honour, both in the time of peace, as alſo in the time of war, as that (forſomuch as hee himſelfe is the fountaine of all *Nobilitie*) he may for his onely pleaſure and good liking, bleſſe and grace whom hee will, with Offices, Dignities, Honour, Nobilitie, and Riches.

Amongſt the *Nobilitie* or Peeres of the Kingdome, the Prince is the chiefe, who is alwayes but one and himſelfe alone, for hee is to be deemed the Kings eldeſt ſonne, or heire apparant of the Kingdome, and hath of long beene graced with the Title of the *Prince of Wales*. The Prince of Wales. The Kings ſonnes in auncient times, before the comming in of the Normans, were wont to be called *Ethilings*, that is to ſay, *Clytons*, (as more Noble than the reſt, whom they in Latine called *Inclyti*, or *Noble*) as *Edgar Clyto*, *Alured Clyto*, and others. Our Princes of *Wales* are now with vs, the ſame that the deſigned *Cæſars* were among the ancient *Romans*, as who ſhould ſay, heires of the *Imperiall Maieſtie*; and whereupon at this day, the *Germans* appoint him which ſhall be emperor, King of the *Romans*, and the *French* ſtile him that is to ſucceed in the Kingdome, the *Dolphin*: but the *Spaniards*, together with vs, call him which is to haue the kingdome after the death of the king his father, *The Prince*, or *Infant*.

The firſt that was by this name called after the coming in of the *Normans*, was *Edward*, the eldeſt ſon of King *Henry* the third, who (his Father *Henry* being dead) and hauing there vanquiſhed *Leolin*, was the firſt that vnited the Principalitie of *Wales* vnto the kingdome of *England*: vnto whom alſo, *Iohn* the *Scot* earle of *Cheſter*, being dead without heyres male (other lands and reuenues being aſſigned vnto the ſiſters of the aforeſaid Earle) the king his Father had giuen the ſame countie. The firſt Prince of Wales.

At length King *Edward* the third gaue vnto *Edward* his eldeſt ſonne (a moſt famous and renowned warriour) then

then Prince of *Wales* and Earle of *Chester*, the Countie of *Cornewall* also, which hee then had made a Dukedome: and by this meanes it is come to passe, that afterwardes our Kings eldest sonnes or heyres, were by the Kings royall *Charter*, with great solemnitie in full Parliament, created Princes of *Wales*, and *Earles* of *Chester*, (with the Countie of *Flint*, which belongeth vnto the Dignitie of the Sword of the Countie of *Chester*) but are called Dukes of *Cornewall*, euen from the first houre of their Natiuitie.

They which are accounted of the Nobility after the Princes of *Wales*, we call Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons. Aboue which, if I shall also place the most famous Fellowshippe of Knights, of our (by farre) the most honorable order, taking name of the Garter, I not shal haply seem to haue done amis: forasmuch as it maketh Knights, and somtime them of the Lesser Nobility, (excelling others in vertue and valour) almost equall, not onely vnto Noble-men at home with vs, but euen with *Kings* and *Emperours* abroad. But of them we are else-where to speake.

A Duke. All these Noblemen (I say) in the beginning to haue beene Generalles and Leaders of Armies, or Gouernours of Countries, it is before declared. But afterward, as pleased the *Emperours*, to haue beene giuen them for terme of life: and at length strengthened with lands and fees, we see them to haue obtained a certayne hereditary perpetuity: wherefore, a Duke, who in ancient time was, as it were, the Constable of the Kingdome, and whose chiefe seruice was, to leade and conduct the Kings Armie in time of warre, now graced with Fees, and once authorised by the King, is become an hereditarie Title. Our Kings discended of the *Norman* blood, so long as they themselues were Dukes of *Normandie*, graced no man with this Title of *Duke*, till *Edward* the Third; who first of all (as is before sayd) exalted the County of *Cornewall* into a Dukedome: vnto the example whereof, many hereditarie Dukes were in like manner by our Kings created, howbeit that at this day we haue none.

A Marquesse. Next vnto Dukes in order follow *Marquesses*, who in ancient time were called *Gouernours* or *Wardens* of the borders or Marches: a Title vnto vs, before the time of King *Richard* the Second, vtterly vnknowne, who in the tenth yeare of his reigne, by his Royall *Charter* first created *Robert Vere* earle of *Oxford* (his Minion) Marques of *Dublin* the Metropoliticall Cittie of *Ireland*. By which example, many others afterwards obtayned the like Creations by Inheritance.

An Earle. Concerning either the etymologie or the office of an *Earle* amongst the Auncients, I haue else-where briefly touched some things, and leaue the same to bee more at large by others entreated of. *Earles* with vs, haue alwayes beene both of greatest authority and dignity, and of much greater antiquitie then either *Marquesses* or *Dukes*.

Neyther is it any let at all, but that an *Earle* may be called *Earle* of any County or place, from whence he receiueth no profit, neyther therein holdeth any iurisdiction. Indeed it is in antient Charters, declared them in old time to haue beene Feed-men, and to haue beene rewarded with the third penny of the profit of that Prouince wherof they were called *Earles*; but now the maner is with vs, that the Titles of *Earledomes*, are according vnto the Kings pleasure conferred and bestowed, without any possession of the places at all: vnto whom, the King, in stead of the third Penny, is wont to appoynt a certaine summe of money, to be yearely receiued out of the *Exchequer*, or his Customes: as wee will hereafter more at large declare.

A Vicount. Concerning the beginning of a *Vicount* with vs, there is no cause why I should from farre deriue it; forasmuch as we had none of them before the time of King *Henry* the sixt. For he in the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, created *Iohn de Beilomonte*, or *Beaumont*, a *Vicount*: Whereupon that which in ancient time was the name of an office, we now at this day do acknowledge it bee a certayne name and Title of Dignitie, as it were in the middest, betweene an *Earle* and a *Baron*; as wee doe a *Marquesse*; betweene a *Duke* and an *Earle*. This Degree of Nobilitie hath inuestiture from the Kings themselues, with certain solemne ceremonies,

A Baron.

as the other degrees of Nobility haue.

Now the laſt of all, aſwell in order as ſpecially in dignity, come foorth the Barons, whoſe conioyned power, compared with the reſt, hath in the great affaires of the Common-weale alwayes beene the greateſt. Of whoſe beginning, yet truth it ſelfe doubtfully wauereth. *Lucas de Penna in L. fi. C. de mancipÿs*, in his 16. book ſayeth. *Quòd Reges cûm plures haberent filios nec omnes Reges poſſe fieri (quòd regnum diuidi nequeat) proſpicerent: ampla cuique donabant Caſtra cum iuriſdictione & Imperio, vnde Barones dicerentur*, id eſt, *filÿ alÿs excelſiores*. For that Kings when they had many ſonnes, which they well ſaw could not all be made Kings (for that a kingdom cannot be diuided) they gaue vnto euery one of them great Caſtles, with iuriſdiction and command, whereof they ſhould be called *Barons* (that is to ſay) Their ſonnes, higher in degree then others. Otherſome will haue the word *Baro*, to haue beene deriued from the Greeke word Βαρυς, ſignifying grauity. But if it may be lawfull for vs with coniectures to contend, I deeme it not amiſſe, heereunto to ioyne the curious conceite and iudgment of a certaine moſt learned man, and of great reading, who marking the great power and authority of Barons, ſuppoſeth them in the beginning to haue beene the Generals or Leaders of Nations & people, diſperſedly roaming and ſtragling vp and downe without any certaine reſting places, after the empire was rent in ſunder, who equally diuiding the lands by force or leaue by them gotten, as it were by tutelary law gouerned the people, holding of them in fealty, and ſubiect to euery one of their iuriſdictions, eyther with a meere ſoueraignty apart, as Monarchs, or vnder ſome other common Prince.

Whereof, *Baldus* happily hath called a man of greateſt, middle, and meaneſt authority and command, *Baronem*, or a *Baron*. But they which were ſo in power and authority in a manner like and equal, were before in Latine called *Pares homines* (or like men) but of the *Frenchmen* and *Italians*, (ſpeaking more contractly) *parhommes*, and *parhuomini*, and thereof they might, ſaith he, bee called *Baroni* and *Barons*: for with a more eaſie pronounciation, they in their words eaſily admit *b* for *p*. And to giue more credite to this matter, he ioyneth thereunto the force of diuers Languages. For they whom the *Frenchmen* from the beginning, called *Barons*, we in the ſame ſence in ancient time, called *Thaini*, and at this day in engliſh, Lordes, whom the *Germanes*, as it were by a circumlocution, doe more fitly call Free-heren, which with vs truely ſignifieth Free Lordes; that is to ſay, Lords hauing free iuriſdictions and territories. But from whence this very word Lord is ſprung (which is not ſo much peculiar vnto Barons as to all Noblemen in generall) remaineth yet doubtfull.

Thaini.

A Lord.

Foraſmuch as we after our manner and faſhion, are wont to call all Dukes, Marqueſſes, Earles, and Vicounts, (and ſome of the greateſt Officers and Magiſtrates of the kingdome alſo, although they bee not Barons) after the manner of Barons, Lordes: ſome ſay it to be a primitiue & originall word of it ſelfe, ſprung out of the Saxon word *Hlaford*, which is interpreted Lord: Otherſome alſo, ſuſpect it to haue bene a deriuatiue word, and to haue bene firſt brought out of *Burgundy*: for it is manifeſt, the emperour *Probus* to haue ſent hither into *Brittaine* the *Burgundians*, whom he had ouercome in the yeare 282. Who hauing heere ſeated and ſetled themſelues, did vnto the *Romanes* right good ſeruice, if at any time rebelliō did ariſe or was ſtirred vp againſt them. And in that place they commonly call it *Allodium*, which ſignifieth, *Free* and diſcharged from all homage and ſeruice: which manner of poſſeſſour or owner, is euen at this day called *Allodius*: whom we, reſting almoſt vpon the ſame reaſon, do in engliſh call, A Lord. Contrary vnto thoſe *Allodÿ* or Lords, are the *Leudes* or *Leudi*, as ſubiect vnto the *Allodÿ*, wher of perhaps the word Layrdes is vſed amongſt the Scots, whom they with vs call alſo Lords.

Hlaford in the Saxon tongue, in Engliſh Lord.

A Layrde.

But as concerning words and etymologies, let euery mā gheſſe as he liſt: howſoeuer the names be deemed of, it is for the moſt part of all men granted, that Free-heren or Lords (call them whether you liſt) to haue in all places liued as Free-borne men, and of great eſteeme, & I verily think them to haue bene the ſame, whom *Cæſar* calleth *Regulos* in *France*: where euen yet vnto this day, certaine of the moſt olde and ancient Barons, are reported

ported and reputed by a certaine right of their Baronies, to contend for precedence with the new Earles. But how full of authority and dignity the name of a Baron and of a Baronage is, shall very plainly & easily appeare, if wee shall eyther respect the antiquity thereof, as they which of ancient time had hereditary Iurisdiction annexed vnto their honour and dignity, and whereof wee at this day retaine a shew in our **Lords courts**, commonly called a **court Baron**: or looke into the most honourable and reuerend prerogatiue of thē in the cheefest assemblies of the kingdome. For all *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earles*, and *Vicounts*, haue their seates with the Barons, in the highest assembly of the kingdome, in Parliament, onely by the name of their Baronies; Insomuch, that the greatest Duke sitting in Parliament (although he be placed according to the preheminence of his degree) yet holdeth he his place only by reason of his Barony: neyther is it for any other reason granted vnto our Archbishoppes and Bishoppes (as it was in auncient time vnto some Abbots and other of like sort) to sitte there, but that they haue the possession and dignity of some Baronage or Barony annexed and ioyned vnto theyr Bishopprickes; yea, the eldest Sonne of a Duke whosoeuer, although he be commonly called an *Earle*, as also the eldest sonne of an earle, although by the flatterie of custome, and in respect of his blood he be called in Latine *Dinasta* or *Dominus* in French *Signeur*, and after our manner, a *Lord*, yet if wee shall consider the force of the Law, they are not to be numbred either amongst the earles or the Barons, but only to be accounted *Esquires*; neyther can they challenge any voyce or suffrage in the Parliaments of the Kingdome, so long as their Fathers liue. Howbeit, wee haue it often in experience (I confesse) that as often as the King shal see the eldest sonne or heyre of a *Duke*, *Marquesse*, or of an *Earle*, as well in wisedome and councell, as of yeeres ripe and stayed, and whom he shall deeme worthie to bee present at the greatest assemblies of Parliament, him he promoteth vnto the height of that honour: and by a VVritte of *Summons* (as they terme it) his Father yet being aliue, according to the name & stile (if he be the sonne of a Duke) of his Barony, or if he bee the sonne of a Marquesse, or of an Earle, by the name whereof he was before called, and whereof hee was heire apparant, and into the inuestiture whereof his father also before came.

This I say, sometime is done, and may be done, by the fauour of the Prince onely, whose prerogatiue is so indeterminate as that he may promote vnto honors, and admit into Parliaments whom hee pleaseth. As for example; it pleased our deceased Queen *Elizabeth*, in the year 1575. by her *Writ of Summons*, so to call *William Poulet*, Baron *S. Iohn of Basing*, at this day Marquesse of *Winchester*, (viz:) the eldest sonne of *Iohn Poulet*, Marquesse of *Winchester*, and to assigne vnto him a place amongest the Noblemen of the Vpperhouse, due vnto the ancient Barons of S. *Iohn*, vntill that their heires male fayling, the heire generall of the same family, had married with the stocke of the *Poulets*. This I say, the Queene might doe by her royall prerogatiue onely, the age and towardlinesse of the young Baron being respected and looked into, which he could no way by right haue challenged, his Father yet liuing.

Henrie Stanley, Earle of *Darby*, was by *Writ of Summons* called vnto Parliament; his father yet liuing, by the name of Baron *Strange* of *Knokin*, and placed in the same seate wherein the Barons *Strange* of *Knokin* were wont of ancient time to sit. The like we now of late haue also seene to haue bene done to *Gilbert* Lord *Talbot* (at this day Earle of *Shrewsburie*) sonne and heire to *George* earle of *Shrewsburie*, but of late deceased: which places they could not by prescript forme of law as yet challenge vnto them, for that theyr Fathers then aliue, possessed both the dignities & reuennewes of the aforesaid Baronies. So that I say, they were onely by the fauor of the Prince promoted vnto such honour and degree, whilest that their fathers yet liued.

For wee rightly acknowledge no Barons, but them whom the Kings Royall Maiestie hath first by his Charter created, or else the Parliaments preheminence & dignity designed; who so called and once admitted, and in Parliament placed, are alwaies after to bee held and accounted Barons, and to be reckoned amongst the Nobility of the Baronage of *Englvnd*, nei-

For that vnto mē infamous the gate of honor, are no wher open, so things which are once granted vnto any man by the Prince, are not to bee again returned vnto his losse or disgrace.

ther doeth it any where appeare, anie of them to haue bene afterwards reiected or degraded, except by chance their possessions were so far diminished, as that they were by no meanes able to maintayne so great an honour. For, as in ancient time the *Romane* Senatours, which had wasted or decayed their Senators substance were out of Senate remooued; euen so (I say) such are either of their own accord to abstain from comming into the vpper house of our Parliament, or else (I may say perhaps) are not thereinto admitted, although that they for euer still retaine the stile and name of their Barony.

And these be they whom we acknowledge to be *Named Noblemen*: But how they bee now amongst themselues together, and seuerally apart, both in dignitie and preheminence distinguished, is out of the forme of their *Creations* or admissions to be better discerned: which things we will declare by the Letters Patents, or of Summons, giuen vnto euery one of them at the time of their *Creation*, (which Letters, we by two names call, viz: *Royall Charters*, and *Parliament Writs*) and by the ceremonies after our manner, ioyned into their Inuestiture, and the custome of their precedency; beginning first with the Baron himselfe.

For why, the name of the Baronage of *England* is right famous, and more honorable then the rest: resembling the ancient shew of a *Reuerend Romane Father*, registred to be one of ỹ counsell of estate, & of the *Senatory Dignity*; and with vs giuing an entrance vnto all the higher degrees of honor, as did that among the ancient *Romanes*.

In elder time, it was for a certain space giuen vnto none, but vnto men for their martial prowesse renowned, vnto whom the ensigne of a Barony was also giuen; as was the right to weare a Ring of Gold granted vnto the *Romane Gentlemen*. But afterward, not onely they whom martiall prowesse had commended, but euen they also whom their Nobility of birth, theyr manners, fortune, or wisedome hadde at home ennobled, were wont by the Kings Writ of *Summons*, to be called forth vnto the high assembly of Parliament. And at length also, King *Henrie* the 6. brought in the fashion to create some by this very name, by vertue of his *Royall Charter*: which manner of forme and fashion, together with that other of calling by *Writ of Summons* vnto the Parliament, we onely at this day haue in vse, in forme following.

Letters of Summons, or Parliament

Writs (as they call them) for *the promoting of any one, or of whomsoeuer*, vnto the Dignity of a *Baron*, in ful *Assembly of Parliament, are in a prescript* appointed forme in this sort made: Changing onely such things as are of order to be changed.

ELIZABETH, by the *Grace of God, Queene of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Defendresse of the Faith, &c. Vnto her faithfull and wel-beloued* Henry Norris *of* Ricot *Knight, Greeting.* Forasmuch, *as Wee by the aduice and consent of our Councell, for certaine high and vrgent causes, concerning the estate & defence of our kingdome of England, and of the English Church, haue appointed a certain Parliament of ours, to be holden at our Citie of* VVestmonastery, *the eight day of May, next comming, and there to haue speech and conference with you, and with the Prelates, the States, and Nobility of our sayde Kingdome: Wee firmely enioyne & command you, vpon the Faith and Allegeance wherein you are vnto Vs bound, that the waight of the aforesaide businesses, and the imminent dangers considered, all excuse whatsoeuer set apart, you be there personally present the day and place aforesaide, to conferre with Vs, & with our Prelates and Nobility aforesaide, concerning the aforesaid businesses, & there to shew your aduice. And of this, as you loue Vs, and honour the safegard & defence of Our Kingdome, and the Church aforesaid, and the good dispatch of the affairs aforesaid, in no wise faile you.*

Witnesse Our selfe, the day of in the yeare of Our reigne the fourteenth.

An-

Another manner there is of creating of Barons by Charter: whereof this is the forme.

The Letters patents whereby Sir William Cicill Knight, was by Queene Elizabeth made Baron of Burghley.

ELIZABETH *by the Grace of God, of* England, France, *and* Ireland, *Queen, Defendresse of the Faith, &c. Vnto all Archbishops, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, Gouernours, Free-borne men, and all our Officers, Ministers, and Subiects, whomsoeuer, vnto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. Wee well perceiue and see the hight and tipe of our Royall Dignity, not onely to be beautified, but encreased also, whilst the titles of honors, are by vs conferred vnto men for their vertues renowned, and in our most weighty affaires well experienced. For We thinke our Royall Crowne to be so much the more adorned and enriched, when as We call and promote graue and wise Men, especially such as are for the Nobility of their stocke famous, and for their wisedome renowned and mighty, into part of our Royall carefulnesse, vnto the degrees of Honour and Dignity, and the gouernment of the Common-weale. Wherefore, Wee considering the long seruice, which our well-beloued and faithfull Councellor, William Cicill, our principall Secretary, hath many waies done, as wel in the time of our Progenitors, Kings of this kingdome, as also his faithfull, and most pleasing loyalty towards Vs at all times, euen from the first beginning of our Reigne, not onely in the notable and graue affaires of Councell, but beside also, hath not ceassed daily to doe, in all other expeditions for our Kingdome in generall: and also the circumspection, courage, wisedome, dexterity, integrity, prouidence, care, and fidelity of him the saide William Cicill, towards Vs, our Crowne and Dignity.*

Know you therefore, that We of our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue set, giuen, and in our Countie of Northampton promoted, made, and created, and by the tenor of these presents, do set, ordaine, and create him the aforesayde William Cicill, vnto the state, degree, dignity, and honor, of Baron of Burghley: and vnto the said William, haue imposed, giuen, and granted, and by these presents, doe impose, giue, and grant, the Name, Stile, and Title of the Baron of Burghley. To haue, and to hold, the same State, Degree, Dignity, Stile, Title, Name, and Honour, vnto him the aforesaid William, and the heyres male issuing of his body for euer. Willing, and by these presents for Vs, Our heyres and successors granting, that the aforesaid William, and his Heyres male aforesaide, may successiuely beare and haue, and euery one of them may haue and beare the said Name, State, Degree, Stile, Dignity, Title, and Honour: and may be called and stiled, and euery one of them may bee called and stiled by the name of the Baron of Burghley. And that he the sayde William and his heires male aforesaid, shall successiuely in all things, be holden for Barons of Burghley: and shall so be vsed and reputed, & that euery one of them shal be vsed, holden, and reputed, as Barons. And that the saide William, and his heires male aforesaid, may haue, hold, and possesse, and their heires male also aforesaid, and euery one of them may as Barons, haue, hold, and possesse a seate, place, and voice in our Parliaments and Councels, amongst other Barons, within our kingdome of England. And also the saide William, and his heires male aforesaid, may haue, enioy, and vse, and euery one of them, shall by the name of the Baron of Burghley, *haue, enioy, & vse, all the Rights, Priuiledges, Preheminences, and Immunities, of right, and lawfully belonging vnto the state of a Baron in all things; which other the Barons of our said Kingdome of England, in former times, in better sort, more honourably and more quietly, vsed and enioyed, or at this present doe enioy and vse: and this without any fine or fee, great or small, to bee therefore to our vse in any wise giuen, paide, or made, into our Hanapery of our Chancery, or elsewhere, for that expresse mention of the certainty of the premisses or of any of them, &c. These being witnesses. The most reuerend father in Christ, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitane of all England, our welbeloued & faithful Councellor, Nicholas Bacon* knight, *Keeper of our great Seale of England, and also our welbeloued Coosins and Councellors, William Marquesse of Northampton, Henry Earle of Arundell, Thomas Earle of Sussex, President of our Councell in the North parts of our kingdome, Henry Earle of Huntingdon, Ambrose Earle of Warwicke, Master of the Ordenance, Francis Earle of Bedford, Robert Earle of Leycester, Master of our Horse,*

orſe, Walter Vicount Hereford, Anthonie Vicount Mountague: And alſo the reuerend Fathers in Chriſt, Edwin byſhop of London, Nicholas byſhop of Worceſter, Edmund byſhop of Rocheſter, William byſhop of Cheſter: And alſo our wel-beloued and faithfull William Lord Lumley, Iames Lord Mountioy, Henrie Lord Cromwel, Thomas Lord Paget, Roger Lord North. And our welbeloued & faithfull Councellors, Francis Knols, knight, Treaſurer of our houſhold, &c. Iames Crofts Knight, Maſter Controller of our houſhold, &c. Giuen vnder our hand, at *Weſtmonaſtery*, the 25. of February, in the 23. yeare of our reigne. By the Queene her ſelfe, according to the aforeſaid date, by the authority of the Parliament.

The Rites and Ceremonies vſed in Creating Barons by Charter.

William Cicill Knight, attired in a robe and Mantle, and in this forme brought foorth, the xv. day of Februarie, the xiii. yeare of the reigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, was in the royall Palace at *Weſtmonaſtery*, in a great aſſembly of Courtiers, made Baron of *Burghley*. Firſt, the Heralds go before, by two and two together, whom *Garter* alone followeth, carrying in his handes the Royall Charter; *Henry Cary*, Baron of *Hunſdon*, carried the Barons Cloake: after whome followd *William Cecill* Knight, in the middeſt, betwixt *Edward* Baron *Clinton*, on the right hand, and *William Brooke* Baron *Cobham* on the lefte: who entering into the Chamber of *Salutation* (which wee commonly call the *Preſence Chamber*) & making there obeyſance thrice, approached vnto her royall Maieſty; where *Garter* firſt deliuered the *Charter* to the Earle of *Suſſex*, then being Chamberlain of the Queenes houſe, who gaue the ſame vnto the Queene, and ſhe againe deliuered the ſame vnto *John Wolley* Eſquire, to be read: VVhere, at the word (*Inueſtiuimus*, or we haue inueſted) the Queen put vpon him the Barons *Cloake*; and the Charter being read, pronounced him the ſayde *William Cicill*, Baron of *Burghley*, and his heyres male after him, as is before declared.

VVhich thing being done, the charter was againe deliuered vnto the Queene, who forthwith gaue it to the Baron to be kepte; who at length, after moſt great thankes giuen her, for the honour by him receiued, in his honourable attire, with a great noiſe and ſound of Trumpets, departed to dinner, euen in the ſame maner that he came in.

After mid dinner, *Garter* with the reſt of the Queenes Heralds, comming neere vnto the Table, and hauing firſt altogether cryed alowd, *Largeſſe*; forthwith proclaimed the Queens ſtile in *Latine*, *French* and *Engliſh*, and ſo with-drawing themſelues a little farther off, and againe repeating *Largeſſe*, he repeated the ſtyle of the new Baron in theſe words: *Du treſnoble Seigneur Guliaulme Cicil Cheualier, Baron de Burghley:* and ſo hauing done their obeyſance, and altogether crying twice *Largeſſe*, they departed.

The manner and forme of admitting of Barons by Reſcript or Writ.

THis (I ſay) is the manner of creating of the *Named Nobility*, by royall Charters: now a fewe things remaine, to ſhew how the newe Barons are by VVrits of Summons choſen into the Parliaments: and in what ſort they being thether called, are there placed. The forme of the writ wee haue before ſhewed, and the forme of theyr Admiſſion, is this.

Henry Compton, Henry Cheyney, & *Henry Norreis* Knights, were by writs, called to be preſent at the Parlement at *Weſtmonaſtery*, vpon Thurſday the 8. day of May, in the 14. yeare of the reigne of Q. *Elizabeth*, vpon which day, after that the Nobles were ſet on their ſeats, theſe three attending without, were by turnes in this maner brought in, and admitted into the vpper houſe. *Garter* K. at Armes, came before bare-headed, hauing on his royall coat, whom two of the laſt made Barons, attyred in their *Cloaks*, *robes*, and *Mantles* followed, bringing in the knight that was to be in his new honour inueſted, in the middle betwixt them. Him at length they bring vnto the Chancellor, vnto whome the Knight hauing made once or twice Obeyſance, deliuereth his *Writ of Summons*

mons to be read, wherein he declareth by what power & authority he is come thether: the Chancellor after the writ read with great courtesie welcomming him, dismisseth the new Baron (in his Barons attire) to take his place, which place (*Garter* going before them) they shewe vnto him: but the writ is by the Chancellour deliuered vnto the Clearke of the Parliament to be laid vp.

In the like manner were the other two Knights afterward brought in and admitted, and in their due order in their seates placed. So they which entred into the Parliament but Knights onely, goe out thence and are so accounted Barons, and enioy the like honor with the rest of the Barons of the kingdome.

The habit wherein a Baron of England, is inuested.

BARO



CHAP. VII.

The Kings Charter for the Creating of a Vicount.

The Copy of the L. Patents of K. Henrie the VI. creating Io. Beaumont, vicount of Beaumont.

HEnry, by the grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Lord of *Ireland*, &c. To all Arch-Byshops, Byshops, Abbots, Pryors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sheriffes, Gouernors, Bayliffes, Ministers, and other his faithfull Subiects, vnto whome, &c. *Greeting*. Know you, that we, when as wee see it to beseeme our Maiestie, with principall honors to promote them, who with dutifull seruice dayly attend vs, especially in such things which proceed from our meere Prerogatiue & gracious bounty; and them chiefely, whom the remembrance of their fathers and former Ancestors hath ennobled, and the merites of their owne vertues haue with manifest obedience and loyalty graced: that vertue so rewarded, may in it selfe be strengthened, and withall allure many vnto vertuous actions.

Heereof it is, that wee considering the Noble discent of our most dearely beloued cosine *Iohn* Lord of *Beaumont*, & the good seruices which his Ancestors faithfully performed vnto our Progenitours, together with the most acceptable Offices which he euen from his infancy, hath hitherto commendably done vnto vs, and yet dayly performeth; as he desireth hereafter to continue the same, and to doe vs so much the more better honour: VVee of our especiall Grace, in this our present Parliament, giue vnto the aforesaid *Iohn* Lord of *Beaumont* our cosine, and the heires male of his bodie, the name of the *Vicount of Beaumont*; and do really inuest him the saide *Iohn*, with the Armes of the *Vicount of Beaumont*, and assigne vnto him in our Parliaments, Councels, and other assemblies, a place aboue all the other Barons in our Kingdome. Vnto whom as it shall be more fit, and as it is shewed in the very State of a Vicount aforesayde, wee of our meere motion and bountie, haue giuen and graunted for vs and our heyres, as much as in vs is, vnto the aforesaide *Iohn* and his heyres, together with the Name, Armes, and place aforesaide, twentie Markes to be yearly receiued vnto him, and to his heires male yssuing out of his owne body, out of the former issues and profits, of our countie of *Lincolne*, to bee paid by the hands of the Sheriffe of the sayde county for the time beeing, at the Tearmes of Easter and S. Michaell, by equall portions. To haue & to hold to him and his heires aforesaid, the Name, armes, place, and twenty Marks as aforesaide for euer; for that expresse mention, &c. VVitnesse our selfe at *Redding*, the twelfth of February, in the eighteenth yeare of our reigne.

By the *Writ of our Priuate Seale.*

THere is so great a similitude and likenesse in the Rites and ceremonies in creating of a Vicount, vvith those which are vsed in the creating of a Baron, as that but chaunging such things as are of necessity to be changed, a man would thinke them almost the very same. But this difference there onely is; that a Baron is conducted betwixt two Barons, whereas a Vicount hath an Earle on his right hand, and a Baron on his left (in case there want Vicounts) to conduct him, and is by halfe a gard vpon his shoulder aboue a Baron, as by the Picture following in the next Page appeareth.

The rites and ceremonies of creating a Vicount.

VICE-COMES



CHAP. XIII.

¶ *The Royall Charter for the creating of an Earle.*

The Copie of the Letters patents of Q. Elizabeth, creating Walter Deuereux earle of Essex.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defendresse of the faith, &c. Vnto all and singular *Archbishops*, *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earles*, *Vicounts*, *Bishops*, *Barons*, and all others, vnto whom &c. Greeting. Seeing that they whom the Diuine prouidence hath put and placed in a Monarchy and Royall Seate, that they being as it were the Lieutenants of him that heauenly Monarch, vpon earth, may well, vprightly, religiously, decently, and wholesomly rule, gouerne and maintaine, whatsoeuer is to their custody and gouernment by God himselfe giuen and committed: and that the Monarchs in their Monarchies, represent the same thing that the eyes do in the body, whose office it is to direct all the members of the body: Monarchs and Princes therefore as eies of the Commonweale, ought diligently to intend, to looke about, and to search into all States and degrees of their Empire, without which wee must needes confesse, no ciuill administration, or politicall gouernement, to be possibly made or framed. And so necessary is the preseruation of orders and degrees of men in great Empires, as that after they once see the Nobility of the States and Degrees, broken, rent, impaired, or shaken, or (as many things happen after the maner of men) by death afflicted or weakned, they ought with all speed to amend, repaire, increase, and augment the same: so that others, whom both their owne vertues, and the glory of their Stocke and Ancestors hath ennobled, being called vnto Nobilitie and honour, the glorie of Degrees and States may for euer in the glorie and brightnesse thereof bee preserued and kept. Wherefore wee now seeing one honourable and glorious order of Nobilitie amongest the rest to growe few; and knowing right well our most famous and renowned Cosin *Walter Vicount Hereford*, *Knight of our most Noble order of the Garter*, *Lord Ferrers of Chartley*, worthily and valiantly to haue for vs behaued himselfe in that seditious tumult of wicked Traytors and Rebells, raised of most wicked and vngracious men in the North parts of our kingdom: In which tumult and power of armed Traytors, a most great and horrible danger was, not vnto our Kingdome onely, but euen vnto our person also intended: so that partly by his conduct, not onelie the cruell furie and rage of the Traytours and Rebells, was there in that place represted, but many of the Rebels also were vnto our obedience reduced, and so the state of our Kingdome before sore troubled, became againe to be well quieted and pacified.

Wee therefore, for these causes and things by him so worthily perfourmed, willing to promote him the sayde *Walter* vnto the State, Honour and Dignitie, of the *Earle of Essex*: and for that the aforesaide *Walter* is descended of the Noble Stocke and Family of the *Bourchiers*, late *Earles of Essex*, & is by the common Law of our Kingdome, next heire vnto *Henry Bourchier* late *Earle of Essex*. Know you, that wee of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, haue erected, created & promoted the said *Walter* to be *Earle of Essex*; and also to the state, degree, dignity and honour of the Earle of *Essex*: and by the Tenour of these presents, do erect, create, and promote him to be Earle of *Essex*. And vnto the same *Walter* haue imposed, giuen, and bestowed the name, stile, and title of the *Earle of Essex*; and by these presents, do impose, giue, and bestow the same. And him the said *Walter*, in such the state, title, honour, and dignity of the Earle of *Essex*, *By the girting vnto him of a Sword, and the putting on of a Cap of Honour, and a Coronet of Gold*, do grace, inuest, and really ennoble by these presents. To haue and to hold the state, degree, dignitie, stile, title, name, and honour of the *Earle of Essex* aforesaid, with all and singuler the præeminences, honours, and other such things whatsoeuer vnto the state of an *Earle* appertayning or belonging, vnto the aforesayd *Walter*, and the heires male issuing from his bodie for euer. Willing, and by these presents, graunting for vs, our heires,

heires & succeſſors, that the ſaid *Walter*, and his heires male aforeſaid, ſhall the name, ſtate, degree, dignity, ſtile, and honor aforeſaid, ſucceſſiuely haue & beare: and ſhall by the name of the Earle of *Eſſex* aforeſayd, be called, and ſtiled, and euery one of them ſhall be called & ſtiled. And that the ſaid *Walter* and his heires aforeſayd, ſhall in all things ſucceſſiuely be holden, vſed, and reputed, and euery one of them ſhall be holden, vſed, and reputed, as Earles of *Eſſex*. And the ſaid *Walter* and his heires male, ſhall haue, hold, and poſſeſſe, and euery one of them ſhall haue, holde, and poſſeſſe a place in our Parliaments, and in the Parliaments of our Heires and Succeſſours within our Kingdome of *England*, among the other earles, as earle of *Eſſex*; and in ſuch ſort, as the aforeſayde *Henrie Bourchier*, late earle of *eſſex* had, held, and poſſeſſed the ſame.

And the ſaid *Walter* alſo, and his heires aforeſayd, ſhall enioy and vſe, and euerie one of them by the name of the earle of *eſſex*, ſhall enioy and vſe all & euery the rights, priuileges, præeminences, and immunities in all things orderly and of right vnto the ſtate of an Earle belonging: and which other earles in al things, orderly & of right, haue before theſe times, in better wiſe more honourably and quietly vſed and enioyed, or do at this preſent enioy and vſe.

And for becauſe, that as the height of State and Honour encreaſeth, ſo greater charges and burdens neceſſarily encreaſe alſo: and that hee the ſayd *Walter* and his heires aforeſayd, and euery one of them may the better, more ſeemely, and honorably maintaine & ſupport the aforeſaide ſtate of the earle of *Eſſex*, and the burdens lying vppon him the ſaid *Walter* and his heires: We therfore of our more aboundant grace, haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, vnto the aforeſaid *Walter*, and his heires aforeſaid, for euer, twenty pound of Fee, or yearely rent, to be yearely receiued, of the iſſues, profits, and reuenues, of our great and litle Cuſtome and Subſidie graunted vnto vs, or heereafter to be granted vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, ariſing, growing, or comming, within the Port of our honorable Citie of *London*, by the hands of our Cuſtomers and Collectors, or the Cuſtomer and Collectors of our Heyres and Succeſſors there, for the time being, at the Tearmes of S. *Michael*, and *Eaſter*, by euen portions, to be euery year payed. By reaſon that expreſſe mention of the true yearely valour, or of any other valour or certainty of the premiſes, or of any of thē, or of any other gifts or grants by vs, or any of our Progenitors, before theſe times made vnto the aforeſaid *Walter* earle of *eſſex*, in theſe preſents appeareth not: or any Statute, Ordinance, Act, Prouiſion, Proclamation, or reſtriction to the contrary therof, before had, made, ſet forth, or prouided; or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoeuer, in any thing notwithſtanding.

Theſe being VVitneſſes. Our faithfull Councellor, *Nicholas Bacon* knight, Keeper of our great Seale of england: and our moſt wel-beloued Coſins, *Edward* earle of *Oxford*, Lord Chamberlaine of england, *Reinold* earle of *Kent*, *William* earle of *Worceſter*, knight of the moſt Noble order of the Garter, *Henry* earle of *Rutland*, *Thomas* earle of *Suſſex*, of our aforeſaid order of the Garter knight, and Preſident of our Councell in the North parts of our kingdome of england: *Henry* earle of *Huntingdon*, of the aforeſaid Order, &c. *Ambroſe* earle of *Warwicke*, of the aforeſaide Order, &c. *Edward* earle of *Hertford*, *Robert* earle of *Leiceſter*, of the Order aforeſaid, &c. *Thomas* Vicount *Bindon*. And alſo the reuerend Fathers in Chriſt, *Edmund* Biſhop of *Sarum*, & *Edmund* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, our Almner, And alſo our wel-beloued and faithfull, *William* Lord *Howard* of Effingham, Lord Chamberlaine of our Houſe, of the Order of the Garter aforeſaide, &c. *William* Lord of *Burghley*, our principall Secretary of the Order aforeſaid, &c. *Henry* Lord *Strange*, *Arthur* Lord *Gray* of *Wilton*, of the order aforeſaid: *William* Lord *Sandes*, *Edward* Lord *Windſor*, *Thomas* Lord *Wharton*, *Robert* Lord *Rich*, *Thomas* Lord *Paget*, *Iohn* Lord *Darcey* of *Chiche*, *Robert* Lord *North*, *Edmund* Lord *Chandos*, of the aforeſaide Order of the Garter, &c. *Thomas* Lord of *Buckhurſt*, *William* Lord *Deleware*, Barons, *Francis Knolles* knight, Treaſurer of our Houſe, *Iames Croftes*, Knight, Controullor of our Houſe. And our well-beeloued and faith-full

Henry Sidney Knight of the aforesayd Order,&c. and Lord *President* of our Councell in the Marches of *Wales* : *William Cordall* Knight, Maister of the Rolles of our Chancerie, and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Mannour of *Greenwich*, the fourth day of May, in the foureteenth yeare of our reigne. 1572.

CHAP. IX.

¶ *The Rites and Ceremonies of creating of an Earle.*

THe same *Walter Deuereux, Baron Ferrers of Chartley,* & *Vicount Hereford*, hauing on an inner Gowne of purple silke, and couered with a Roab of Estate,& a veluet Mantell of the same colour,and going in the middle betwixt the erle of *Sussex* on his right hand, and the earle of *Huntingdon* on his left, both of them in their Roabs was conducted from the Queens Chappell vnto the Queens presence. Next before him went the earle of *Leicester*, carrying a *Cap of Estate,and a Coronet of Gold:* & the earle of *Bedford* on the left hand, bearing before him a Sword, with the Hilts vpward. Before these also went *Garter*, the chiefe *K. of Armes* with the *Charter* alone, and before him al the rest of the *Heralds*, by two & two together. When they were now come vnto the *Chamber of Presence*, after they had thrice made their most lowe obeisance, with some little space betwixt, they drew neare vnto the Queene then sitting in her Chaire of Estate, where the aforesaid *Walter* kneeled downe, the rest standing by. There the *Charter* was first deliuered vnto the Queene, who gaue it to *William Cicill, Baron of Burghley*, who deliuered the same vnto *William Cordell* Knight, Maister of the Rolles, to reade it aloude. Where at these words (in the *Charter*) *Gladio cinctum uiauimus*, the Queen put about his necke a Sword, hanging ouerthwart towards his left hand : and at the words *Cappæ & Circuli aurei*, she also put vpon his head a *Cap*, with a little Coronet. And afterward reading that which was left, pronounced him the said *Walter* before *vicount Hereford*, now created erle of *Essex*, for him and his heires male, as in the Charter it selfe before set down more at large appeareth. These things being done, the same Master of the Rolles (in stead of the Secretary, for the helping of whom he had read the charter) deliuered it to the Earle of *Oxford*, Great Chamberlaine of England : but he deliuered it vnto the Queene, who also gaue the same vnto the Earle of *Essex* to be kept. But he after great thanks, with greatest humility giuen, withdrew himselfe aside amongst the other Noblemen standing there by, expecting another, comming to be created earle. In like maner,& at the sãe time also, *Edward Baron of Clynton* and *Say*, and *Admirall of England*, was for himselfe and his heyres male, created earle of *Lincolne*.

These things altogether finished, they departed in the same order that they came in, with the Trumpets aloud sounding, whom the Heralds receiued. *Garter* went before, whom the new Earles followed in the middle, betwixt the Earles of *Sussex* and *Huntingdon*. And being so attired in the Ornaments of their creations, were conducted to dinner into a dining Chamber prepared for the same purpose. Where, after they had sit a space, at the comming in of the second course, *Garter* with the rest of the Heralds entring into the dyning Chamber, crying aloud, *Largesse* ; he alone proclaimed the Queens stile, first in Latine, after in *Frẽch*, and thirdly in englisH : and hauing twice repeated the word *Largesse*, & withdrawing themselues a little farther from the Table, proclaimed the stile of these last created Earles, in french and englisH in these words.

Du treshault et Puisant Seigneur Gautier d'Euerux Counte de Essex, Vicount Hereford, Baron Ferrers d'Chartley, et Cheualieur du tresnoble ordre de la Iarretiere.

Of the most high and mighty Lord, *Walter of Euerux*, earle of *Essex*, *Vicount Hereford*, *Baron Ferrers of Chartley*, and Knight of the most honourable order of the Garter.

Du treshault et puisant Sir Edouarde Conte de Lincoln, Baron de Clynton et Say, grand Admirall d' Angleterre, et Cheualieur de tresnoble ordre de la Iarretierẽ.

Of the most high & puissant, Sir *Edward*, earle of *Lincoln*, *Baron of Clynton* & *Say*, great Admirall of England,& knight of the most noble order of the Garter.

The

The habit and attire wherein an Earle of England is inveſted.



CHAP. X.

¶ *The Kings Charter concerning the creating of a Marquesse.*

The Letters Patents whereby King Edward the 4. created Tho Grey Marques Dorset.

Edward by the grace of God, King of *England* & of *France*, Lord of *Ireland*, *&c.* Vnto all *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, *Dukes*, *Earles*, *Barons*, *Iustices*, *Sheriffes*, *Gouernours*, *Ministers*, *Baliues*, and all his faithfull subiects; greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as our Royall Maiesty, after most great victories obtained ouer our enemies, is by the power of *Almightie God* promoted vnto the Regall Dignitie, and our Hereditary Royall seate: and lest that so great glorie of our Name, should euen in the verie rising thereof, for want of Children, faile, it came most happily to passe, that we were in lawfull marriage ioyned vnto our best beloued wife, *Elizabeth*, Queene of *England*, of whom we haue raised certaine more strong stayes of our future Royall Posterity, that is to say, *Edward* our eldest Sonne, *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Cornewall*, and *Earle of Chester*; *Richard Duke of Shrewsbury* and of *Yorke*; with a notable encrease of other our Children also: which thing greatly both perswadeth and enforceth vs, euen from our heart, to giue the greatest thankes wee possibly can, vnto the most glorious and high GOD, Defender of our Royall right, and Reuenger of our wrongs; and with gracious fauours to prosecute, and with greater honour and fauour to grace and beautifie her the same our wife, hauing of vs best deserued, and all her Progeny. But to the intent that our first begotten Sonne aforesayd, and the rest of our best beloued Children, compassed about with the faithfull, trusty, and sure strength of their neare and deare friends, as it were with certaine walles, may the more strongly be defended; we will not passe ouer vnrewarded, *Thomas Grey* their Brother by the Mothers side; whose noble Stocke, exceeding towardlinesse, worthy valour, but most of all, whose honourable vertues, we with the sincere affection of loue embrace: for why it seemes a thing most certain, them being brought vp in naturall society, and bound together with that sweete remembrance, them to haue dwelt in the same dwelling place before they were borne, to beare a certaine common, and especial loue amongst themselues for euer: and that they who in so strait a degree of consanguinity & loue are ioyned together, if any one of them should bee of so small dignity and reputation, as that for pouerty hee should not be able honourably to serue his greater kinsman when he ought so to do: we thinke it not vnbeseeming vs to prouide therefore, so as shall best seeme vs. And therefore we willing that the sayde *Thomas* should bee promoted with a greater patrimony, and more notable Titles of honour and dignity, that so he may stand in better stead, and become a greater Ornament vnto vs, our Children, and the Common-weale: of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meer motion, do ordaine, make, and create him the said *Thomas*, to be *Marquesse Dorset*: and also by these presents vnto the said *Thomas*, giue and grant, the stile, honor, state, title and dignity of *Marquesse Dorset*: and by the *Girding vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting on of a Cap of Honour*, do inuest him of the stile, title, name and honour of Marquesse of the place aforesaide; together with all the præeminences vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging. To haue and to hold the said name, stile, honour, state, title, and dignity of *Marquesse Dorset*, together with all the appurtenances, dignities, and other things whatsoeuer, vnto the state of a Marquesse of our kingdome of *England*, as well in our Sessions, Parliaments and Councells, and of our heires, or otherwise howsoeuer it be vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging, vnto the aforesayde *Thomas* and his heyres male issuing out of his body for euer. And also of our more plentifull grace we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents do giue and graunt vnto the aforesaid Marquesse towardes the supportation of the sayde name, stile, honour, state, title and dignitie, 35. pounds of lawfull money of *England*. To be had, leuied & receiued yerely vnto the sayd Marquesse, and the same his heires aforesaid, (viz.) twenty pounds there-

thereof to bee had and receiued vnto the ſaid Marqueſſe and the ſame his heyres, *of the Fee-farme of the Towne of Dorſet*, by the hands of the Bourgeſſes of the ſaide Towne for the time being, at the tearmes of S. *Michaell*, and of *Eaſter*, by equall portions. And the other fifteene pounds the remainder thereof, to bee had and receiued yearely vnto the ſaide Marqueſſe, and his heyres aforeſaide, of all the Cuſtomes and Subſidies, to vs already granted, or to be granted, and of eyther of thē, and of euery part, or of euery parcell of the ſame, comming and growing in that Port of our Towne of *Southampton*, by the hands of our Cuſtomers or Collectors, or of our heyres in the Port for the time being, at the aforeſaide Tearmes by equal portions. For becauſe that expreſſe mention of the true yearely valour of the premiſſes, or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants vnto the ſaide *Thomas*, before theſe times by vs made, is not in theſe preſents made: or any ſtatute, acte, or ordinãce to the contrary, made, ſet forth, or ordayned: or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoeuer notwithſtanding: and theſe things without any fee thereuppon, to our vſe in any wiſe to be payed. Theſe being Witneſſes: Our moſt famous firſt begotten Sonne, *Edward Prince of Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Cheſter*, and of *Flint*. The moſt reuerend Fathers, *Thomas*, *Cardinall* and *Archbiſhop* of *Canterbury*, & *George*, *Archbiſhop* of *Yorke*. Our moſt renowned Brethren, *George Duke of Clarence*, and *Richard Duke of Glocester*: and the right reuerend Fathers, *Thomas Biſhop of Lincolne*, our Chancellor of England: and *Thomas Biſhoppe of Hereford*. Our wel-beloued Cooſins, *William Arundell*, *Henry Eſſex*, Treaſurers of England, and *Anthony Riuers* Earles. And the welbeloued and faithfull Clarke, our Eſquire *Iohn Ruſſell*, *Doctor of Law*, & keeper of our priuate Seale: And alſo our welbeloued and faithfull *Thomas Stanley*, & *William Haſtings*, Knights: with others. Giuen vnder our hand at *Weſtmonaſtery*, the XVIII. day of *Aprill*, in the XV. yeare of our Reigne.

By Letters of our priuate Seale, and of the Date of theſe preſents, before the Parliaments.

CHAP. XI.

¶ *The Kings Charter for the creating of a Marchioneſſe.*

The Letters Patents whereby King Henry the eight graced Anne Rochford Daughter to Thomas earle of Wiltſhire and of Ormond, with the Title of Marchioneſſe of Pembroke.

HENRY by the grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith: & Lord of *Ireland*: to all and ſingular Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iuſtices, Sheriffes, Gouernors, Miniſters, and all Baliues, & others his faithfull Subiects: Greeting. Know you, that foraſmuch as a Royall Seate, & the height of regal dignity, with the greater State and Maieſty, conſiſteth in the multitude of perſons of both Sexes, as well of men as women: and that the gouernment of our kingdome is ſo much the more, with the more excellent honour ſtrengthened, by how much the moe noble States, and higher Dignity of both Sexes are vnder it, or ſupport it. VVee therefore vnto the premiſſes directing our ſight, and willing to eſtabliſh our Royall Scepter with the encreaſe of Nobles, and eſpecially ſuch as are from Royall race deſcended. For a Royall Seate once placed, is with the preſence of many Princes to be attended. VVherefore vppon this conſideration, as well for the Nobility of her Stocke, as for the excellency of her vertues and conditions; and other the ſhewes of her honeſty & goodneſſe, worthily to be commended. VVee by the conſent of the Nobility of our kingdome then preſent, make, create, and ennoble; and by theſe preſents make, create, and ennoble our Cooſin *Anne Rochford*, one of the Daughters of our wel-beloued Cooſin *Thomas*, Earle of *Wiltſhire*, and of *Ormond*: Keeper of our priuate Seale, to be Marchioneſſe of *Pembroke*: and alſo by *The putting on of a Mantle, and the ſetting of a Coronet of gold vpon her head*, as the manner is, do really inueſt vnto her the Name, Title, State, Stile, Honour, Authority, and Dignity, and other the reſt of the Honour, vnto the ſame belonging and annexed.

To haue and to hold the Name, Stile, Title,

Title, State, Honor, Authority, and Dignity of the Marchioneſſe of *Penbroke* vnto the aforeſaide *Anne*, and the Heyres male yſſuing of her body for euer. And to the intent, that the ſayd *Anne* as beſeemeth the name of the Marchioneſſe of *Penbroke*, & the *Nobility* of her ſtate may the more decently and honorably, maintaine and ſupport the burthens to be laid vpon her, we haue giuen and granted, & by this preſent Charter doe giue, grant, and confirme vnto the ſaid *Anne*, and her heires aforeſaid, thirty and fiue poundes yearely, to be receiued to her & her heirs aforeſaid, of the firme rents, iſſues, reuentions, obuentions, profites, and emoluments, of our County of *Penbroke* aforeſaid, ariſing and growing, as well by the hands of the Sheriffe of that Countie for the time being, as by the hands of the Baliffes, Farmers, or other occupiers of our Countie aforeſaide whoſoeuer, at the Termes of Saint *Michael* the Archangell, and of Eaſter, by equall portions to bee payed. For that expreſſe mention of the true yearely valew, or of other giftes or grants by vs, vnto the aforeſaide *Anne* in former times made, in theſe preſents appeareth not, or any ſtatute, act, ordinance or prouiſion to the contrary therof made, ſet forth, or prouided, or any other thing or matter whatſoeuer, in any thing notwithſtanding. Theſe being Witneſſes. The moſt reuerend Father in Chriſt, *Ed.* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, and the Reuerend Father in Chriſt, *Step.* Biſhop of *Winchester* our Secretary, and *Iohn* Biſhoppe of *London*; And alſo our wel-beloued coſins *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, our Treaſurer of *England*, and *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, Earle *Marſhall*: *Thomas* Earle of *Wilſhire*, Keeper of our priuate Seale: *Iohn* Earle of *Oxford*, our *Chamberlaine* of England: and *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, ſteward of our houſe: *Thomas Audley* Knight, keeper of our great Seale: *William Sandes* of *Vine*, Knight; *Chamberlaine* of our Houſe: and *Walter Deuereux* of *Ferrers* Knight, Barons: *William Fitz-Williams*, Treaſurer of our houſe: and *William Paulet*, controller of our houſe, Knights: and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the firſt day of September, and in the 24. yeare of our reigne.

The Rites and Ceremonies vſed in Creating of a Marchioneſſe.

THis *Anne* the daughter of *Tho:* Earle of *Wilſhire*, and of *Ormund*, vppon a Sunday, viz. the firſt day of Septem. 1532 in the 24. yeare of King *Henry* the eight, was at *Windſore* in this manner inueſted.

The King himſelfe attended vpon with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Marqueſſes, Earles, Barons, and other the *Great eſtates of the Kingdome*, together with the French Ambaſſador, and manie of the Priuy Counſell, went into the Chamber of *Salutation*, which they commonly call *The Preſence*) and there ſate him downe in his chaire of *Eſtate*. Vnto the which place the aforeſaide *Anne* was conducted with a great traine of Noble *Courtiers*, both men and women. The *Heralds* went formoſt, *Garter* K. of Heralds, firſt carrying the Kings Charter. After whom, the Noble Lady *Mary*, daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, vpon hir left arme, carried a robe of eſtate of Crimſon Veluet, furred with Ermines, and in her right hand a *Coronet of Gold*. Her, the aforeſaide *Anne* followed, with her hayre looſe, and hanging down vpon hir ſhoulders, attired in her inner garment (which they call a *Surcot*) of Crimſon Veluet, lined with ermins alſo, with ſtraite ſleeues, going in the middeſt betwixt *Elizabeth*, Counteſſe of *Rutland* on her right hand; and *Dorothy*, Counteſſe of *Suſſex* on her left; whom many Noble Ladies & Gentlewomen followd. But ſhe being broght towards the Kinges Royall Seate, thrice made her obeyſance, and comming vnto the King fell downe vpon her knees. The King gaue the Charter before deliuered vnto him, vnto the Biſhop of *Winchester* his Secretary to be read, which as he was reading aloud at theſe words *Mantellæ inductionem* (in the Charter) the King put vpon *Anne* the Marchioneſſe the Robe of eſtate, deliuered him by the Lady *Marie*; and at the wordes *Circuli aurei*, put alſo vppon her head a Coronet of Gold. At length, the Charter being read, the King gaue vnto her two Charters, viz: the one, of the creating of her to bee a Marchioneſſe, and to the heyres male yſſuing out of her body for euer. And another, for the receiuing of a thouſand poundes reuenew yearly, for the maintaining of that her dignity. All which thinges at length performed, ſhe gaue the King moſt humble thankes, and ſo hauing on her Robe of

Eſtate,

Eſtate, and a Coronet vpon her head, with the Trumpets aloud foundi g, departed:

THE Rites and Ceremonies for creating of a *Marqueſſe*, altogether agree with thoſe vſed in creating of a *Duke* changing onely ſuch things as are of neceſſity to be changed, but that *Marqueſſes* haue a *Marqueſſe* and an *Earle* to conduct them at their creating: the reſt of the difference is out of the portraiture beneathe ſet, as followeth.

The Rites and Ceremonies in creating of a MARQVES.

MARCHIO



CHAP. XIII.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Duke.

The coppy of the letters patents of K. Edward the 6. creating Edward Seymor, to be Duke of Somerset.

EDVVARD by the grace of God, of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, King: Defender of the Faith, &c. to all Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Iusticces, Sheriffes, Gouernors, Ministers, and to all Baliffes, and other his faithfull Subiects, &c. Greeting. Seeing that there is nothing which more becometh a Prince, then to shew himselfe bountifull and liberall, especially vnto such as haue of him well deserued, & good seruices vnto him performed: wee therefore reuoluing in our minde, with how many, how great & worthy seruices our most deare and well-beloued Vnkle *Edward*, earle of *Hertford* hath honoured vs: wee haue therefore thought him worthy, whom wee should promote vnto an higher degree of honour and dignity: neyther can we but for such his great deserts towards vs, but in some part with due deserts againe requite him. Know you therefore, that wee of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, and by the aduice of our Councell, do create, ennoble, make and ordaine, him the aforesaid earle, to bee Duke of *Somerset*. And by these presents, giue and grant vnto him the saide earle, the name, title, state, stile, honour, authority, & dignity, of the D. of *Somerset*: and him of that name, with the title, state, honor, authority, & dignity, & other honors to the same belonging & annexed; by *The girting vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of Gold vpon his head: and the deliuering vnto him of a golden Verge*, do really inuest. To haue and to hold the name, stile, state, honour, authority, and dignity, of the Duke of *Somerset* to our aforesaid Vnkle, and to the heyres male of his owne body, and of the body of *Anne*, now his wife, already begotten, and of the body of the same *Anne* heereafter to be begotten. And if it shall happen the saide Duke to dye without heyre male begotten, or heereafter to bee begotten of his body, and the body of the saide *Anne* now his wife: VVee will and grant, that if by the death of him the said Duke, the heyres male of his body, and of *Anne* now his wife shall decease or dye, then *Edward Seymour* Esquire, the saide Dukes Sonne of the body of *Katharine* the first wife, of him the said Duke deceased, shall be Duke of *Somerset*, and shall beare, haue, hold, and enioy vnto him the aforesaid *Edward Seymour*, and the heires male from the body of him, the same *Edward* lawfully descended, the name, state, title, honour, authority, and dignity of the Duke of *Somerset*, with all the honours vnto the said Dukedome appertaining & annexed. And also by the *Girting vnto him of a sword, and the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of gold vpon his head, and by the deliuering vnto him of a golden verge*, shall be thereof really inuested. And if it shall happen the aforesaid *Edward* to dye without heyre male of his body lawfully begotten, then we will, and grant, that the heyre of the now Duke of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife which he shall heereafter marry, shall bee Duke of *Somerset*, and shall beare, haue, and enioy the same, vnto him & his heires male, lawfully begotten. And also the state, title, honour, dignity, and authority of the Duke of *Somerset*, with all the honours vnto the said Duke appertaining & annexed. And also by the *Girting vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting of a Cap and Coronet vpon his head, and the deliuering of a golden verge vnto him*, shall therein be royally inuested. And that the same Duke and his heyres aforesaide, may according to the decency of the said name of the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Nobility of his and their estate, more honourably beare themselues. And that the same Edward and his heyres aforesaid, if they shal chance to be Dukes of *Somerset*, may the more honourably maintaine, and beare the state and honour of the aforesaide name of the Duke of *Somerset*: and for want of such issue, that then the heires male of the body of the saide Duke hereafter to bee begotten of the body of any wife, which he shal hereafter marry, may in like maner more honorably beare the state and honour of the aforesayd name of the *Duke of Somerset*: we haue giuen and graunted, and by this our present Charter,

Charter, giue, graunt, and confirme, for vs our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto the aforeſaid duke of *Somerſet*, a certaine annuall rent of forty pounds, of good and lawfull money of *England*, iſſuing out of our Mannor of *Crikerum*, otherwiſe called *Crokhorne*, *Stokegerſey*, *Wikefitzpane*, or of any of them, in our County of *Somerſet*, being late parcel of the poſſeſſions of *Henrie* late *Marqueſſe of Exceter*, which came vnto the hands of the late moſt noble and inuincible Prince, King *Henry* the eight, our moſt renowned father, by reaſon of the attaindor of the ſaid Marques, of high treaſon attainted, and which now are in our hands. To haue, hold, and receiue the aforeſayd yearely rent of fortie pound, vnto the aforeſaid duke of *Somerſet*, and his heires aforeſaid, at the Feaſts of the bleſſed virgin *Mary*, and Saint *Michaell* the Archangel, by equall portions, to bee yearely payed by the hands of the Receiuers, Farmers, Tenants, and other whomſoeuer, Occupiers of our Manors, Lands, and Tenements aforeſayd, or of any of them, being parcell of them. And after that, for want of ſuch iſſue, vnto the aforeſaide *Edward*, and the heires male of his body lawfully begotten. And for defect of ſuch iſſue, to remaine from thenceforth, vnto the heires male of the ſaid Duke of his owne body begotten, by any other his wife, which he ſhall heereafter marry. And that theſe our Letters Patents, or the Inrolement of them, vpon the onely ſhewing of the ſame, or of the enrolement of them, ſhall be yearely, and from time to time, as well vnto our Chancellour, and our Councell of our Court of *Augmentation* and *Reuencion* of our Crowne, for the time being, as vnto all others our Miniſters, Receiuers, and other our Officers, their heires and ſucceſſours whatſoeuer for the time being, a ſufficient warrant and diſcharge in this part, for the deliuery and payment of the ſaid yerely rent of forty pounds, vnto the aforeſaid Duke and his heires aforeſaid. And for defect of ſuch iſſue, vnto the ſaid *Edward Seymour*, and the heires male of his body lawfully begotten. And for want of ſuch iſſue, vnto the heires of the ſayde Duke, of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife, which he ſhall hereafter marry. And if it ſhall happen the ſaid yerely rent of forty pound, or any part or parcell thereof to be behind & vnpaid at any of the aforeſaide Feaſts, in which it ought to be paied as is aforeſaid: then we grant for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto the ſayde Duke, and his heires aforeſaid, and euery one of them: and for lacke of ſuch iſſue, vnto the ſaide *Edward Seymour*, and his heires aforeſaid: and for want of ſuch iſſue, vnto the aforeſaid heires of the ſaid Duke, whom he ſhall lawfully beget of the body of any other his wife whom hee ſhall heereafter marry, and to euery one of them, into the aforeſaide Mannors, and euery one of them, and into all and euerie the aforeſaide Lands and Tenements, or any parcell of the ſaide Mannors, Lands, or Tenements, to enter, and there to diſtraine, & the diſtreſſes there ſo by them, or any of them taken, to driue, leade, carry away, impound, and with them, and euery one of them to detaine, vntill the aforeſaid yearely rent of forty pound, together with the arrerages (if any there ſhall be thereof) ſhall vnto the aforeſaid duke and his heires aforeſaid, or vnto the ſaid *Edward* or his heires aforeſaide: or the heires of the ſaide Duke, or ſome one of them, be fully and wholly contented and payed, by vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, or the aſſignes of vs, our heires, or ſucceſſours. And for that expreſſe mention, &c. Theſe being VVitneſſes. The moſt reuerend Father in Chriſt, *Thomas* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitane of all *England*; and our well-beloued and faithfull Councellour, *William Poulet* Knight, Lord *Saint Iohn*, Great Maiſter of our houſe, &c. *Iohn Ruſſell* Knight, Lord *Ruſſell* Keeper of our priuie Seale: and alſo our moſt well-beloued Cozins, *Henry* earle of *Arundell*, and *Francis* earle of *Shrewsburie*, &c. Giuen vnder our hand at the Tower of *London*, the ſixteenth day of February.

The firſt of Edward the ſixt by the King himſelfe.

¶ *The*

CHAP. XIIII.

The manner of Creating of a Duke.

IN the yeare one thousand fiue hũdred forty seuen, the xvii. of the Moneth of February, and in the first yeare of the Reign of *Edward* the sixt of that name, The Nobility being called together and assembled into the Tower of London. *Edward Seymour*, the aforesaid Earle of *Hertford* the kings Vnkle, & Protector of the kingdom, with others promoted vnto the diuers degrees of Nobility, was in this wise created D. of *Somerset*. He himselfe being apparelled in an inner Robe of honour, the Heralds went before him in their Heralds coates, the chiefe of whom, *Garter* following alone, carried the Charter. The Earles of *Shrewsbury* and of *Oxford*, going together, the Earle of *Shrewsbury* on the right hand, carried a Verge of gold, & the earle of *Oxford* on the left, carried the Dukes Cap, with a Coronet of gold. Next vnto whom followed the Earle of *Arundell*, carrying a Sword with the hilts vpward. At length the earle of *Hertford* himselfe was conducted in the midst, betwixt the Duke of *Suffolke*, and the Marquesse of *Dorchester*: When they in this manner, attired in their Robes of honour, were come into the *Chamber of Salutation* (which they commonly call *The Presence Chamber*) they after thrice obeysance made, went vnto the king, sitting in his chayre of Estate: where foorth-with the earle kneeled downe, all the rest standing about him, *Garter* king of Heralds, deliuered the Charter vnto Baron *Paget*, the Kings Secretary, who gaue the same vnto the King, and he deliuered it vnto him againe to be read aloud. And when hee came vnto the words *Inuestiuimus*, (or we we haue inuested) the king put a Dukes Mantle vpon the Earle: and at the words (*Gladio cinctu rauimus*) girt him with a Sword: at the words *(cappæ & circuli aurei impositionem)* the King himselfe in like manner with his owne hand put vppon his head a Cap with a Coronet of gold vpon it: and at length, at those wordes *(virgæ aureæ traditionem)* the King himselfe gaue into his hand, *A verge of gold*: which done, the Secretary read the rest, euen vnto the end of the Charter: wherin he pronounced him the saide earle of *Hertford*, to bee Duke of *Somerset*: at which time, the King forthwith gaue the Charter vnto the Duke to bee kept: who after thanks giuen vnto the Kings Maiestie for so great an honour and dignity receiued, in this sort attired, stood by the Chaire of Estate, whilst the Noble-men returned to bring in others, who were also to be created.

The

The habite and attire of a Duke.



CHAP. XV.

The Kings Charter for the creating of the Prince of Wales.

The Copy of the letters patents of king Henry the 6. creating Edward his first begotten Son Prince of Wales, and Earle of Chester.

HENRY by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, Gouernors, Ministers, and to all our Baliues, and faithfull Subiects, Greeting. Out of the excellency of Royall preheminence, like as beams from the Sun, so do inferior honours proceed: neyther doth the integrity of the royall luster and brightnesse, by the naturall disposition of the light, affoording light frō light, feele any losse or detriment by such borrowed light: yea, the Royall Scepter is also much the more extolled, and the Regall Throne exalted, by how much the more Nobles, Preheminences, and Honours are vnder the power and command thereof.

And this worthy consideration allureth and induceth vs, which desire the encrease of the Name and Honour of our first begotten and best beloued Sonne, *Edward*, in whom we behold and see our selues to bee honoured, and our royall house also, and our people subiect vnto vs; hoping by the grace of God (by coniecture taken of his gratious future proceeding to be the more honorably strengthened, that wee may with honour preuent, and with abundant grace prosecute him, who in reputation of vs, is deemed the same person with vs. VVherefore, by the Councell and consent of the Prelats, Dukes, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons of our kingdome, being in our present Parliament, we haue made and created, and by these presents make and create him the said *Edward*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Earle of Chester*. And vnto the same *Edward* we giue and grant, and by this Charter haue confirmed, the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and the honour of the said Principality and County. And him of the said Principality and County, that hee may therein in gouerning rule, and in ruling, direct and defend, we by a *Garland vpon his head*, by a ring of gold vpon his finger, and a verge of gold, haue according vnto the manner inuested him. To haue and to hold the same vnto him and his heires, the Kings of England for euer. Wherefore, we will, and straightly command, for vs and our heires, that *Edward* our Sonne aforesaid, shall haue the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and Honour of the Principalitie of *Wales*, and of the County of *Chester* aforesaide, vnto him and his heyres the Kings of England aforesaide, for euer. These being witnesses. The reuerend Fathers, *Iohn*, *Cardinall* and *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, Primate of all England, our *Chancellor*, and *William Arch-bishop* of *Yorke*, Primat of England; *Thomas* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Bishop of *Norwich*: our most wel-beloued Cosins, *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, and *Humfrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, our wel-beloued Cosins, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Richard* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *Iohn* Earle of *Wilshire*, and our beloued and faithfull *Raffe Cromwell*, Chamberlain of our house, *William Faulconbridge*, and *Iohn Stourton* Knights. Dated at our Pallace of VVestminster, the XV. day of *March*, and in the yeare of our Reigne, XXXII.

By the King himselfe, and his Councell.

CHAP. XVI.

Things required vnto the Creation of the Prince of Wales.

FIrst, an honorable habite (viz.) a Robe of Purple Veluet hauing in it, about XVIII. elnes, more or lesse, garnished about with a fringe of gold, and lined with *Ermins*.

A Surcoat or inner Gowne, hauing in it about XIIII. elnes of Veluet, of like Coulor, Fringe, and Furre.

Laces, Buttons, and Tassels (as they cal them) ornaments made of purple silke & gold.

A girdle of silke also, to gird his inner Gowne.

A sword with a scabberd made of purple silke and gold, garnished with the like girdle he is girt withall, thereby shewing himselfe

himselfe to be Duke of *Cornwall* by birth, and not by Creation.

A cap of the same veluet that his Robe is of, furred with *Ermines*, with Laces and a Button, and Tassels on the crowne ther-of made of Venice gold.

A garland or a little Coronet of gold, to be put on his head, together with his Cap.

A long golden Verge or Rod, betokening his gouernment.

A Ring of gold also to bee put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he declareth his mariage made with *Equity* and *Iustice*.

All these things were almost with Royall sumptuousnesse prepared for *Edward*, Sonne to King *Henry* the eight, to haue beene created Prince of VVales, but preuented by his Fathers death, hee was crowned King, sixt of that Name: yet the forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies belonging to the inuesting of the Prince into the Principality of Wales, you may perceiue, by that which is before declared.

PRINCEPS WALLIAE



CHAP. XVII.

Of the Crowning of the King.

Concerning Charters & Writs of Summons vnto Parliament, whereby the Kinges of England, onely vpon their good liking, & meere motion (as they vse to say) are wont to conferre Named Nobility, *wee haue already spoken: and now at length we are come vnto the rites and Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Kinges themselues, as they are after our manner with vs Crowned. Concerning which, a few things are now to be saide.*

NOthing assuredly is more excellent then the Royall dignity, if we shall respect the Maiesty of the name of a King, either among the nations or in holie Scriptures. The Romanes in ancient time, appointed three Degrees of their greatest Dignities, of all which, the Regall power was the cheefest and highest. Next after the dignity of a *King* was the *Dictatorship*; in the third place, followed the power which the *Generall* of their Armies had, whom they called *Imperator*. Hee that great *Iulius Cæsar*; when after the victory of *Pharsalia*, had beene oftentimes by his army saluted *Imperator*, yet for all that, vsed he not the name of *Imperator*, but *Dictator*. For why, the name of a King, after the time of *Tarquinius*, was for a great while growne into hatred, and become odious in the Citie. Howbeit, at such time as he was about to make an expedition against the *Parthians*, hee affected to bee called a King: affirming it to be contained in the Books of the *Sybils*, the *Parthians* not possible to bee conquered and subdued but by a King.

The *Dictators* most high power, was in all things like vnto the power of a King: and such as a man may say to haue bin equall vnto the power of a King. This was (as *Varro* witnesseth) chaunged into a great Magistrate, whom they called *Magistrum Ciuium* (or *Master of the Citizens*) which manner of Gouernour of a Citie, the Germaines vsed to call, **Burgue Meistre.**

The name of *Imperator* or Emperors, was at first but an Office in an Army, and a bare Title; which yet at length became a dignity of greater State and Maiestie, then any of the rest; and yet at length so fell, as that the Maiesty and magnificence of the Christian world, is maintained only by the power of Kings. Vnto foure of whom onely, it is written to haue beene proper in ancient time to bee annointed, viz. vnto the Kings of *Ierusalem*, of *England*, of *France*, and of *Sicily*.

The French writers report, the *French Kings* within the bounds of theyr owne kingdom, to be styled *Imperatores* or *Emperors*. *Chassaneus* also affirmeth, the king of *England*, to bee in *England*, a Monarke. And if the name of *Christianissimi*, or the most Christian king, bee glorious vnto the French kings, and the name of *Catholici* or *Catholique* vnto the kings of *Spaine*, the kinges of *England* haue also a style whereof to reioyce, as (viz:) not in Title, onely to be styled *Fidei Christianæ & Catholicæ Defensores*, or *Defenders of the Christian and Catholique Faith*, but euen vvith vndaunted Maiesty, to be of both acknoledged the great *Champions* and *Protectors* of the same. But concerning attributes or additions of Stiles and Titles, I list not for to striue. But, seeing that the kings of England for their royall dignity, giue God the thankes onely; and that it is onely by the grace of God (as they vse to say) by hereditary succession, by them obtained: they hold it vnto them confirmed by the surfrages of the people, vvith the requisite forme and ceremonies of *Coronation*, *Consecration*, and *Inunction*. Which being of ancient time (the kingdome sore shaken with *Danish* wars) ofte kept at *Kingston* vppon *Thames*, is now vsually holden and made at *Westmonastery*, a city ioyning vnto the city of *London*, in forme following.

The

*The ancient forme of the Co-*ronation of the Kings and *Queenes of England.*

Inprimis. The King to be newly crowned, the day before his Coronation, shall be brought forth in royall Robes, and shall ride from the Tower of London, to his Pallace of Westminster with his head vncouered, being accompanied on horsebacke with his temporall Lords, his Nobles, the Commons of London, and other his seruants.

The seate of Estate.

Item. Let there be prouided against the day of Coronation, in the Kings great Hall at Westminster, a Chaire of Estate, fittingly prouided with hangings of silke and embrodery, with Cushions and Carpets of Arras accordingly.

The Scaffold.

Item. Let it be prouided, that a Stage or Scaffold bee erected in the Church at Westminster, with steps on eyther side: let it be orderly suted with Cloathes and Carpets on all parts, and likewise on the floore.

The Royall Throne.

Item. Let it bee prouided, that vpon the said Scaffold, there bee erected a Throne or Chaire, wherein the King is to sit: Let it bee accordingly suted with rich furniture, and Cushions of cloth of gold.

The Abbot of Westminster.

Item. It is to be obserued, that the Abbot of VVestminster for the time beeing, by the space of two or three dayes before the Coronation of the King or Queene, shall instruct them what duties they are to performe in the celebration of their Coronation; as also to prepare their consciences, before the receiuing of the *Sacred vnction.* And if the Abbot be dead, sicke, or absent in some remote Country, or lawfully hindred; thē shall one of the Monks of the saide Monastery (nominated by the Couent of the same Church) supply the office of the said Abbot in this case.

Of the Kirtle and Surcoate.

Item. Vpon the day of the Coronation, the King that is to be crowned, shall be placed in the foresaid Chaire of estate, in the foresaid Hall (but beeing first bathed:) and after his bathing, a Kirtle and Surcoat of Veluet shall be prepared for him, open on the breast, betweene the shoulders and blades of his armes: Let his open Kirtle and Surcoat bee fastened together with loops of siluer: and vpon the Kirtle let him be cloathed with other royall Robes, and let him bee shod with Sandals.

Procession.

Item. Let a solemne Procession be prouided by the Abbot and Couent of VVest: from the fore-saide Church to the Kings seate, in the fore-said Hall. In which procession, there shall be arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates. Then the King shall descend, and follow the Procession into the Church at VVestminster, and he shall goe vpon blew cloth spread vpon the ground, from the foresaid Chaire to the Stage (or seege) erected in the foresaide Church. And in the said procession shall be sung such like Hymnes, as are accustomed to bee sung in the reception of Kings and Queenes.

The Crosse, &c.

Item. The Crosse, Sword, Scepter, and Royall Mace (ensignes of honour) shall be borne in the procession, by the Abbot, Prior, and Senior Monks of Westminster into the Pallace, and there shall they be surrendred to diuers of the Lords, to be borne before the King to the Church.

The Barons of the fiue Ports.

Item. The Barons of the fiue Ports shall carry a rich Canopy vpon siluered staues ouer the King or Queenes head, in the fore-saide procession vnto the saide Church.

The Abbot of Westminster.

Item. The Abbot (or the Monke supplying his place) ought alwayes to be neere about the King and Queene to giue enstructions.

The Arch-bishop ought to demand the good liking of the people.

After the King hath a little reposed himselfe in the Chaire or Throne erected vpon the Scaffold, then the arch-bishoppe of Canterbury, shall goe vnto the foure squares of the Scaffold, & with a loud voyce, aske the good liking of the people, concerning the Coronation of the king: Meane while the king shal stand vp in his Throne, and turne himselfe v to the foure squares, in like manner, as the Archbishoppe speaketh vnto the people. And after the said demand, the Anthem *Firmetur manus tua, &c.* shall be sung.

The Orffertory of the King.

The anthem being ended, the king shal descend from the Scaffold, vp to the high Altar, the Bishops leading him: whereupon he is bound to offer a Mantle, & one pound of gold: therein fulfilling his commandement, who said; *Non apparebis vacuùs in conspectu Dei tui.*

The King prostrateth himselfe.

The Offering being finished, the king boweth himselfe vpon the Pauement, before the Altar, being before prepared by the Kings Officers, with cloaths and sutable cushions of veluet, vntill the Arch-Bishop hath saide ouer him the Prayer, *Deus fidelium, &c.* And then ought a Sermon to be preached vnto the people.

The King taketh his Oath.

The Sermon being ended, the king approcheth vnto the Altar to take his oath, which he ought to performe vpon the sacrament of our Lords body. Then let the Hymne, *Veni creator spiritus*, be solemnly sung. VVhich being begun, the King shal prostrate himselfe before the high Altar, vntill the Letany and Preface bee wholly sung ouer him. Which being finished, let the king arise and sit in his chaire, therein reposing himselfe a while.

The annointing of the King.

After this, let the King arise from his chaire, and goe vnto the Altar, and there shall he put off his Robes (except his Kirtle and Surcoat) and there let him receiue Vnction, the Quier meane while singing; *Vnxerunt Salomonem*; with the prayer following. Then let him be annointed in fiue places, (viz.) in the palmes of his hands, on his breast, betweene his shoulders, on the blades of his armes, and on his head, with holy-oyle, in forme of a crosse; and afterwards making the signe of the crosse vpon his head with the Chrisme, the fastenings and Mantle beeing first opened. Item, after the foresaid Vnction, and wiping with linnen cloaths (which ought afterwards to bee burnt) let the opened places for the annointing be closed again by the Abbot of Westminster, or his Deputy.

The Abbot of Westminster shall take off the Kings Cap.

After the annointing of the kings head, let it bee couered with a linnen Cap, because of holy vnction, and so let it remain vntill the eight day after the vnction: vpon the which day, the Abbot of Westminster or his Deputy, shall come vnto the king, and take off the aforesaid linnen Cap, and shall wash & mundifie the kings head. After the said washing, the Abbot of VVestminster, or his assignes, shall put vpon the King, royall habiliments, viz. a *Sindon* fashioned after the *Dalmatian* fashion, with hose and sandals: and then let these royall Robes bee sacred by the arch-Bishop: as *Patet in Libro.*

The King shall be cloathed with a Mantle by the Abbot.

These Offices being finished, the aforesaide king shall be arrayed by the Abbot of VVestminster, or his assignes, with a long Cloake or Mantle, wouen with faire Imagery of gold, before and behind, with his Buskins, Pantofles, and Spurs fitted to his legge.

The setting of the Crowne vpon the Kings head.

After the King is thus arrayed, then let the Crowne be placed vpon the kings head by the arch-bishop, and afterward let a Ring be put on the Kings hand by a Bishiop.

Of the Sword.

After this, let the Royall Sword bee blessed, and the said King shall receiue it from the Bishop, and shall gird himselfe with the said sword, and receiue the Bracelets: afterward, let him bee cloathed with a Royall

Royall cloake.

The offering of the Sword.

After this, let the King offer the saide Sword vpon the Altar to God: which the worthiest earle then present is to redeeme for one hundred Shillings; and to carry it naked before the King. The price whereof pertayneth vnto the sayde Altar.

The receiuing of the Scepter.

After this, let the King receiue a paire of linnen Gloues, & after that the Scepter, with the Crosse in his right hand, and the Mace in his left. Then being blessed, he shall kisse the bishops, by whom (as also by the residue of the Nobility) he shall bee honourably conducted to his Royall seate, the Quier singing, *Te Deum laudamus*.

The Prelates, and the residue shall make their homage.

After this, let the Prelates and Lords make their fealty and liege homage to the Lord King: and then let Masse begin. Item, whilest *Gloria in excelsis* is singing, the King shall be censed by a Deacon: and at *Credo*, he shall kisse the Booke.

The offering of Bread and Wine.

Whilest the Offertorie is singing, let the King approach to the Altar, & make his offering of Bread and VVine: and after that let him also offer a Mark of gold: which being done, the King shall a little bow downe his head, whilest the Archbishoppe doth blesse him with two Orisons, which being finished, let the King be brought back to his Throne or estate.

The kissing of the Pax after the Agnus Dei.

The kisse of the Pax after the *Agnus Dei* being receiued: let the King discend from his Estate, and humbly approach the Altar, and there receiue the body & blood of our Lord: which being receiued, the Abbot of *Westminster* shall minister vnto him wine out of a stone Challice, pertayning to the King, and then immediately the King shall returne to his estate.

Masse being finished, let the King discend from his Throne, and goe vnto the high Altar, and let the Archbishops, Bishops, and Nobility go before him to the Shrine of Saint *Edward*, where the King shall be arrayed with other Roabes; all which shall be offered vpon the Altar of Saint *Edward*.

The taking off the Roabes.

The great Chamberlaine (viz.) the earle of *Oxenford*, shall vnclothe the king of the foresaid Roabes in a with-drawing place neare to the Shrine: which Roabs, as they are particularly taken from the King, so shall they be laid vpon the said Altar by the Abbot.

Another Crowne.

The King attired in other honourable apparrell, shall approach vnto the Altar of Saint *Edward*, where the Archbishop shall put another Crowne vpon his head.

The King returneth to the Pallace.

The said King being thus crowned, & carrying in his hand the Regall Scepter, from the Shrine to the high Altar, and from thence to the scaffold, then shall he discend thorow the midst of the Quier, by the same way as hee came into the Church, the foresayd earles carrying the Swords before him, returning with great glory vnto the Kings Pallace to dinner.

The deliuery of the Scepter.

Dinner beeing ended, and the King withdrawne into his chamber, the Scepter shall bee deliuered to the Abbot of *Westminster*, or his deputy, by the Kings owne hands, to be kept in the said church of *Westminster*.

¶ *The Coronation of the Queene.*

And note, that in the Coronation of the Queene, Procession shall be celebrated: and if she be crowned with the king, then ought she to be annoynted vpon the Crowne of her head, and on her breast: and if she be crowned alone, then ought shee to be annoynted vpon the Crowne onely crosse-wayes with the Chrisme.

The Kings Oath vpon the day of his Coronation.

The Archbishop of *Canterburie* shall demaund the King, saying: *Pleaseth it you*

to

to confirme and obſerue the Lawes and Cuſtomes of ancient times, granted from God by iuſt and deuout Kings vnto the Engliſh Nation, by Oath vnto the ſaid people, eſpecially the Lawes, Cuſtomes and Liberties, granted vnto the Cleargy and Laity, by the famous King Edward? The King anſwering that he will performe and obſerue all the premiſes. Then ſhall the Archbiſhop reade vnto him the Articles whereunto he ſhal ſweare, thus ſaying; *Thou ſhalt procure vnto the Church of God, vnto the Cleargie, and people, firme peace, and vnitie in God, according to thy power:* He ſhall anſwer, I will performe it.

Art thou pleaſed to cauſe to bee adminiſtred in all thy iudgements indifferent and vpright Iuſtice, and to vſe diſcretion with mercie and veritie. He ſhall anſwer, I will doe it.

Art thou pleaſed, that our vpright lawes and cuſtomes be obſerued: and doeſt thou promiſe, that thoſe ſhall bee protected and maintained by thee, to the honour of God, according to thy ſtrength. He ſhall anſwere, I grant and promiſe.

The petition of the Biſhops.

The Admonition of the Biſhops vnto the King followeth; and muſt be read by one, (viz.) by the Biſhop of *Lincolne: Lord King, wee deſire your pardon, that you would vouchſafe to defend to euery one of vs, and to the Churches committed vnto vs, our Canonicall Priuiledges, with equitie and iuſtice, as a King in his Kingdome ought to doe vnto euerie Biſhop, Abbot, and Churches committed vnto him.* Hee ſhall anſwer thus

The Kings anſwer.

With a willing and deuout heart, I promiſe vnto you, and I pardon euerie one of you, and the Churches committed vnto you. I will confirme the Canonicall priuiledges, miniſter equitie and iuſtice, and will defend them by Gods fauour, as farre as I am able; euen as a King ought with vprightnes to do, vnto euery Biſhop, Abbot, and the Churches committed vnto him.

The Oath of homage made vnto the King.

I become your man liege of life and limbe, and troth, and yearely honour to you ſhall beare anenſt all men that now liue. So helpe me God and Holy doome.

Item, that the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhall firſt make his fealtie, then the Biſhops, and afterwards all the Nobles of the Kingdome.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *A briefe Deſcription of the pompe and Ceremonies at the Coronation of Edward the ſixt, King of England: according to the auncient manner, vſed in the Conſecration of the Kings of England.*

HEnrie the eight, the moſt inuincible K. of *England*, beeing dead, who departed out of this life at *Weſtminſter*, the 28. day of *Ianuary*, 1546 and 38. of his reigne. *Edward Seymour*, erle of *Hertford*, King *Edward* his Vncle, accompanyed with moſt of the Nobilitie of the whole Kingdome, forthwith went to *Enfield* (in the Countie of *Middleſex*) vnto *Edward*, now at length (by right of ſucceſſion vnto his Father *Henry*) King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*. Whom the Munday following (viz.) the laſt of *Ianuary*, he with the great applauſe of the Cittie, and of the people by the way as hee went, was brought from thence vnto the Tower of *London*.

The ſame day the Heralds from an high Stage ſet vp in the middeſt of *Weſtminſter* hall (with a great ſound of Trumpets) out of a Royall *Charter*, ſealed with the great Seale of the kingdome, proclaimed the death of the aforeſaid king *Henry* the eight, and the Inauguration of K. *Edward* the ſixt to come. Which *Charter* was dated the 31 day of *Ianuarie*, and the firſt yeare of King *Edward*.

Vpon Friday following (viz.) the 4. of *February*, it was through the moſt famous places of the Citty of *London*, by the Heralds proclamed and notified, that whoſoeuer they were which by right of Fee, were bound at the Coronations of Kings, to performe their Offices or Seruices; ſhould vnto the Kings Commiſſioners therefore appoynted, in the *White* hall,

hall, the vij. of February exhibite their petitions: who according to the ancient cuſtome of the kingdome, ſhould determine vnto euerie man their rights and ſeruices, againſt the twentith of the ſame moneth, the day appointed for the Coronation of the King.

Vpon Thurſeday (which was the firſt day of February) the Nobility and States of the Kingdome aſſembled into the Chamber of Preſence (as they call it) euery one of them in order one by one, did their reuerence and duety vnto the King, ſitting in his Royall Seate, kiſſing his hand, and ſaying; *Long liue the Kings Maieſty.*

After that the Chancellour declared vnto him the Will of his dead Father, and the Names of his Executors: and that for lacke of yeares, he was not yet himſelfe able to gouerne his Kingdome (for now hee was but going vppon the tenth yeare of his age) he told them, that the Earle of *Hertford* his Vncle, was by common ſuffrages choſen Tutor of his perſon, and Protector of his Kingdome. VVhich when the King had approoued, and that the erle refuſed not that charge, they altogether, and oftentimes doubled and redoubled; *Long liue our King Edward:* and, *God ſaue our King.*

The next day (viz.) vpon Friday, the Noble-men meeting together in the Starre-chamber, there bound themſelues by Oath vnto the King: at which time and place alſo the Maiſter of the *Rolles*, and the chiefe Officers of the *Chancerie*, were ſworne truely and ſincerely to enrole the VVill and Teſtament of the aforeſaid King *Henrie* the eight, being dead.

The Sunday following, the King by his Vncle the Protector, was after the accuſtomed maner made a knight, who by and by after with the ſame Ceremonies created the Maior of *London*, and certayne others, knights.

But vpon the Monday, the Commiſſioners hauing well conſidered of the matter, and hauing read the Suters Petitions on both ſides, gaue ſentence concerning Seruices, after the manner to be performed at the time of the Coronation; of which in their place and order more is to be hereafter ſaid.

The VVedneſday following, was wholly beſtowed in the magnificent performing of the rites and ceremonies of the Funerall of King *Henrie* the eight. VVhich done, they entred into conſultation concerning the Coronation of the new King. And firſt of all, for the greater ſolemnitie of the pompe, the Earle of *Hertford* was graced with the Title of the Duke of *Somerſet*. At which time others alſo, with other honourable Titles, were with great ſolemnity honored alſo.

After dinner, the Knights of the Garter aſſembled together into the Kings Chamber, where the King attired in the ornaments of that Order ſate (as of right he ſhould, higheſt) and with ioyned voices, choſe the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, the earle of *Darbie*, and others, into the fellowſhip of that Order.

At length, vpon Saturday (viz.) the 19 day of February, the king with a moſt magnificent pompe, went through the middeſt of the Citty, from the Tower of *London*, vnto the Pallace at *Weſtminſter*, the great Ordinance both out of the Tower, and the Shippes, on euerie ſide thundering.

And in this order they went.

FIrſt, all the Kings Meſſengers by two and two together.

After them the noblemen of leſſer note, or Gentlemen by two and two together alſo.

The Sergeants of the forraine embaſſadors, by couples.

The Trumpettors with great noyſe ſounding on both ſides.

The Gentlemen, keepers of the Kings perſon (whom we call *Eſquiers* for the Body.)

Knights (which are called knights, Batchellours.)

The greater Chaplaines.

The yonger ſonnes of Noblemen mounted vpon great Horſes.

The Senators or Aldermen of *London*.

The Clearks of the Councell.

The Kings Secretaries.

The keeper of the ſacred Records, commonly called, the Maſter of the Rolls.

The Knights of the Bath.

The

The kings Councellours.
Knights Bannerets.
Knights of the order of the *Garter*, which were not by dignitie Barons.
The ſonnes of vicounts.
The yonger Sonnes of earles and Marqueſſes.
Barons.
Earles eldeſt Sonnes.
Vicounts.
Biſhops.
Marqueſſes eldeſt ſonnes.
Dukes yonger ſonnes.
Earles.
Dukes eldeſt ſonnes.
Marqueſſes.
Dukes.
The Controller or Cenſor of the Kings houſe; and the Venetian Ambaſſador.
The Treaſurer of the Kings houſe; and one of the Ambaſſadors of the Proteſtant Princes.
The kings Almner; and another of the Ambaſſadors of the Proteſtant Princes.
The lord William Paget Secretary, with the duke Phillip.
The Admiral of *England*, with one of the Ambaſſadors of *Scotland*.
The keeper of the priuate Seale, with another Ambaſſador of *Scotland*.
The gouernour of the Pallace, or great Maiſter of the Hall, with the *Baron de la Garde*, a Frenchman.
The Chancellour of *England*, with the French Ambaſſador.
The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Emperors Ambaſſador.
Two noble Courtiers repreſenting the dukedoms of *Normandy* & *Aquitaine*, attired in Purple roabes, with caps of honour, with their Cloaks caſt croſſe of purple veluet, furred with Mineuer.
Garter king of Armes, in his Heralds coate, and the Maior of the Cittie of London, carrying the Mace of his Mairalty.
The Sergeants at Armes, & the Heralds on both ſides.
The Conſtable of *England*, who for that time was the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*, carried the Sword: on whoſe right hand went the earle of *Warwicke* as Chamberlaine of *England*; and on his left hand the earle of *Arundell*, ſupplying the place of earle Marſhall.
The Duke of *Somerſet* Protectour of the kingdome, went a litle before the king toward the left hand.
The King himſelfe went vnder a Canopy or Thole, borne by ſixe Knights, (the footmen going about him) before which, two Gentlemen Vſhers went with white Staues.
Next after came the maſter of the Horſe, with a royall Palfrey richly furniſhed.
After came nine Pages of honor (whom we call Hench-men) bare headed, and mounted vppon great Horſes, whom Sir Francis Brian their Captayne followed.
Then followed the gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.
The gentlemen Pentioners, with their Polonian Partiſans, guarded on both ſides from thoſe Courtiers which repreſented *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, euen to the Guard.
Then came the Captaine of the Guard, with his band of the Yeomen of the Guard.
The Seruants of the Noble-men and Gentlemen ſhut vp the troope, going in order according to the honour and dignitie of their Lords and Maiſters.
In this order they came thorough the middeſt of the Citty vnto the Pallace at *Weſtminſter*: The Pageants in the meane time, with diuerſe ſhewes euery where ſet foorth, and the Orations made, &c. I for breuitie ſake purpoſely omit.
Vpon Sunday, the twentieth day of February, at nine of the clocke, the King was carried downe the Riuer, from the Pallace vnto the Hall at *Weſtminſter*, where firſt in the Chamber of the Court of Augmentation (which now is called the Court of Wardes) he attired himſelfe in a Roabe of Purple veluet, with a long trayne, furred with Ermins. His inner Gowne was of the ſame kind of veluet, furred with Mineuer, and fringed round about with Gold. Theſe were called Parliament Roabes, but vpon his head hee did weare a Cappe of blacke Veluet. The Noble-men in like manner alſo being attired in their Roabs of honor, attended vppon the Kings Maieſtie, from thence to the Marble Chaire ſet in

in Westminster Hall, and from thence vnto a Royall Throne set vp for him in S. *Peters* Church at Westminster. But the way whereby he went, was by the Kings Almner all couered with blew Cloth.

And in this order they set forward.

¶ All the Gentlemen went by two & two together.

All the Esquires by two and two also.

The Secretaries of the Latine & French tongues.

The Senators or Aldermen of London.

The chiefe Porter or Vsher alone.

Three Crosses.

They of the Quier of the Church of *Westminster* in their Coapes.

The Subdeacon of the Kings Chappell, with the singing men of the same.

The Bishops in their *Pontificalibus*.

The Chancellor of the Augmentation, and the Venetian Secretary.

The Gouernour of the Wardrope, with the Duke *Philip*.

The Controllor of the Kings house, with an Ambassador of Scotland.

The Treasurer of the Kings house, with another Ambassador of Scotland.

The Almner, with the Ambassadour of France.

Secretary *Peter*, with another Ambassadour of France.

Secretary *Paget*, with the Emperors Ambassadour.

Garter King of Armes, and the Maior of the Citty of London.

The Earle of *Rutland* carrying Saint *Edwards* Spurres, and with him the Earle of *Huntingdon*, carrying S. *Edwards* Staffe.

After that, three drawne swords; the first whereof was borne by the Baron of S. *Iohn*, great Master of the Kings house: the second, by Baron *Russell*, keeper of the Priuate Seale: the third, which is called *Cortayna* was carried in the middest betwixt the other two, by the earl of *Darby*.

A Sword was also carried before in the Scabberd vndrawne, vnto which vpon the left hand was ioyned the Earle of *Arundell*, as Earle Marshall in stead of the Protector.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the Kingdome, carried the Crowne, whose right side the Duke of *Suffolke* with a Globe and Crosse of gold enclosed, & his left side the Marquesse *Dorset*, with the Royall Scepter.

At length the Kings Maiesty went vnder a Thole or Canopy, which the Barons of the fiue Ports (by an ancient right) did beare; supported on the right hand by the Bishop of *Durham*, and on the left by the Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

The Earle of *Warwicke*, as great Chamberlaine of England, held vp the Kings traine: whom the Marques of *Northampton* assisted on the one side, and Baron *Seymour* of *Sudley*, Admirall of England, both of them of the Kings priuy Chamber.

The Gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.

The Noblemen of the kingdome, attyred in the Robes of honour, euery one of them according to his place and ancientnesse: whom the Gentlemen Pentioners, the Captaine of the Guard, & the Yeomen of the Guard themselues did follow.

The King in this order beeing brought to Saint *Peters* Church, was placed in the Chaire of Saint *Edward* the King, in the middest of a Throne, seuen steppes high. This Throne was erected neere vnto the Altar vpon a Stage, arising with steppes on both sides, couered with Carpets and hangings of Arras. Where, after the King had rested a little, being by certaine Noble Courtiers carryed in another Chaire vnto the foure sides of the Stage: he was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declared vnto the people (standing round about) both by Gods and Mans Lawes to be the right and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland; and proclaimed that day to bee crowned, consecrated, and annointed. Vnto whom he demanded, whether they would obey and serue, or not? By whom it was againe with a loud cry answered; *God saue the King: And euer liue his Maiesty.*

This being done, he was againe placed in the Chaire of the Throne, the Quier singing of an Anthem: The King from thence descending vnto the Altar, there offered his Cloake, and certaine Money, (viz.) XX. Shillings, and afterward lay downe flat before the Altar, the Arch-Bishop saying certaine Prayers; as *Deus fidelium, &c.* And afterward in formall words, swore an oath vnto the King before

fore the people.

There the king being againe prostrate, the Archbishop againe kneeling downe, beganne the Hymne *Veni Creator spiritus &c.* and said other Praiers ouer the King: two other Bishops beginning the Letany, which at length ended, the King arose and came againe vnto his throane: and from thence was brought to a retyring place (commonly called a *Trauerse*) where hauing put off all his former garments, hee was by the Chamberlaine of *England* apparrelled agayne with other, (viz.) a Crimson Coate, open vppon the backe and the breast, the shoulders and the elbowes, with a linnen Cappe vpon his head, wrought with gold. The *Chancellour* in the meane time, from the Stage proclaimed vnto the people the Kings generall pardon.

The King brought back againe out of the *Trauerse* vnto the throane, and from thence vnto the Altar, vnder a cloath of golde (the strings of his Coate and Shirt being opened) was by the Arch-bishop with formall praiers vnto God, vpon the Palmes of his hands, vpon his breast, betwixt his shoulders, in the ioynts of his Armes, and Crowne, with hallowed oile and chrisme annoynted; the Quire in the meane time singing the Antheme: *Vnxerunt Salomonem, &c.*

After this annoynting (the oyle being lightly wiped off) the openings of his coate and shirt were agayne by the archbishop cloased, who put vpon his hands a payre of Linnen Gloues, and a Linnen Cappe, (brought thither by the great Chamberlayne,) and so brought backe vnto the *Trauerse*, was with a Royall Roabe againe reuested.

At length returning againe vnto the Altar, hee there offered vp the Svvord wherewith hee was girt, to be afterwards with fiue pound in mony redeemed. The royall Ornaments were after that consecrated. The King sitting before the Altar, the Archbishop and the Protectour brought vnto him three Crownes.

The first was the Crowne of Saint *Edward* the King.

The second was the ancient Crowne of the Kings of *England*.

The third was of all the richest, made for that day, and for that purpose (and fit for the Kings head) which being all by turnes, with the great sounding of Trumpets, and the applause of the People, put vppon his head: the Quier also singing *Te Deum laudamus, &c.* The Archbishop put a Ring vppon the third finger of the Kings right hand, at which time hee was likewise by the Maister of the Iewells bedecked with Bracelets, and other most rich and most precious Iewells.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* deliuered the Scepter into the Kings hand.

The Archbishop deliuered vnto him Saint *Edward* the Kings little Staffe.

The Earle of *Rutland* offered vnto him a paire of golden Spurres.

The Duke of *Suffolke* gaue vnto him the golden Globe.

The Earle of *Oxford* deliuered him the other Royalties.

Hee in this manner attired with all Royall Ornaments (viz.) apparrelled with a royall Roabe, and crowned with a Crowne vpon his head, carrying in his right hand a Scepter, and a golden Globe in his left, beeing brought vnto the Throane, hee sate downe in the Chaire of S. *Edward* the King. Where first the Duke of *Sommerset* Protector of *England*, vpon his knees in formall words did his due homage and fealty vnto the King and his heires, the kings of *England:* whom the Archbishoppe of *Canterburie* followed and kissed the Kings knee. The same againe did all the rest of the Nobility, which could so doe. But such as stoode about (and with the shortnesse of the time excluded, could not come nie) the Protectour vpon his knees pronouncing their homage, holding vp their hands, cryed out with loude voyces together; Long liue *EDWARD* the sixt our King.

Diuine seruice at length being done by the Archbishop and two Bishops, the King at the offering time came downe vnto the Altar, where in the patten of S. *Edwards* Chalice, he offered an hallowed little Crust or Cruet of Wine, and a pound of gold: and then hauing bowed downe his head, the Archbishop sayde certaine Prayers, and blessed the King, and so returning vnto his Throane, there kissed the Paxe being offered him.

Last of all, hee being brought vnto the Altar, the Archbishop taking the

Crowne

Crowne from off his head, layde it vpon the Altar. From thence the King going into the Trauers, deliuered his royall Ornaments vnto the Deane of Westminster to be layde vpon the Altar: and in his inner purple Gowne (commonly called a Surcoat) furred with Ermins, with a Crowne vpon his head, returning vnto Westminster Hall in the same order wee before saide; staied a while in that chamber (which we call the Court of Wardes) vntill the Tables were royally furnished. The stately furniture of the Hall at that time, the multitude of Tables, the varietie of dishes and sauces, and the delicate magnificence of the feast, I willingly passe ouer.

Yet this it is worthy to remember, that the Earles of *Oxford* & *Huntingdon* held water vnto the King, which the Earle of *Huntingdon* before tasted.

The Earle of *Rutland* held the Towell.

The Marquesse of *Northampton* was the Caruer, & before tasted the Dishes.

The Earle of *Sussex* was Sewer of the first course, and placed it vpon the Table.

Before the coming in of the first course, the Marquesse *Dorset* at that time Constable of England, with a little siluer staffe (the signe of his office) and the Earle of *Arundel* with the rod of the Marshalship, mounted vpon trapped horses, al in cloth of gold came riding into the Hall.

Foure swords were all the dinner time carried before the King.

The Ambassadors of forraine Princes, the Bishops and Noble-men, the Maior of the Citty of London, the Barons of the fiue Ports, &c. were in their order set at Tables in the same Hall.

After the second course, the kings champion (surnamed *Dimock*) a knight in compleate Armour, mounted vppon a great Horse, couered with a Caparison of cloth of gold, and attended vpon with an Herald in his Coat of Armes, came into the Hall: who euen at the first, with a proud gate went vnto the King, and with great reuerence made to him his lowe obeysance. Afterward prauncing his carriering Horse, by a trumpet sounding foure times in the Hall, challenged to combate him whosoeuer he were, that should deny *Edward* the sixt of that name, to be the true, vndoubted, and lawfull King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*. And so often he cast downe his Gantlet vnto the ground, as a pledge of his challenge so made: which when no man would take vp, the Herald deliuered it vnto him againe: which done, the King did drinke vnto him in a Cup of gold, which he thankfully accepted, and challenging the Cup due vnto him as his Fee, so departed.

Last of all, *Garter* king of Armes, with the rest of the heralds, hauing made thrice obeysance before the King, all (aloud, in formall words proclaimed the kings stile, in *Latine*, *French*, and *English*, in this sort; *Largesse, of the most Soueraigne, and most inuincible Prince and King, Edward the sixt, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith: and of the Church of England and Ireland, next vnder Christ, in Earth supreame head: chiefe of the most Noble order and Knight-hood of the Garter.* Which same stile, when he had in *Latine* and *French*, and so in three other places of the Hall beside repeated, they oftentimes altogether crying out aloud, *Largesse*, so departed.

A little before the ende of the Feast, the Maior of London (as the manner is) in a Cup of gold, gaue a Cuppe of spiced Wine (which we commonly call *Ypocras*) vnto the King to drinke; which after hee had tasted of, hee gaue the Cup vnto the Maior, as due vnto him for his fee.

The rest of the time was spent in creating of Knights of the Bath, and of other Knights, and in appointing of Iustings & Tiltings: All which, as not appertaining to my purpose, I omit; as also the variety of musique, the diuers kindes of shewes, & other things in number infinite, which wonderfully graced & set foorth the magnificence of this coronation: of all which things, let them say more at large, which saw eyther the same, or the pompe of the Coronation of the most Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, with the wonderfull happinesse of her Reigne, and the applause and ioyfulnesse of the people on euery side.

CHAP. XIX.

The memorable and famous Coronation of our most gracious Lord King Iames, *and our Soueraigne Lady Q.* Anne *his Wife, the 25. of Iuly,* 1603.

¶ The Coppy heereof was deliuered to his Maiesty, by the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*; who faithfully obserued the forme, set downe in the ancient Booke kept among the Regalia at Westminster.

THE King and Queen came from Westminster bridge, to the West doore of the Minster Church.

They receiued into the Church with an Hymne or Antheme.

They passe along thorow the body of the Church, and so vp to the Stage, and do there take their places in their seuerall Seeges Royall.

The King shewed to the people, and they are required to make acknowledgment of their allegiance to his Maiesty, by the Archbishop: which they do by acclamations.

The second Antheme is sung.

The King and Queene descend from their Thrones, and going to the Altar, there offer: the King a Pall, and a pound of gold: the Queene likewise offereth.

A Prayer is saide by the Archbishop.

A Sermon by the Bishop of *Winchester.*

After the Sermon, the King is moued by the Archbishop to take his Oath.

The Oath ministred by the Archbishop, and taken by the King, there is sung, *Come Holy Ghost, &c.*

A prayer by the Archbishop: when that is done, *Letany* is saide or sung by two Bishops.

The Archbishop beginneth the Ceremony of the annointing, with the thanksgiuing, *Lift vp your hearts. &c.*

After which, the King comming to the Altar, putteth off his vpper garments.

The Kings vnder Garments are so to bee made, as the places to bee annoynted, may (by the vndoing of certain loops) be made open.

The Archbishop annointeth his Maiesty.

Vpon the { Palmes. / Breast. / Betweene the Shoulders. / Bending of both Armes. / Crowne of the head.

Then a Linnen Coife is put on his head, the Quier meane while singing the Anthem.

Prayer made by the Archbishop.

The Inuestiture.

Then is the King inuested with the Robes of King *Edward* the *Confessor*, by the Abbot of Westminster.

{ With the Tunicke. / Close Pall. / Tuisni Hosen. / Sandals.

Spurs put on by a Peere.

Then is the Sword deliuered his Maiesty by the Archbishop and Bishops, and after girt about him by a Peere.

After, the Armill or Collar is put on by the Abbot of Westminster.

Then the vpper Pall or Mantle Royall.

His Maiesty to bee crowned with the Crowne of King *Edward* the Confessor.

The fourth Antheme.

A Ring to be put on the fourth finger, on the left hand: after which done, the K. putteth on the Linnen Gloues, & goeth to the Altar, & taking off his sword, there offereth it.

Which sword so offred, the cheefe Peere is to redeeme; and hauing redeemed it, to draw it, and leaue it so drawne by his Maiesty all the solemnity.

A Rod with the Doue to bee borne in his left hand.

A Prayer or blessing is pronounced by the Archbishop.

Then the King graciously vouchsafeth to receiue to his kisse the Arch-bishop or Bishops that were assisting to his Coronation.

The Inthronizing.

After this, the King is ledde backe to his Throne, with all solemnity, the Quier singing, *We praise thee O God, &c.*

The King is inthronized by the Arch-bishop, in the Throne Royall.

The

The Peeres do their homage to the King, ſo ſitting in his Chaire Royall.

And after the homage done, they all put their hands vp and touch the Crowne on the Kings head, as promiſing for euer to ſupport it.

The Queenes annointing.

¶ The ſolemnity of the Kings Coronation, and inthronizing beeing performed, the Arch-biſhop leaueth the King in his Throne, and goeth to the Altar.

The Queene, who hath all this while repoſed her ſelfe in her Chaire beneathe, ariſeth and commeth to the ſteps of the Altar, and there kneeleth downe.

A Prayer ſaide by the Archbiſhop.

The queene ariſeth from her prayer, the cheefeſt Lady taketh off the Coronet firſt, and after openeth her breaſt.

Then the queene kneeleth downe againe.

The Archbiſhop firſt powred the annointing Oyle on the crown of her head. Then he annointed her on the breaſt.

A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.

Then the cheefe Lady attendant, cloſeth the queenes Robe at her breaſt, and after putteth on her head a linnen coyfe.

The Queenes Crowning.

That done, the Archbiſhop puts on the fourth finger of the queenes left hand a Ring.

A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop taking the Corwne in his hands, and laying it before him on the Altar, ſaith a prayer.

The prayer done, he ſets the Crowne on the queenes head, after that hee ſaith a prayer.

The deliuery of the Queenes Scepter & Rod.

After the prayer, the Archbiſhop deliuered firſt the Scepter into her right hand the Rod of Iuory with the Doue into her left hand, both which being done, he ſaith a prayer.

Which prayer being ended, the queene ariſeth and goeth from the Altar, and is led by two Biſhops vp to the Stages, and paſſing by the King in his Throne, ſhee doth, *Inclinare Regi eius Maieſtatem (vt decet adorando.)*

Which hauing done, ſhe is ledde to her Throne, on the left hand, and ſome-what lower then the Kings, and is placed or inthronized in it.

After this, the Archbiſhop beginneth the Communion.

Whereas after the { Collects. / Epiſtle. / Goſpell. } read by the Archbi.

The Nycen Creede.

Offertory is ſung by the Quier.

Whilſt the Offertory is ſinging, the king and queene deſcend from their Throne, and come downe to the Altar. The King maketh his Oblation; firſt of Bread and Wine: ſecondly, of a marke of gold. The queene after him offereth likewiſe.

After which, the Archbiſhop pronounceth the bleſſing ouer them: that ended, the king and queene are brought back to their chaires hard by the Altar. The Arch-Biſhop proceedeth with the Communion. After the Archbiſhop hath communicated himſelfe, and thoſe which aſſiſted him, the king and queene come vnto the ſteps of the Altar, there to receiue the holy Sacrament.

The Archbiſhop miniſtreth the body, the Abbot the Cup. That done, the king and queene are brought backe to their Throne aboue the Stages.

There they ſtay till the Communion bee ended. After which, they both goe into the Chappell of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, there they put off the Crownes wherewith they were crowned.

They withdraw themſelues into their Trauers. The King putteth off King *Edwards* Robes wherewith hee was inueſted.

Hee is arraied with his owne Robes royall, by the great Chamberlaine of England. Then comming forth, the Arch-Biſhop puts on the king & queenes heads the Imperiall Crowns, which they are to weare. The King taketh S. *Edwards* ſcepter in his hand, and the queene hers. The traine is ſet in order, and they returne the ſame way they came.

After the king and queene returne to the Pallace.

The Scepters are deliuered vnto the Abbot of Weſtminſter, to be kept there among the reſidue of the *Regalia.*

REGIA MAIESTAS



Hitherto I haue described what manner of men the named Noble-men haue beene with vs. The forme of their Charters and Rescripts I haue set downe, with what Rites and Ceremonies they are after our manner and fashion created: and the Maiestie of the Coronation of the Kings themselues, we haue declared. Here now a great field is opened vnto me to speake of the right of the precedence of the Nobilitie, and of their Priuiledges; but forasmuch as they rest rather vpon Custome, then vpon positiue Lawes, I haue of a set purpose omitted many things, proceeding but so farre as the Statutes of the Kingdome may be my warrant and safety.

CHAP. XX.

A Statute and Act of Parliament, made in the one and thirty yere of Henry the eight, concerning placing of the Lords in the Parliament chamber, and other assemblies and conferences of Counsell.

FOrsomuch, as in all great Counsels and Congregations of men, hauing Degrees and Offices in the commonwealth, it is very requisite and conuenient, that an order should be had and taken for the placing and fitting of such persons as are bound to resort to the same, to the intent that they knowing their places, may vse the same without displeasure or let of the Counsell: therefore the Kings most royall Maiestie, although it appertaineth vnto his prerogatiue Royall, to giue such honour, reputation, and placing to his Counsellers, and other his Subiects, as shall be seeming to his most excellent wisedome, is neuertheless pleased and contented for an order to be had and taken in this his most high Court of Parliament, that it shall be enacted by the authoritie of the same in manner and forme as heereafter followeth.

First, it is enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, that no person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be of (except onely the Kings children) shall at any time heereafter attempt or presume, to sit or haue place at any side of the cloth of Estate in the Parliament Chamber, neither on the one hand of the Kings highnes, nor on the other, whether the Kings Maiesty be there personally present, or absent. And forasmuch as the Kings Maiesty is iustly and lawfully Supreame Head in earth vnder God, of the Church of *England*, and for the good exercise of the said most royall dignitie and office, hath made *Thomas* Lord *Cromwell*, and Lord Priuie Seale his Vicegerent, for good and due administration of Iustice, to be had in all causes and cases, touching the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, and for the godly information and redresse of all Errours, Heresies, and abuses in the said Church. It is therefore also enacted by authoritie aforesaid, that he the said Lord *Cromwell*, hauing the said Office of Vicegerent, and all other persons which heereafter shall haue the saide Office of the graunt of the Kings highnes, his heires or successours, shall sit and be placed, aswell in this present Parliament, as in all Parliaments to be holden heereafter, on the right side of the Parliament Chamber, and vpon the same forme that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sitteth on, and aboue the same Archbishop and his successors, and shall haue voice in euery Parliament to assent or dissent, as other the Lords of the Parliament haue.

And it is also enacted, that next vnto the sayd Vicegerent, shall sit the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and then next vnto him on the same Forme and side, shall sit the Archbishoppe of *Yorke*: and next vnto him on the same side, the Bishop of *London*; and next to him on the same side and Forme, the Bishop of *Duresme*; and next vnto him on the same side and Forme the Bishop of *Winchester*; and then all the other Bishops of both Prouinces of *Canterburie* and *Yorke*, shall sit and bee placed on the same side after their anciencies, as it hath beene accustomed.

And

And forasmuch as such other Personages, which now haue, and heereafter shall happen to haue other great Offices of the Realme; that is to say, the Offices of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings most honourable Councell, the Lord priuy Seale, the great Chamberlaine of England, the Marshall of England, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-Master or Lord Steward of the Kings most honourable household, the Kings Chamberlaine and the Kings Secretary, haue not heeretofore beene appointed and ordered for the placing and sitting in the Kings most high Court of Parliament, by reason of their Offices. It is therefore now ordayned and enacted by the Authority aforesaide, that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings Councell, and the Lord Priuy Seale, being of the degree of Barons of the Parliament, or aboue, shall sit and bee placed aswell in this present Parliament, as in all other Parliaments hereafter to be holden, on the left side of the Parliament Chamber, on the hither part of the forme of the same side, aboue all Dukes, except onely such as shal happen to be the Kings Sonne, the Kings Brother, the Kings Vnkle, the Kings Nephew, or the Kings Brothers or Sisters sonnes.

And it is also ordained and enacted by authority aforesaid, that the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the great Master, or Lord Steward, and the Kings Chamberlaine, shall sit and be placed after the Lord priuie Seale, in manner following: that is to say, euery one of them shall sit and be placed aboue all other Personages beeing of the same estates or degrees, that they shall happen to be of; that is to say, the great Chamberlaine first; the Constable next; the Marshall third; the Lord Admirall the fourth; the Grand-Master or Lord Steward the fift; and the Kings Chamberlaine the sixt.

And it is also enacted by authority aforesaid, that the Kings cheefe Secretary being of the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, shall sit and be placed afore and aboue all Barons, not hauing any of the Offices before mentioned. And if he be a Bishop, that then he shall sit and bee placed aboue all other Bishops, not hauing any of the Offices aboue remembred.

And it is also ordayned and enacted by Authority aforesaid, that all Dukes not afore mentioned, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons, not hauing any of the Offices aforesaid, shall sit and bee placed after their Anciency, as it hath bene accustomed.

And it is further enacted, that if any person or persons, which at any time here after shall happen to haue any of the said Offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councell, Lord Priuy Seale, or cheefe Secretary, shall be vnder the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, by reason whereof, they can haue no intereſt to giue any assent or dissent in the saide house, that then in euery such case, such of them as shall happen to be vnder the degree of a Baron, shall sit and be placed at the vppermost part of the sackes, in the midst of the said Parliament, either there to sit vpon one Forme, or vpon the vppermost sacke, the one of them aboue the other, in order as is aboue rehearsed.

Be it also enacted by Authority aforesaide, that in all trials of treasons by Peers of this Realme, if any of the Peeres that shall be called heereafter to bee tryers of such treasons, shall happen to haue any of the Offices aforesaid, that then they hauing such Offices, shall sit and bee placed according to their Offices, aboue all the other Peeres that shall bee called to such trials, in manner and forme as is aboue mentioned and rehearsed.

And it is also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that as well in all Parliaments, as in the Starre-Chamber, and in all other Assemblies and Conferences of Councell, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President, the Lord priuy Seale, the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-master, or Lord Steward, the Kings Chamberlaine, and the Kings Secretary shall sit and bee placed in such order and fashion, as is aboue rehearsed, and not in any other place, by authority of this present Acte.

CHAP.

The Parliamentary Pompe.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ (Viz.) *The forme and manner of the going of the States vnto the Parliament, seriously collected out of diuers examples. Wherein I thought good, especially to propound that most stately going of Queene* Elizabeth, *in the xxvij. yeare of her reigne.*



Vpon Sunday (the xxij. day of Nouember) in the Chamber of Presence (as they doe tearme it) it was proclaimed that the Noble-men and States, and so all others which were bound to attend vpon the Queenes Maiestie, the next day to be holden at *Westminster*, should bee ready at nine of the clocke before noone, to giue their attendance, the Queene then lying in her royall house called Saint *Iames*, neare vnto *Westminster*. The next day at the appointed houre, the Noblemen put on their Parliament Robes in the Counsell chamber, and the Bishops theirs likewise, in another chamber next vnto the chappel: from thence they, by the Garden going into the Parke, mounted on horse-backe, attended the comming foorth of the Queene. About eleuen of the clocke the most gracious Queene, attired also in a Parliament Roabe, at the going out of the Garden, mounted in a Chaire of Estate, like vnto a Chariot or Horselitter, carried betwixt two white Horses. This Chaire was on euery side open, but that behind a couering hanging forth aboue, semicircle-wise, was with two litle pillers of Siluer supported: vpon the top whereof, stoode on high a Crowne of golde: and vpon two other pillers at her feete, stoode a Lyon and a Dragon glistering with golde, made with wonderful cunning, supporting the Queenes Armes. This Chaire (which I might rather call a Throane) being altogether cunningly garnished and gilt, was most magnificently bedeckt with cloth of Siluer (as they call it) and with Cushions of the same. Wherein, after that the Queene had placed herselfe: the rest by two and two in this order set forward.

First went the *Mandataries* or Messengers of the Kings Court.
Afterward the Gentlemen of lesse note.
Squiers.
Squiers of the body.
The Clarkes of the Chancerie.
The Clarkes of the Signet.
The Clarkes of the priuate Seale.
The Clarkes of the Counsell.
The Maisters of the Chancerie.
The Knights Bachelours.
Knights Bannerets.
Trumpets heere and there sounding.
Seruants or Sergeants at Law.
The Kings Sergeant in an vnlined purple Gowne or Hood.
Him followed *Iohn Popham* the kings Atturney, with *Thomas Egerton* the Solicitor.
Two Heralds.
The Iudges of the Exchequer, whom we call *Barons* of the Exchequer.
The Iudges or Iustices of the Court of the Common Pleas, and of the Kings Bench,
Edmund Anderson chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, together with *Roger Manwood* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, both knights.
Christopher Wray, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, or of England, & *Gilbert Gerard* Maister of the Rolles, Knights both: but this man ridde in a Veluet Gowne; but aswell the rest of the Iustices, as the Barons of the Exchequer, rid in Gownes and Hoodes of Skarlet, lined with a white furre called Miniuer.
The yonger sonnes of the Nobility according to their dignities.
The Treasurer of the Kings Chamber.
Knights of the Bath.
The eldest sons or heires of the Nobility.
Knights of the Priuy Counsell.
Knights of the order of the *George*, or of the *Garter*.
Francis Walsingham knight, principall Secretary.
Francis Knolles Treasurer of the Queens house, together with *Iames Croftes*, Controuller of the Queenes house, both Knights.

Edward

Edward Norris, the third Sonne of Baron *Norris*, carrying the Queenes Hat and Cloake, shut vp this ranke.

Two Heralds, whom the Barons followed by two and two together.

Barons.

Henry Baron *Norris of Rycot.*
Henry Baron *Cheney* of *Tuddington.*
Henry Baron *Compton,*
William Cecill Baron of *Burghley.* But he went in another place, because hee was Treasurer of England.
William West, Baron *de la Ware.*
Thomas Sackuile Baron of *Buckhurst.*
Iohn, Baron S. *Iohn* of *Bletesho.*
Henry Cary Baron of *Hunsdon.* He was absent because he was Gouernor of *Barwicke.*
Giles Bruges Baron *Chandos.*
Roger Baron *North* of *Carthelage.*
Charles Baron *Howard* of *Effingham.* He went in another place, because hee was Chamberlaine vnto the Queene.
Thomas Baron *Darcy* of *Chiche.*
Thomas Baron *Paget.*
Edmund Baron *Sheffeild* of *Butterwick.*
Charles Baron *Willoughby* of *Parham.*
Robert Baron *Rich* of *Leze.*
Philip Baron *Wharton* of *Wharton.*
William Baron *Eure* of *Witton.*
Henry Baron *Cromwell of Vlcombe.*
Lewes Baron *Mordant* of *Turuey.*
Thomas Baron *Burgh* of *Gainsburgh.*
Henry Baron *Wentworth* of *Netlested.*
Fredericke Baron *Windesor* of *Bradenham*
William Baron *Vaux* of *Harroden.*
William Baron *Sandes* of *Vine.*
Iohn Baron *Darcy* of *Menill.*
Cutbert Baron *Ogle* of *Bothall.*
William Baron *Montioy.*
Iohn Baron *Sturton.*
Iohn Baron *Lumley.*
Edward Baron *Dudley.*
Henry Baron *Scroope of Bolton.* He was absent, for that he was Gouernor of *Carlile.*
Arthur Baron *Gray* of *Wilton,*
Edward Baron *Stafford*, of *Stafford.*
William Brooke Baron of *Cobham.*
Gregorie Fynes, Baron *Dacres* of *Herstmonceaux.*
Edward Parker Baron *Morley.*
Henry Baron *Barkley.*
Peregrine Bertij Bar: *Willoughby* of *Eresby.*
Edward Baron *Zouch* of *Haringworth.*
George Touchet Baron *Audley.*
Henry Neuill Baron of *Abergauenny.*

Two Heralds going before the Bishops.

The Bishop of *Glocester.*
The Bishop of S. *Asaphe.*
Bishop of *Chester.*
Bishop of *Carlile.*
Bishop of *Peterborow.*
Bishop of *Landaffe.*
Bishop of *Hereford.*
Bishop of *Cicester.*
Bishop of *Lietchfield.*
Bishop of *Bath.*
Bishop of *Rochester.*
Bishop of *Worcester.*
Bishop of S. *Dauids.*
Bishop of *Bangor.*
Bishop of *Lincolne.*
Bishop of *Sarisbury.*
Bishop of *Norwich.*
Bishop of *Exceter.*
Bishop of *Ely.*
Bishop of *Winchester.* Prelate of the Garter. Bishop of *Durham.*
Bishop of *London*, Chancellor to the Bishop of *Canterbury.*

These three Bishops, (viz.) the Bishops of *London, Durham*, and *Winchester*; by force of Acte of Parliament, made the xxxi. yeare of King *Henry* the viii. goe next vnto the Arch-bishops: but all the rest take their places, according to the ancientnesse of their elections. Euery Bishops Gown was made of Scarlet cloth, made after the fashion of Barons, and hoods of the same, lined with *Mineuer*, & hanging downe behinde them.

Henry Vicount *Howard* of *Bindon.*
Anthony Browne Vicount *Montacute.*

Two Heralds, after whom the Earls followed.

Edward Earle of *Lincolne.* The Admirall was sicke.
Robert Earle of *Sussex*, was absent, because he was vnder age.
Robert Earle of *Leicester*, went in another place, for that he was for this turne Steward of the Queenes House.
Edward Earle of *Hertford.*
Henry Earle of *Penbroke.*
Francis Earle of *Bedford.*
Henry Earle of *Southampton.*
Ambrose Earle of *Warwicke.*
William Earle of *Bathe.*
Henry Earle of *Huntingdon*, was absent, because he was President of *Yorke.*
Henry Earle of *Sussex.*
George Earle of *Cumberland.*

Edward

Edward Earle of *Rutland.*
William Earle of *Worcester* supplied the place of the Marshall, being absent.
Henry Erle of *Kent*, went in another place because he carried the Sword.
George Earle of *Shrewsbury*, was absent being sicke.
Henry Earle of *Northumberland*, Then prisoner in the tower of *London.*
Edward Earle of *Oxford*, went in another place, because he was high *Chamberlaine* of *England.*
Phillip Earle of *Arundell.*

An Herald or King of Armes.

William Marquesse of *Winchester:* Hee in another place carried the *Cap roiall.*

Heere were places fit for Dukes: all whose parliament roabes (a thing worth the noting) differed nothing from the Barons, but that they wore the guardes vpon their shoulders, three or foure fold. For although all Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles, in their creations are attired with garments of Silke and Veluet, which are called Roabes or garments of Honour: yet in Parliaments they vse the same that Barons doe, made of Skarlet, with certayne differences of white Furre, set as fringes or edgings on their shoulders: for that there they al sit by reason of their Baronies, and according to their dignitie take their places.

Thomas Bromley Knight Chancellour of *England*; with *William Cicill* Baron of *Burghley* ridde together. But the great Seale of *England*, was by one footman carried before the Chancellour: but hee himselfe was attired in a Gowne of black Veluet lined with Sables.

Iohn Whitgift also, Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury:* with *Edwin Sands* Archbishop of *Yorke* followed next after them.

Clarencieux King of Armes.

Two Sergeants at Armes with siluer scepters, which we call Maces, gilt.

Garter chiefe King at Armes, in his Heralds coate, hauing the chiefe gentleman Vsher on his right hand.

The Marques of *Winchester* did beare the *Cap royall*, vpon whose left hand the Earle of *Worcester* carried the Rod of the Marshalship of *Englād*, in steed of *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, then earle Marshal, who was then in the Parliament Chamber, although he was not heere present, for that he was sicke of the Gout.

The Earle of *Kent* after them carried the sword, on whose right hand went the earle of *Oxford*, then great Chamberlaine of England, and on his left hand the Earle of *Leicester*, *Seneschall*, or Steward of the queenes house.

The queenes Maiesty carried in a chaire as we haue before said. She her selfe decked vp in a purple Robe, furred with *Ermines*. But her inner Garment was of purple veluet also, more straighter vnto her body, turned vp at the hand, with the same furre.

Foure Quiries of the Stable (whom in *French* they call *Esquiries*) and the Footmen in their rich Coates were attendant about the queene: and without them all along in a ranke, waited the Gentlemen Pentioners with their *Partisans.*

After them followed the Earle of *Darbie*, Master of the Horse (instead of the Earle of *Leicester*, who at this time supplyed the place of the Steward) leading a spare horse of state: by whom on the left hand rode *Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Chamberlaine of the queenes house, both of them attired in their Parliament Robes.

After these followed also *Christopher Hatton*, Knight Vice Chamberlaine, with many Noble women, Ladies, and other Noble Courtiers.

In this order and Royall pompe, the queene came vnto the South gate of S. *Peters* Church at Westminster, where the Bishop of *Sarisbury*, the Kings Almner, and Doctor *Goodman* Deane of that Church, with the *Prebendaries*, and all the quier receiued Her in their Coapes. Without the Porch was set a Forme, furnished with Carpets and Cushions, at which the queene vpon her knees, receiued of the Deane the golden Scepter of S. *Edward*, which she layde vpon the Cushion before her: and hauing receiued a little Booke of the Deane, vnto her selfe softly prayed. Afterward shee came into the Church, vnder a stately Canopy of Cloth of Siluer, which sixe Knights supported.

The Marchioness of *Northampton*, and the counteesse of *Oxford* bare vp the traine: Baron *Howard* of *Effinghom* being Chāberlaine supporting her: *Christopher Hatton Vice-Chamberlaine* going on the other side, but not supporting her. But foraſmuch

foraſmuch as the Queenes roabes made of rich ſilke and Ermins, were too weighty and chargeable for her well to beare, the Earle of *Arundell* on the right hand, and the Earle of *Penbrooke* on the left, held them vp from her ſhoulders.

Before the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treaſurer, went the ſinging men and Quiriſters, ſinging of Pſalmes, and when the Queene was now come vnto the royall withdrawing or retyring place (commonly called the *Trauerſe*) prepared for them vpon the right hand of the Quier, neare vnto the Communion Table: the Noble-men tooke their places vpon Formes, beneath the *Trauerſe*, but the Biſhops ſate themſelues downe beneath the Pulpit, on the north ſide of the Quier.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterburie*, after a pſalme ſung, made a ſermon, the ſword and cap of Honour beeing in the meane time borne before him.

The ſermon with a pſalme ended, the Queene on foote vnder a Canopy, went vnto the ſouth gate of the Church, carrying in her hand the Scepter, dedicated to King *Edward* the Confeſſor. In which place, ſhee reſtored it vnto the Deane of *Weſtminſter*, of whom ſhee had before receiued it, to be againe layd vp.

It is worthy note, that whileſt the Queenes Maieſty was hearing diuine ſeruice in the Church, the Earle of *Leiceſter* (for that time Steward of the Queenes houſe) went vnto the Lower *Parliament* houſe, to be there preſent at the anſwer of the Reſcripts, (which our Lawyers call the Returne of the Writtes) before ſent foorth for the ſommoning of the knights of the ſhires, and for the Burgeſſes of the townes thither, and met the Queene coming vnto the vpper *Parliament* houſe.

The Queene being come thither, firſt retired her ſelfe into her owne priuie Chamber, where reſting her ſelfe a litle, the Noble-men in the meane while, had in due order placed themſelues in the vpper houſe: and at length the Queene her ſelfe came forth, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rod of the Marſhalſhip of *England* being borne before her, and the other Officers going before her, ſhee went vp into the Royall Throne, the Nobilitie of the Kingdome ſitting downe about her.

In the middeſt of the vpper houſe lie great Sackes of cloth filled with wooll: vpon the vppermoſt whereof ſitteth the Chancellour; and vpon thoſe which lie towards the ſides of the houſe, ſit the Maiſter of the Rolles, the *Queenes Secretary*, the *Iudges*, the *Barons of the Exchequer*, and certayne Lawyers, aſwell Ciuilians as Common Lawyers. Vpon the loweſt of all, ſitteth the Clarke of the *Parliament* houſe, with the Clarke of the *Crowne*, behinde whom the other Clarks write, reſting vpon their knees.

When the Queene was ſet, and that they of the neather houſe (*videlicet*) the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgeſſes of the Cities were let in, ſhe commaunded the Lord Chancellour, ſtanding on the right hand by her, to make his Oration: who turning himſelfe vnto the Nobilitie, and the reſt there preſent, declared vnto them, in her Maieſties name, that this aſſembly of *Parliament* to be for three cauſes called (viz.) For the glorie of Almighty God, and the furthering of true Religion: For the health and preſeruation of her royall Maieſtie, and the welfare of the Common-weale. Which after that hee had aloude and moſt eloquently at large declared, turning his ſpeech vnto the Knights and Burgeſſes, ſtanding on an heape together below: he willed them to make choyſe of their Prolocutor, and to giue notice of him ſo choſen, to the Lords of the Priuy Counſell, from whom they ſhould expect what the *Queens* pleaſure and anſwer was concerning him ſo choſen, to be afterward preſented.

When the Chancellor had ended his ſpeech, the Clarke of the *Parliament* riſing vp, in French, and with a lowd voice proclaimed the names of them, which as Delegates had the power within certain dayes to vnderſtand of the affaires aſwell of the Kingdomes of *England*, *Fraunce*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as of the Dukedoms of *Normandie* and *Aquitaine*, and to heare and examine the requeſts and petitions of them of the Ilands and parties beyond the Seas.

Which things being done, the Chancellour prorogued the *Parliament*; the *Queene* diſcending from her Throane, and retiring into her Priuie Chamber, there put off her parliament robes; which when

when the Barons had in like manner alſo done, they in order (with the Sword, the Cappe of Honour, and the Rod of the Marſhalſhip carried before her) attended her vnto her Barge, wherein ſhee from thence was downe the Riuer carried backe vnto her Pallace (called *White Hall:*) through which ſhe paſſed into the Parke, where ſhe mounting vpon a moſt couragious Horſe; the Nobility, States, and moſt honourable men and women attending her, ſhee happily returned vnto her Pallace of S. *Iames*, from whence ſhe before came.

Vpon Thurſeday following, the day appointed for the preſenting of the Prolocutour, the *Queene* about three of the clocke in the after noone, by the Parke came from her royall houſe of S. *Iames*, vnto her pallace of *White Hall*; and when ſhe had in her Chamber put on her *Parliament* roabes, ſhe went to her Throne, the Sword, the Cappe and the Rodde of the Marſhalſhip, being after the wonted manner carried before her: The Lord *Chamberlaine* going on the right hand of the Sword, and the Lord Steward on the left, with the Lord *Treaſurer*, *Garter*, the vſhers, & the Sergeants at Armes going before them. At length, when the Noble men were ſet downe, the *Chancellour* on the right hand, and the high *Treaſurour* of *England* on the left hand, ſtood beſide the *Queene* without the barres.

Then at length, the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgeſſes of the Cities being admitted in, brought in their moſt learned Lawyer (viz.) *Iohn Puckering*, who ſtanding at the barre, and hauing thrice made moſt lowe obeiſance, ſayd what he might, to ſhew himſelfe vnfit to vndertake ſo great a burthen, requeſting moſt earneſtly, that they would make choice of another *Prolocutor*, vnto whom the *Queene* by the *Chancellour* made anſwer; That ſhee liked exceeding well of the choice of him already made, and that ſhe ratified the ſame.

Which done, the *Prolocutor* framed himſelfe to another manner of ſpeach, wherein hee particularly rehearſed what great benefits were redounded vnto the Commonweale, by the moſt wiſe gouernement of her royall Maieſtie he declared her ſingular vertues, her very naturall and motherly care ouer her Subiects: But eſpecially in that ſhe had then called together the Eſtates of the Kingdome, there to conſult and conſider of the moſt weightieſt affaires of the Common-weale, earneſtly admoniſhing the Biſhops to prouide for the Eccleſiaſticall and Church matters: the Nobilitie and the reſt to bee carefull of the profite and welfare of the Common-weale. In the concluſion of his ſpeach, he moſt humbly requeſted, that the auncient Rights and Priuiledges of the Lower houſe of the Burgeſſes, (viz.) of freely deliuering of their ſpeach and minds, and of being free from Arreſts, as well themſelues as their Seruants, during the time of the parliament, might be kept whole and vntouched. And if that in any thing not well by them vnderſtoode, they ſhould happen to offend, he requeſted leaue aſwell for himſelfe as for the reſt, to haue acceſſe vnto her royall Maieſtie.

His Oration at length ended, the *Chancellor*, by the *Queene* commanded, and in ſome poynts, by her inſtructed, highly commended the *Prolocutors* Oration, and in the *Queenes* name graunted the leaue he had requeſted.

Which things being ſo on both ſides diſpatched, the *Queene* roſe and retired herſelfe into her priuate Chamber, put off her Parliament roabes, and ſo attended vppon with the Nobilitie, came downe: and at the Weſt ſide of the Parliament houſe, mounted into her chaire of Eſtate, a very royall one; and from thence with a great traine of Noblemen and honorable Ladies attending her (the Earle of *Kent* carrying the Sword before her) ſhee by Torch-light through the Parke, returned vnto her Pallace of Saint *Iames*, from whence ſhe before came.

¶ *The maner of ſitting in the Vpper houſe of Parliament, is in this Platforme following in the next Page, moſt truly and liuely deſcribed.*

CHAP.

SVMMI ET SVPREMI SENACVLI PARLAMENTARIS IN ANGLIA TYPVS



Milites Provinciarum & Burgenses, (quos vocant) utrinq; qui Cameram Parlamenti inferiorem constituunt. Prolocutorem conducentes.

CHAP. XXII.

The manner of reſtoring of renewed Nobilitie before loſt.

THE maners and formes of creating of Noblemen, with their Rites and Ceremonies, by *Charters* and *Reſcripts*, or Writs of ſummons, wee haue before deſcribed. Now heere at length I haue thought it good, to ioyne heereunto the manner of reſtoring of dignities & honours before loſt. Such as haue by their owne or others fault, loſt their honorable ſtiles and titles, are wont to bee vnto the ſame by petitions, exhibited vnto the Kings in full Parliament reſtored: which I would ſay, to be a confirmation of renewed or reſtored Nobility. Whereof the requeſt of *Margret*, daughter to *George* Duke of *Clarence*, in Parliament, in the firſt yeare of King *Henry* the eight, (to omit others) may ſerue for an example. Whereby ſhe is reſtored vnto the Stile, State, Name, Title, Honour, and Dignity of the Counteſſe of *Sarisbury*, frō which *Edward* her Brother Earle therof, had by his guilt fallen. The Petition it ſelfe is longer then is neceſſary to be heere inſerted. It is in Engliſh extant in the Records, & is ſhut vp with theſe words.

Which petition beeing read, and to the full vnderſtood, and conſented vnto by our ſaid Lord the King, by the aduice and aſſent of the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and of the Cominalty in the aforeſaide Parliament being: and alſo by the Authority of the ſame Parliament, it was vnto the ſame Petition thus anſwered.

Soit faict come il eſt deſire.
Be it done according as it is requeſted.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cuſtomes.

I Haue ſaid *Politicall Nobility*, ſtill ſubiect vnto the diſpoſitions of Princes, and change of time; to reſt alwayes vpon the cuſtomes of Nations.

For firſt of all, it is manifeſt, dignities which were but the bare names of perſonal Offices, to haue at length become hereditary and ſucceſſory: and yet with diuers Lawes circumſcribed.

For although women in *Germany* born of Dukes, Earles, or Barons, are according to the manner of the Empire ſtyled and called Dutcheſſes, Counteſſes, and Baroneſſes; yet by the Law of the Imperiall grant, the Principalities themſelues, with the Fees thereto belonging, deſcend vnto the Males onely, who fayling, they reuert vnto the Emperor. Which thing, the moſt great Dukedome *Carinthia*, proueth to be ſo. For *Ericus* the laſt Duke beeing dead without heires male, the dukedome by the Lawes returned againe vnto the Empire: which *Lewes* the Emperour afterward beſtowed vppon *Albert* Duke of *Auſtria*.

Sigiſmund the Emperor alſo, the right line of the dukes of *Saxony* being extinct, gaue the dukedome in the yeare 1423. vnto the Marqueſſes of *Miſnia*; and the Marquiſat of *Brandenburg*, vnto the *Burgraues* of *Noriburge*: whoſe ſucceſſors euen now at this day enioy the ſame.

The ſame we reade to haue been done in *Italy*: For *Wenceſlaus* the Emperour in the yeare 1490. graced the *Vice-county* of *Millaine* with the Title of a Dukedome: but ſo as that for want of heires male, it ſhould together with that Dignitie, bee made a part of the *Imperiall* patrimony. And in the remembrance of our Grandfathers, we readè of certayne (aſwell at *Naples* as elſe-where,) to haue beene by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth created; but yet alwayes with that common Lawe of Reuerſion, that ſo ſoone as the laſt

laſt of the male diſcent ſhould dye, they ſhould be made Imperiall dignities. Yet heere by the way we muſt remember, that the Emperors did not at all times doe all things according to the vttermoſt of the greatneſſe of their power; but ſometime by a new beneficiary or bountifull couenant, being requeſted ſo to doe, ſuffered thoſe titles of honours to deſcend vnto the daughters (no heires male remaining) mittigating the extremity of the law, by wiſe mens interpretations thereof, regard being ſtill had, eyther of the Commonweale, or of ſome former agreement, or of the time preſent.

In *France*, *Rennatus Choppinus*, diſputing of the Royall *Demaine*, maketh a diſtinction of dignities. For he affirmeth all Military and maſculine dignities, by the Law *Salique* to be annexed vnto the *Fees Royall*, neyther by any meanes, by meere Law, to come vnto the Women, although that the heyres male faile; except by ſpeciall and expreſſe words it bee before otherwiſe prouided: which hee ſaith, himſelfe to haue ſeene and read. Yet in the meane time he affirmeth, priuate *Principalities* not to be denied to women: which hee manifeſteth by the example of the County of *Arminiack*, by a womans right deuolued vnto the King of *Nauarre*, as by many others alſo.

And to mee, now writing and running ouer ſome few things concerning our owne affaires, it fortuned a certaine moſt ancient writing to come vnto my hands, taken out of the ancient *Saxon Lawes*, and lent me by *William Lambert*, a great admirer of reuerend antiquity, and a moſt earneſt reſtorer thereof. Which writing, although that both in tongue and character it meerely ſound *Saxon* like, yet ſeemeth it in ſome things, to ſauour of the *Daniſh* maters, as alſo of the ancient lawes eyther of the *Britons* themſelues, or of the *Saxons*, ſhaken and rent in ſunder, vnder the rule and gouernment of the *Danes*.

But the writing it ſelfe written in the *Saxon* tongue, tranſlated into Engliſh, word for word, & into Latine, according vnto the true ſenſe and meaning thereof, here following is contained.

Hit pef hpilum on Enzlalazum þ leoð ⁊ lazum foþ bezepincðum, And þa

It was ſometime in the Engliſh Lawes, that the people and lawes were in reputation. And then

Tempus erat olim cum Anglicis, *legibus & populo ſuus vbique conſtabat honor. Qui ex*

pæſon leoð piðan peoþðrcipefpýnða, ælc be hiſmæðe. Eorl ⁊ Ceorl Ðezn ⁊

were the wiſeſt of the people worſhip-worthy, each in his degrée. Eorle and Thorle, Theyn and

populo prudẽtiſſimi erant, in honore fuerunt, ſuo quiſq; ordine. Comes & Colonus. Thaynus &

{opulentus ignobiles.}

Ðeoden ⁊ And zif Ceorl zeþeah þ he hefde fullice fif hida azenerlande, Cifican ⁊

Undertheyn. And if a Thorle ſo thriued that he had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church &

Sub-thaynus. Quòd ſi Colonus ita rẽ feciſſet vt habuerit plenè quinq; hidas propriæ trræ ædẽ ſacram

Cýcenan, belhuſ ⁊ buſhzat ſetl ⁊ rundenno te on Cýnzef healle, þonne þæf he

a Kitchen, a Belhouſe and a gate, a ſeate and a ſeuerall office in the Kings Hall, then was he

Coquinam, Campanile, & Portam, locum itẽ et peculiare munus in Regius Aula, tunc erat de-

þannon foro Ðezen rihtrerpeorðe ⁊ And zif Ðezn zeþeah þ he þenode Cýnze

thenceforth the Theynes right worthy. And if a Theyne ſo thriued that he ſerued the King

inceps pari cum Thayno dignitate. Si vero Thaynus ita prouectus erat vt Regi ſeruierit,

7 hiſ þaðfæderne það on hiſ hiredes, gif he þonne heþde ðegn ðe him filigde
and on his meſſage or iourney rode in his houſhold, if he then had a Theyne that him followed,
& nuncius eius eſſet & equitauerit in familiâ, ſi tunc etiã Thaynum ſibi famulantẽ habuerit,

ðe to Cyngef ut þan Fif hida hafde 7 on Cyngef fetl hiſ hlafordes denode 7
whoe to the Kings expedition fiue Hydes had, and in the Kinges Pallace his Lord ſerued, and
qui ad Regiam expeditionem 5. hydas habuerit, eiuſq́, in Regia aula Domino ſeruierit, terque

ðriſſa mid hiſ ærendgefora to Cyngc he morte ſiððan mid hiſ fordade hiſ hlafordes
thrice with his errande had gone to the King, he might afterward with his fore Oath his Lordes
eius nuncius ad Regem venerit, hic deinceps data fidelitate Domini perſonã ſuſtinere poterat

arplian at inirlican neodan; And fif ðegn gedeah þ he peande to Eorle þonne pær he
part play at any nede. And if a Theyne ſo thriued that he became an Earle, then was he thence-
ſi opus fuiſſet. Quòd ſi Thaynus ita evectus erat vt Comes euaſerit pari erat deinceps

riðð an Eorle nihterpeorðe. And gif Marrene gedeah þ he fefde þridde orep
forth an Earles right worthy. And if a Marchant ſo thriued, that hee paſſed thrice ouer the
Comite dignitate. Et ſi Mercator ita rem feciſsit, vt tèr vaſtum mare ſua peritiâ

þid Sæ be hiſ agenum cnafte, he pæſþonne riððan ðegne rigterpeorðe; And gif leorn-
wide Sea of his owne Craft, he was thencefoorth the Theynes right worthy. And if a Schol-
traiccerit, pari tunc erat cum Thayno dignitate. Quod ſi Literarum ſtudioſus litte-

ner gedeah þurh lare þ he hadhefde 7 þenode Xpe, he pær þonne riððan mæde
ler ſo thriued through learning, that he had degree and ſerued Christ, he was thencefoorth of dignity
ris progreſſum feciſſet, vt ordines habuerit & Chriſto inſeruierit, erat deinde venerandum

7 nuinde rpa micelrepyrðe rpa þæt to gebyrede, butan he forporhte þ he pær had no
and peace ſo much worthy as thereto belonged, vnleſſe he forfeited ſo that he the vſe of his de-
& immunis quantùm ad locum eius ſpectabat, niſi ita excidiſſet vt ſuo munere vti non

te notian ne morte;
gree ne might.
potuiſſet.

Theſe

The name of a Baron from whence and when it came into England.

These ruines or rubbidges of antiquity, make shew of a perpetuity of Nobility, euen from the beginning of this Iland, but times are changed, and we in them also. For King *Edward* the *Confessor*, last of the *Saxon* blood, comming out of *Normandy*, bringing then in the Title of a Baron, the *Thaynes* from that time began to grow out of vse; so that at this day men remember not so much as the names of them. And at length, that name of Baronage began to be both in dignity and power so magnificent aboue the rest, as that in the name of the Baronage of England, all the Nobility of the Land seemed to be comprehended. As for Dukes, they were (as it were) fetcht from long exile, and againe renewed by King *Edward* the third. And Marquesses & Vicounts, were altogether newly brought in by King *Richard* the second, and King *Henry* the sixt.

But our Kings descended of the *Norman* blood, together with the Crowne of the Kingdome, granted an hereditary & successory perpetuity vnto honourable titles, such I meane as are the Titles of Earldomes and Baronies) without any difference of sex at all. Which thing I thought good to make manifest, by the examples of the more ancient times. In the reckoning vp whereof, that I may the better acquit and discharge my selfe; in the very entrance of my speech, there be 3 things, whereof I would haue the Reader by the way, to be especially forewarned. First, concerning the disposition and inclination of our Kings, in the creating of the nobility. Secondly, of the custome of transferring of honours and dignities by Families. And thirdly, of the force of time, & the change and alteration of things. For why, our Kings (who only and alone, doe in their kingdome beare the absolute rule and sway) are with vs efficient causes of all *Politicall Nobility*. The Titles of *Named Nobility*, by our custome, haue this naturall and common together with the Crowne it selfe, that the heyres male fayling, they deuolue vnto the Women, except in the first Charters it be by expresse words otherwise prouided; and yet so, as that regard is alwayes to bee had of the time, which is euery where wont to beare sway in the formality of things.

Menander. Three things ther be which beare rule in all things viz. the Law, Custome, and Necessity.

In this manner *William* the first, King and Conqueror, *Harold* being ouercome, hauing obtained the Soueraignty, according to his pleasure bestowed dignities & honors vpon his companions and others, *(viz.)* some of them so anexed and conioyned vnto the Fees themselues, as that euen yet at this day, the possessors therof, may seeme to be ennobled, euen with the possession of the places onely. As our Bishops at this day, as also certaine ecclesiastical Abbots and Priors; who by reason of the Baronies ioyned vnto their Bishoppricks, enioy the titles and prehemminence of Barons in the highest assemblies of the kingdome in Parliament. Othersome of the dignities and honors, he gaue and granted also, together with the lands and fees themselues. As he gaue to *Hugh Lupus* his kinsman and a *Norman*, the earldome of *Chester*. *Ad Conquirendum & tenendum sibi & haeredibus, adeo liberè per gladium sicut ipse Rex tenuit Angliam per Coronam.* To conquer and hold it to him and his heyres; as freely by the Sword, as the King himselfe helde England by the Crowne. With the Earledome of *Richmond* hee graced *Alanus Rufus*, his Nephew, and then Earle of *Britaine* in *France* and his heyres: *Ita liberè & honorificè vt eundem Edwinus Comes antea tenuerat*: so freely and honorably as Earle *Edwin* had before holden the same. And the Earledome of *Arundel*, which *Harold* possessed, he granted with a fee vnto *Roger* of *Montgomery*. The first two of which honors (the heyres male fayling) by women eftsoones passed into other Families, but the latter Earledome, *Robert* the Sonne of *Roger* beeing attainted of treason, returned vnto King *Henry* the first, who gaue the same in dowry vnto Queene *Adeliza* his Wife.

The succeeding Kings more sparingly, bestowed such dignities to bee holden of them in Fee, granting only for the better and more honourable maintenance of their stocke and honour, the third part of the Pleas of the County (as they tearme it) which they in their Charters called *Tertium Denarium*, or the third penny. So that hee which receiued the third penny of any Prouince, he the same man by the same ancient Law of succession, was called Earle of the same Prouince: and so by custome the women, the heyres male fayling.

And if any Earle or Baron dying without Sonnes, had many women his heires, howſoeuer order was, either by couenant, or by way of partition taken, concerning the Lands and poſſeſſions, according to the common Lawes of the kingdome, yet the dignity and honour, a thing of it ſelfe indiuiſable, was ſtill left to be diſpoſed of, according to the Kings pleaſure. Who in beſtowing thereof, for the moſt part reſpected the prerogatiue of birth.

By which right, King *Henry* the third, after the death of *Iohn* the *Scot*, dead without iſſue (other lands and reuennues being by agreement giuen vnto his three Siſters) vnited the Earldome of *Cheſter*, with the honor thereof vnto the Crown. This is alſo manifeſt in the Earledome of *Arundell*: which (after *Robert* of *Belliſme*, Sonne to the aforeſaid *Roger* of *Montgomery*, driuen out by *Henry* the firſt) King *Henry* the ſecond beſtowed vpon *William* of *Albinie*, Queene *Adeliza* his Mothers Husband, and by a new Charter, confirmed it in Fee, together with the inheritance to him and his heires, with the third penny of the Pleas of *Suſſex*, whereof he created him Earle. But *Hugh* the great, Nephew of this *William* the firſt, beeing dead without iſſue, all the inheritance of the Earledome was diuided among his foure Siſters. Whoſe dignity and honour for all that, together with the Caſtle of *Arundel*, was by *Edward* the firſt, at length giuen to *Richard Fitz-Alan* (viz.) the Nephewes Sonne to *Iohn Fitz-Alan* and *Iſabell*, the ſecond of the aforeſaid Siſters.

Now let vs paſſe from *Henry* the third, vnto *Edward* the firſt his Sonne. When as for a time a great diſſention was betwixt him and certaine of his Nobility (viz.) *Gilbert* of *Clare* Earle of *Hertford* and of *Gloceſter*: *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, earle of *Hereford* and *Suſſex*, and Conſtable of England, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marſhall of the kingdome, and that all thoſe Noble-men, at length had loſt their Earledomes and Offices, they being reconciled vnto the King, afterward by new Charters receiued the ſame againe in this manner.

The firſt of them, receiued the ſame vnto himſelfe & *Ioane* the ſame kings daughter his ſecond wife, for tearme of both their liues, and to the Children to bee by them two begotten (his two Daughters by his firſt wife being excluded.) This *Ioane* (called *Ioane* of *Acon*) bare vnto her husband *Gilbert*, a Sonne called alſo *Gilbert*; but ſhee the ſecond time, ſecretly married vnto one *Radulph*, of *Mont Hermeri* (without the King her Fathers knowledge) in her owne right, made alſo the ſame *Radulph* Earle ſo long as ſhee liued. But ſhe at length being dead, *Gilbert* her ſonne, by the aforeſaid *Gilbert*, ſucceeded againe into the Earledome, *Radulph* his Father in Law being yet aliue. In the very ſame manner he reſtored the Earledoms and Office of Conſtableſhip vnto the aforeſaid *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, vnto whom alſo he gaue in marriage *Elizabeth*, another of his Daughters, widdow to *Iohn* Earle of *Holland*: and vnto the third, he reſtored the Earledome of *Norfolke*, and the office of the *Mareſcall*, with a yearely encreaſe of a thouſand Markes; yet vpon condition, that the heires male of his body to be begotten, fayling, both of them ſhould returne againe vnto the King. At length, this *Roger* dyed without iſſue, in the xxxv. yeare of him the ſaid *Edward* the firſt viz. in the laſt yeare of his reigne: and King *Edward* his Son, the ſecond of that name, both by a new Creation & Charter, gaue the Earledome and the Marſhalſhip vnto *Thomas* of *Brotherton* his Brother, and his heyres male.

Theſe things wee haue thus propounded, thereby to ſhew, how according to the diuers diſpoſitions of Princes, & chãges of times, it hath by little and little varried in the firſt beſtowing of dignities and honours. Of which thing (that new Law) and to them of ancient time vnknowne, made by King *Edward* the firſt himſelfe, ſeemeth afterward to haue beene of no ſmall weight and moment, whereby, hee fauouring certaine priuate men, more carefull of their owne ſurname, then of their poſterity, it was thought vnto him good, & ſo decreed, to make Fees to belong to men only. That law I ſay, which I would in Latine call *Gentilitium Municipale*, & which the Lawyers commonly call *Ius Talliatum*, and *Talliabile*: or the Law of cutting off: for that it cutteth off ſucceſſions before generall, and reſtraineth them vnto the particular heyres of Families: which ſeemeth alſo to haue giuen an occaſion of change in the giuing and beſtowing of dignities and honors.

For

For euer since that time, in the creating of any new Earle, it is begunne to be altogether by expresse words in all Charters prouided, that it shall bee but for terme of life onely, or discend vnto the heires males alone, the Women being quite excluded. And this I need not by examples to prooue; for why, the thing it selfe prooueth the same. But the force and efficacie of this Lawe of *Entaile*, (or of cutting off) I haue thought good thus in few words to declare.

The Lands and Fees of the earledome of *Oxford* (*Robert* Earle of *Oxford* and Duke of *Ireland*, being condēned of treason) by that Law came to *Albericus Vere* vncle to *Robert*, who therefore in Parliament, requested of the King, the Title of the Earledome also, and obtayned the same. This is also most manifest, by the example of the Earledomes of *Arundell* and of *Surrey*, ioyned together in the family of *Fitz-Alan*. For *Edmund Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundell*, married the onely sister and heire of Earle *Richard*, and of her begot *Richard*, happy with his twice marriage. Vnto this *Richard*, the sonne of *Edmund*, and his heires male by *Alenor* of *Lancaster* (his second wife) begotten, and to be begotten, the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of *Arundell* were entailed in the one and twentith yeare of *Edward* the third. And afterward (viz.) the same yere, Earle *Iohn* his brother being dead without issue, enriched also with the encrease of the Earledome of *Surrey*, he was called Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey*. Of *Alenor* *Richard* begot a sonne, called *Richard*, at length Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey* also: and *Iohn Fitz-Alan* his second sonne, in the right of his wife, called *Baron Maltreuers*. This *Richard* had *Thomas*, his onely Sonne, dead without issue; and foure Daughters his Coheires (viz.) *Elizabeth*, *Ioane*, *Margaret*, and *Alice*, who diuided the Earledome of *Surrey* amongst them. Howbeit the dignity therof was granted to *Iohn Mowbray* duke of *Suffolke*, begotten of *Elizabeth* the eldest sister; who by the ancient custome of Succession challenged vnto himselfe the Earledome of *Arundell* also. But *Iohn Baron* of *Maltreuers*, Nephew to the first *Iohn Fitz-Alan*, and Baron of *Maltreuers*, by his sonne *Iohn* opposed himselfe against this man, and withstood him, challenging vnto himselfe the possession of that castle and demaine of *Arundell*, as fallen vnto him by the good right of the Law of *Entaile*.

For *Thomas* the last Earle being dead without issue (as is afore-said, he alleaged the demaine of the Castle not to belong vnto the Sisters, but to discend vnto his heires male and kinsmen, of whom hee himselfe was neareſt of kinne vnto the sayd Earle *Thomas*: of which Fee, seeing by Law he held the possession, he affirmed the Title of honour and dignitie more fitly to agree vnto himselfe then to lie in vaine, and to no purpose hidden in the Duke himselfe. Which thing, although hee could not obtayne, yet *Iohn* his sonne, a most famous warriour, after the death of his Father, with the applause and good liking of all men, obtained by Acte of parliament, in the eleauenth yeare of King *Henry* the sixt. Of whom also, for his great deserts and most noble vertues, he was, the yeare after, rewarded with the dukedome of *Thurania* in *Fraunce*. And this *Iohn*, both Earle and Duke, being dead, *Humphrey* his son, in short time after dead without issue (notwithstanding his sister) left the earledome of *Arundell* entailed vnto *William* his vncle, in whom afterward it took such root, as that we haue seene it in the male line, to haue brought forth most famous and renowned Earles, euen vnto this our age.

And what wee haue sayd concerning Earles, the same be it said also of Barons created by Charters. But in Barons created by Rescripts or Writs of Summons yet resting vpon most auncient custome, not so.

For in them (one onely excepted, sent forth to *Henry Bromflet*, wherein it was prouided him, that same *Henry* and his heires male of his body lawfully begotten, only to be Barons of *Vescy*) women, the heires male failing, were not in ancient time forbidden or embarred, but that they might be accounted, and by name stiled honourable, with the præeminence of the dignity and calling of Barons. And after they had borne a Childe, according to the auncient fauour of our Lawes, and the reuerend custome of the Kingdome, graced their husbands also with the same honour; & with the same by inheritance

ennobled

ennobled their children; yea, euen without the poſſeſſion of thoſe places, from whence the names of ſuch dignities and honours may ſeeme firſt to haue riſen. For Fees and locall poſſeſſions, circumſcribed by the Lawe, are tranſlated and carried from one family to an other; and vſually enrich their Lords and owners the poſſeſſours thereof: but yet of themſelues, neyther bring nor take away Nobilitie, either Datiue or Natiue. By Examples to manifeſt theſe things were but needeleſſe; for why, all the moſt auncient Baronies, and the more auncient ſort of the Barons at this day, are in this poynt on my ſide, and giue voices with me. Now, if any man ſtudious of theſe things, by chaunce meeting with ſome things of other nature, ſhall more curiouſly diſpute againſt theſe matters, vnto him I would oppoſe, eyther the force of time, or the careleſneſſe and lacke of looking vnto. But, Cuſtomes are ſtill like themſelues, neyther are we to detract from the authoritie of Kings, who although they haue ſuch ſupereminent, and vndeterminate prerogatiue, as that they may ſeeme ſometimes to haue of fauour graunted, ſome things beſide the Lawes; yet ſhall it not appeare them requeſted, to haue done, or yet ſuffered any thing to bee done, contrarie vnto the Cuſtomes of Stockes and Families. So they ſometime not regarding the ſolemnities of Ceremonies and Charters, haue onely by their beckes (that I may ſo ſay) ſuffered dignities and honours to bee transferred, as in *Ranulph Blundeuill*, Earle of *Cheſter*, and of *Lincolne* to bee ſeene. For the Earledome of *Cheſter*, he permitted after the manner, to diſcend to *Iohn* the Scot his Nephew, by *Maud* the eldeſt of his Siſters. But the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (the King thereunto conſenting) hee yet aliue deliuered vnto *Hawiſia* another of his Siſters, now married to *Robert Quincy*, by his deede, in the ſeuenteenth yeare of the reigne of King *Henrie* the third, in theſe words following.

RAnulphus Earle of *Lincolne*, vnto all men preſent, and to come, which ſhall ſee this preſent Writing, greeting. I would haue it to come vnto the generall knowledge of you all, mee to haue giuen and graunted, and by this my preſent writing, to haue confirmed to the Lady *Hawiſia* of *Quincy*, my moſt deare Siſter, the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (viz.) as farre forth as it vnto mee belonged, ſo that ſhe may thereof be Counteſſe. To haue and to hold the ſame of my Lord the King of *England*, and his heires, vnto the ſaide *Hawiſia* and her heires, freely, quietly, fully, peaceably, and wholly by right of inheritance, with all the appurnances, and liberties vnto the aforeſaide Earledome belonging. And that this preſent Writing may ſtand in force for euer, I haue thought it good to firme and ſtrengthen the ſame, by the ſetting to of my Seale. Theſe being witneſſes.

Hawiſa with this her brothers writing in this manner endowed, was forthwith Counteſſe of *Lincolne*, who yet liuing, preſently gaue the ſame to *Iohn Lacie* her ſonne in lawe. So alſo I may not paſſe ouer *Hugh Courtney* the firſt of that family and name, in the time of King *Edward* the third: for he, when hee had for many yeares after the death of *Iſabell de Fortibus* (whoſe ſole heire hee was) quietly poſſeſſed the lands and Fees of the earledome of *Denſhire*, without eyther the Title or Inueſtiture of an Earle, and that at length contention aroſe betwixt him and the Kings officers of the Exchequer, for the repayment of the third penny, for that hee as yet vſed not the Stile of an Earle, hee hauing written Letters ſupplicatorie vnto the King, then buſied in the warres in *Scotland*, receiued anſwer; That taking vnto himſelfe the Name and Dignitie of an Earle, hee ſhould cauſe himſelfe, from that time forward, to bee named and called Earle of *Denſhire*, in theſe words.

THe King to his welbeloued and faithfull, *Hugh* of *Courtney* the Elder, &c. Greeting, &c. Whereas you, as appeareth by your Petition exhibited before vs and our Councell, haue of long beene ſued for the repayment of eighteene pounds, ſixe ſhillings and eight pence, of the yearely Fee of the Earledome of *Denſhire*, which *Iſabell de Fortibus*, late Counteſſe of *Denſhire*, whoſe heire you are, and the heires of her the ſaid Counteſſe, and yours, Earles of *Denſhire*, yearely

yearely receiued by the hands of the Sheriffes of that Countie that were for the time being, and which you likewise after the death of the aforesaide Counteſſe, as her heire for a certaine time receiued: And for that they haue beene from you detained, becauſe you haue in no wiſe named and ſtiled your ſelfe an Earle: as by the Certificate of the Treaſuror, and of the Barons of our Exchequer, by our commandement made into our Chancerie, more at large doth appeare. Wee, for that the inheritance which was the aforeſaid Counteſſes, and the inheritance of her Predeceſſours, and yours, the Earles of *Denſhire*; vnto you diſcended by hereditary right, and that you at this preſent hold the ſame inheritance; willing in this part to prouide, as well for our owne Dignitie, and the equitie of our Kingdome, as for your honour: will and commaund you, in requeſting you, that in taking vnto you the name and honour of an Earle, you from hencefoorth cauſe your ſelfe to be called Earle of *Denſhire*, knowing that wee will make the aforeſaide Fee to bee yearely payed vnto you, as it hath beene wont to bee payed vnto the Earles of *Denſhire* your Predeceſſours. Witneſſe the King at *New-caſtle* vppon *Tine*, the two and twentith day of February, & in the ninth yeare of our reigne.

Laſt of all, we haue ſeene this ſame not long ſince, in *Phillip Howard* confirmed. For hee, after the moſt auncient right of the Earledome of *Arundell*, tooke vnto himſelfe the Title of *Arundell*, the *Queene* onely conſenting thereunto, and approuing the ſame; no forme of Charter repeated, or of any forme of his Creation being thereunto ioyned.

Hitherto it ſeemeth alſo to appertaine, that our moſt auncient Earles were of auncient time wont (according to the diuerſitie of the places) where they for the moſt part choſe to dwell, to to bee called by diuerſe Titles of Dignities. For *Reynold* who was Earle of *Cornewall*, for his continuall dwelling at *Briſtow*, was oftentimes called Earle of *Briſtow*.

Robert of *Ferrars* the younger, Earle of *Ferrars* in *Normandie*, and of *Derbie* in *England*, ſometime wrote himſelfe Earle of *Tutbury*, a Caſtle (videlicet) in the Borders of *Stafford-ſhire* built by his Progenitours. *Baldwine* and *Richard* of *Riuers*, were ſometime called Earles of *Exceter*, and ſometimes Lordes of the *Ile of Wight*, for their continuall dwelling in the ſame places; when as yet in the meane time, they were both Earles of *Denſhire*. *William* alſo of *Albiniac*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Suſſex*, the firſt of that name, in the Letters of agreement betwixt king *Stephen* and king *Henrie* the ſecond, ſet himſelfe thereto a Witnes, by the name of *William* Earle of *Ciceſter*, for that he there oftentimes dwelt. Adde hereunto alſo if you pleaſe, the Earle of *Penbrooke* to haue beene called the Earle of *Strigulia*, of the Caſtle of *Strigulia*, built by *William Fitz-Osborne* Earle of *Hereford*, and the Seate of the Earles of *Penbrooke*.

Theſe things (I ſay) were of olde and in auncient time, but now at this day, not ſo. For ſuch is the force of time, and change in altering of the forms of things, as that it eating out of the olde, bringeth ſtill in new. So vnto Earles, whom we ſaid in ancient time to haue beene rewarded with the third penny of the Prouince whereof they were earles, to maintaine their Honour and Dignitie, a certaine ſumme of mony is at this day yerely payed them out of the Exchequer, and they enioy the Titles of ſuch places, as wherein they haue not any iuriſdiction, adminiſtration, or profite at all. Barons alſo, who as the Fathers and Senators in auncient time among the Romans, were choſen by their *Seſtertia*; were in like manner wont to bee eſteemed and valued by Knights Fees (for why, hee which had and poſſeſſed thirteene Knights fees, and a little more, was then to bee accounted among the Barons) are now, more ſildome times choſen for their vertue, their great wealth, and large poſſeſſions.

Neither is there any let, but that a man may hold and ſtill retaine, the name and Title of a Barony, the head of which Barony (as they tearme it) he hath afterward ſold or alienated to ſome other common perſon.

In briefe, our kings royall maieſty is alwayes like it ſelfe, conſtant, and the ſame; which hauing regard to the vertue, ſtock, wealth,

wealth, and ſubſtance of any man (whereby hee may with his Councellor ſeruice, profit the Common-weale) may in euery place freely giue and beſtow Dignities and Honours, ſometime chuſing moe Barons then one, out of one & the ſame family, the cuſtome of the ſucceſſion of the former and more auncient Baron, beeing ſtill kept whole, and not in anie hurt: as we ſee, *Edward* the ſixt wiſely to haue done in the familie of the *Willoughbies*; which family (that for breuitie ſake I ſhould not reckon vp moe) beſide the moſt ancient Barony of the *Willoughbies* of *Eresby*, brought foorth another Barony alſo of *Parham*. Wherefore wee acknowledge our Kings to bee the Fountaines of Politicall Nobilitie, and vnto whom we may with thankes, referre all the degrees of Honours and Dignities; wherefore I may not, without cauſe, ſeeme to reioyce on the behalfe of our Nobilitie of *Britaine*, which hath alwaies ſo had Kings themſelues, Authours, Patrons, Gouernours, and Defendours thereof, that when Lands, Fees, and Poſſeſſions, ſubiect to Couenants or agreements, are ſtill toſſed and turmoyled with the ſtormes of the Iudiciall Courts, and of the Common Lawe; it is onelie vnto the Kings themſelues beholden, and reſteth vpon heroicall orders and inſtitutions, proper and familiar vnto it ſelfe. So that

Per titulos numerentur aui, ſempérq; renata
Nobilitate virẽt, & prolem fata ſequantur:
Continuum propriâ ſeruantia lege tenorem.

By Titles great, mens Auncеſtors
were knowne ſtill as they came,
And ſo their owne poſteritie,
do ſtill enioy the ſame;
And flouriſh long without decay,
with euerlaſting fame.

For the Noble-men, for deciding of ſutes concerning their Honours, and for the giuing vnto euery man that which of right belongeth vnto his Farme and Dignitie, haue their Tribunall or proper Martiall Court, which they are wont to call, The Court of *Chiualry*: whereof, when wee ſhall come vnto the Order of Knight-hood, wee ſhall ſay ſomewhat more.

The Court of Chiualric.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Noblemen of the leſſer ſort.

THe named Noblemen which our Country of England beareth, and in honour excelling, I haue with as much breuitie as I could, declared, and in painting of it foorth, propoſed it vnto the eye: with what Lawes alſo they are created, and with what orders of ſucceſſions they after our manner liue, I haue in few wordes briefely ſhewed. Now if I had vnto theſe alſo ioyned the Fellowes of the Order of the Garter, I might well ſeeme to haue ended this Treatiſe, beeing about to haue written nothing at all, of thoſe whom wee call *Noble-men of the leſſer ſort*, or Vnnamed: but the earneſt and continual calling vpon of certaine of my friends, ouercame mee. Wherefore, ſeeing that it is neyther altogether ſtrange from our purpoſe, and may be done without ſtraining of the Methode of that I haue taken in hand, both the place, and the requeſts of my friends haue inuited mee by the way to ioyne heereunto theſe few things heereafter following:

Three degrees or rãks of Noblemen or Gentlemen of the leſſer ſort.

The Noblemen therefore of the leſſer ſort, are in three ſorts or rankes diuidedly comprehended.

The firſt ranke or order, is of Knights: The ſecond is of Eſquires: The third, of them we call onely by the name of Gentlemen.

Thoſe whom the Frenchmen ſimplie call *Gentilzhommes*, and wee in Engliſh Gentlemen, wee thus diſtinguiſh into three ſorts:

Plaine Gentlemen, without anie other addition.

Firſt, hee which deriueth his Stocke with Armes from his Auncеſtors, is by bloud a Gentleman.

Secondly, hee which beareth Armes onely, although he be not yet by Stocke a Gentleman, is yet called a Gentleman, and giueth Gentry vnto his ſonnes.

Third-

Thirdly, hee which is of reputation onely for his learning, or for some Office or function which hee beareth, hee onely for himselfe, is in common estimation accounted a Gentleman; although he had a common person to his Father, and leaue his Sonnes common persons also.

Esquiers.

An Esquire, who sometime is also called *Scutifer*, or a *Shield-bearer*, and in ancient time *Homo ad Arma* (or a Man at Armes) in French *Escuire*, and in English a *Squire*, or an *Esquire*, is next vnto a Knight: as hee who in ancient time following a Knight, by his side bare his Armes, as a most faithfull Fellow-souldier with him, From whence perhaps, they whom wee at this day in our Kings houses, account Squires for the bodie, seeme to haue taken their beginning. But that which at first was by institution a militarie Office, is now become a degree of dignitie: whereof, Antiquitie it selfe, and the custome of our Kingdome hath brought forth vnto vs foure kinds.

The first doth comprehend all the younger sonnes of Barons, and of other Noble-men, and their first begotten Sonnes also; who together with their being first borne, make the dignitie of Esquireship successorie, so long as their issue male faileth not.

Another kinde (and that most auncient) is of them, which are borne the eldest Sonnes of Knights, and their eldest Sonnes also.

The third is of them, which of auncient time graced with Armes belonging vnto their Stocke and Family, are the first begotten and chiefe of their house and stocke. And these by a certayne prerogatiue of being the eldest or first born, goe before all the rest of the Gentlemen of the same Family aside discended, and are accounted Esquires.

The fourth kind respecteth the common-weale, and the Kings house. For they which beare publique Offices in the Common-weale, are of Gentlemen in reputation made Esquires. Such as are the Iudges, the Kings Atturney, and Prolocutor: the Sergeants at Law, and other Officers of like sort belonging vnto the Exchequer.

Doctors.

Vnto these also wee may especially ioyne, if not preferre, such as proceede Doctors of Diuinitie, or otherwise in other professions in the Vniuersities. For Doctorship is a Title of Dignitie more noble, then they which are Gentlemen but by their stocke onely: vnto whom also after our manner, in the Kings Commissions concerning the publike affaires, so much præeminence is giuen, as that they may well seeme in dignitie, to bee compared with Knights.

In the Kings house also, the Apparitors, commonly called Sergeants at Armes, Heralds, and all seruing in the Kings Court, whom for the præeminence of their Offices, we also call Sergeants, are made Esquiers with chaines, (viz.) with a Collar made of Siluer and blacke S S put about their neckes by the Kings themselues.

Knights.

Knights (in French called *Cheualiers*) are with vs called either Knights Bannerets, Knights of the Bath, or Knights Batchellors.

Other there be of the Garter also, but of another sort, then that they are to be comprehended in a kind, to be compared with these as in due place is to be shewed.

Bannerets.

¶ *Banneret* is a degree of Honour, esteemed the last amongest the greatest (I meane *Nobilium maiorum*) or the first with those of the second ranke. Three formes of creations I haue obserued, as sometimes vnder the Royall Standerd displayed: the person hauing the lower end of his Pennon cut off into a square (such as Barons vse) receiueth that Honour: Or as *Edward* the third enioyned *William de la Poole* by Patten, *Vt statum & honorem teneret & continueret Banneretti*, *To him and to his heires*: Or as *Nicholaus de Grey* was declared, by Writ of King *Edward* the second, to be, *De familia Regis tanquam Bannerettus*; thereby meaning, both Precedencie and Sallary accordingly.

Sir Rob. Cott.

Kol. Franc. 13. Ed. 3.

Ex comp. Garderob. 9. Ed. 2.

The two other Knight-hoods *Batchellors*, and of the *Bath*, admit this difference betweene them, that to the one from electiue grace of the Soueraigne (to attend himselfe or Quene in their inaugurations, or his Childrens creations) there is annexed a Ministeriall duetie to their knightly dignities; the other, nothing being left but their bare Stile and proper Merite; and therefore they are eyther in the Record, mentioned by none other

Ingulphus Croi landensis Kol. Claus. 2. Hen. 2.

ther name then *Milites simplici*, yet had in former ages (as well as other degrees of honour) many worthy and religious ceremonies, as also peculiar robes at their Creations (as appeareth copiously both in story and record.) But they by iniury of times, and promiscuous admissions (which somewhat declined their reputation) had beene fully lost, had not the other preserued the memory and vse of such venerable order.

As for right of precedency betweene these two; or whether such temporall seruice enlarged to the one more then the other, inuesteth a perpetuall priority or no, I leaue it to the discussion of those, to whom in due of place, and depth of Iudgment, it properly belongeth.

No man is borne a Knight, but men vppon their knees receiue that Dignity (which is not but together with life lost, or taken away) of the King or his Lieutenant generall; hauing regard eyther to his stocke, his vertue, or his fortune, or his actes done at home or abroad; lightly striking him that is so to be created, vpon the shoulder with a drawne Sword. The Prince speaking these words in *French*; *Soyes bon Cheualier d'oresenauant au nom de Dieu:* (Bee from hence-forth a good Knight, in the name of God.) And they which are so made Knights, hauing kissed the Sword, and this word (*Sir*) being added vnto their names, for tearme of their liues, are euery where (after the French manner in calling of their Kings) distinguished from other men; *Sir Iohn Norris*, *Sir Francis Drake*. A dignity indeede of it selfe so sound, apparant, & ful of honor, as that it euery where beseemeth most great Dukes and Earles: and which euen Kings thēselues haue not disdained kindly to thanke one another for. For so we reade our King *Henry* the second of that name, to haue made *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, Knight at *Turwin* in *France*, for his good seruice at *Tholouse*, in the yeare 1159. And *Alexander*, the Sonne of *William* King of the *Scots*, being not 14. years old, to haue receiued the order of knighthood in England, in the yeare 1212. *Hugh Vere* restored vnto the Earledome of *Oxford*, was by the King made Knight. *Henry* of *Lacy* also in the right of his Wife, and by the resignation of his Mother in law, promoted to be Earle of *Lincolne*, receiued the third penny of his Earledome from the time he was made knight, about ten yeares more or lesse before hee was created Earle. Beside that, the ancient Register of the Church of *Abingdon* thus reporteth.

Richard Earle of *Chester*, with his mother *Ermentrude*, lodged in the Towne of *Abingdon*; *Farritius* the Abbot, and the Countesse his Mother, earnestly calling vpon him, confirmed for wel done, whatsoeuer was done concerning the Land of *Wimondisleie*, and with his writing strengthened the same. Which writing, he appointed to bee sealed with his Mothers Seale, for he being not yet knighted, all the Letters by him any whether directed, were closed with his Mothers Seale. And for this cause it is, that it is noted, the writing to be signed rather with the seale of the Countesse, then of the Earle himself. Of which writing, this is the forme; *Richardus Comes Cestriæ, & Ermentrudis Comitissa Mater eius, Nigillo de Oylly, &c.* *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Ermentrudis* the Countesse, his Mother, to *Nigill* of *Oylly*, *&c.*

This same thing doe also the ancient formes of the Parliament writs testifie. For it is manifest, Kings haue beene wont to summon the Nobility of the kingdom vnto their Parliaments. *Ioanni Marchioni de Monteacuto Cheualier* (vnto *Iohn Marquesse* of *Montacute* Knight: And *Henricus vi. Henrico Vicecomiti Bourchier Militi* (*Henry* the vi. vnto *Henry Vicount Bourchier* Knight.) 1. *Edward* 4. &c. Which manner of calling, although it hath begun of long to grow out of vse in others of the Nobility, yet eyther in calling out of new Barons, or in summoning of the olde, it is still right seriously obserued: as *Gulielmo Brooke de Cobham Cheualier* (vnto *William Brooke* of *Cobham* knight.) And *Gulielmo Cecill de Burghley Militi* (to *William Cecill* of *Burghley* knight) when as they both were commonly knowne and called Barons or Lords of *Cobham*, & of *Burghley*: so that a man would almost say, the order of knights to bee the Seminary of the Baronage of England.

I let passe in the meane time, with how great solemnity of the kingdome, and charges of the Subiects, Kings in ancient time were wont to conferre and bestow this Military honour and dignity vppon their

their eldest Sonnes,(*viz.*)the Princes of *Wales*, and with what luster and magnificence, Emperours and Kings ioyned in league together, (by a certaine mutuall and as it were natural power of monarks among themselues, in bestowing Nobility according to the Lawe of Nations) haue dismissed one anothers Subiects & Ambassadours, graced with this Dignitie. I list onely heereunto to ioyne an auncient forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, out of an old Chronicle of a certayne nameless writer; *Anno* (saith he) 1316. *Dominus Richardus de Rodney factus fuit Miles apud Keynsham die translationis Sancti Thomæ Martyris in præsentia domini Almarici Comitis de Penbroke, qui cinxit eum gladio, & Dominus Mauritius de Barkley super pedem dextrum posuit vnum calcar: & Dominus Bartholomeus de Badelismer (Earo vterque) supposuit aliud super pedem sinistrum in Aula, & hoc facto, recessit cum honore.* In the yeare 1316. Lord *Richard* of *Rodney*, was made Knight at *Keynsham*, vpon the day of the translation of Saint *Thomas* the Martyr, in the presence of *Amaricus* Earle of *Penbrooke*, who girt him with the Sword: and the Lord *Maurice* of *Barkley* put one Spurre on his right foot, and the Lord *Bartholomew* of *Badelismer* (both of them Barons) put the other Spurre vpon his left foot in the Hall; and this done, he with honour departed. But now according to the maner of the time, we liue after another fashion; and in this, as in other things, the change and alteration of things hath taught vs, what an alteration of things the long continuance of time is able to make. So in thinking of the beginning of Knights, and as well of the antiquitie of the Order of Knighthood, as of the preheminence thereof aboue other dignities and honours, I can scarse resolue my selfe, but that this name of olde should seeme to make shew vnto me of some (I wot not what) magnificent and maiesticall things contayned in the same, and more excellent then Nobility it selfe: and mounting (as it were) into the royall Throanes, sitteth as it were a Iudge in the Iudgement seate, and the Protectour of all ciuill Nobility. For the desciding of sutes concerning honours, and for the preseruation vnto euery man the right of his fame or dignity, the natu-

rall tribunall Seate or Court for the Nobilitie, is euery where called *Militaris*; that is to say, the Martiall or Militarie Court, and commonly, the Court of Chiualrie: the forme whereof with vs is this. The appoynted place for the holding thereof, is the Kings Hall: wherein the Constable of the Kingdome, and the Marshall of *England* sit as Iudges, where any Plaintife, either in case of dignities or of Armes, or of any other sute or controuersie concerning Nobility and Honour, may sue the Defendant. But the forme wherein the Constable of *England* was wont to call the Nobility and Gentry vnto his Court or Iudgement seate, was on this sort:

Curia Militaris. The court of Cheualrie.

Iehan filz du Roy Constable d'Angleterre,&c.

IOhn the Kings Sonne, Constable of *England*, and Warden of the East-marches toward *Scotland*, to our welbeloued Cozin, Sir *Rafe Neuile*, Earle of *Westmerland*, and Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge you, that you cause to come and appeare before vs at *Westminster*, the ninth day of May next comming, before *Mounsieur Edward Hastings*, to answere to *Mounsieur Reynold* Lord of *Grey*, and of *Rutheyn*, concerning that which he shall then charge him with in our court of Cheualry, concerning the full vsing and bearing of his Armes, and to that the Lord *Grey* saith, and as it shall be more fully declared at the same day; and further to doe and receiue that which the Lawe and the custome of our said Court shall in this part require. Returning before vs at the aforesaid day with this our Precept, al that you shall therein haue done. Giuen at *Westminster* vnder the Seale of our Office, the first day of May, in the reigne of my most dread Lord and Father King *Henry* the fourth, after the Conquest, the eight.

Iehan filz, frere, e Vncle an Roys, Duc de Bedford,&c.

IOhn, Sonne, Brother, and Vnckle to Kings, Duke of *Bedford* and *Aniou*, Earl of *Richmond*, and of *Kendall*, and Constable of *England*, vnto our welbeloued Cozin, *Iohn* duke of *Northfolke*, Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and

charge you, that you cause to be arrested, and to come before vs or our Lieutenant at *Westminster*, vpon the 15. of S. *Hillarie* next comming, *William Clopton* of the Countie of *Suffolke* Esquire, then to answeare before vs or our Lieutenant in the Court of Chiualrie, to *Robert Eland* of the County of *Lincolne* esquire, to that which he the said *Robert* shal then charge him with by the way of Arms, as hauing set and put to the Seale of his Armes to a false and forged writing, done to the hurt and danger of him the said *Robert* an hundred pounds, and more then that, as he saith. Returning before vsat the sayd day, with this our *Mandate*, all that which you shall haue therein done. Giuen vnder the Seale of our Office, the 23. day of Nouember, in the sixeteenth yeare of the reigne of our Lord the King, & since the Conquest of *England*, the hundred.

The forme of the prosecuting of the action, is on both sides tryed, by the looking into of Letters Patents, auncient Charters, and of Euidences (as they tearme them) and by Witnesses. All things are (for the most part) acted by their Aduocates, in Writings, in Latine or in French. At length the definitiue Sentence, according vnto equitie and right, and our owne heroycall custome, and not after any strange maner, sealed with the publike Seale of the Office is openly read, and afterward is deliuered to the Earle Marshall, to be put into execution. If any thing chance to be vnprouidedly done, or vnaduisedly in the sute ouer-slipped on eyther part, it is lawful for them to appeale vnto the king, who is wont to referre the whole matter vnto the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, vnto the learned Lawyers, and others of most vpright life, to be diligently againe examined & expounded. And euen in this very manner it was argued, adiudged, and appealed, betwixt *Reynold* Baron *Gray* of *Ruthen*, and *Edward Hastings* Knight, concerning the Armes of the *Hastings*, in the reigne of King *Henry* the third. Likewise, betwixt the Barons of *Louell* and *Morley*, for the Armes of the familie of *Burnell*. And *Richard Scroope* Plaintife, against *Robert Grosuenour* Defendant, in an Action of Armes in the ninth yeare of the reigne of King *Richard* the second.

But this I leaue to the iudicious labor of that noble person and excellent iudgement, who now can onely repaire the lamented ruines of that Iurisdiction, hauing bequeathed vnto him the *Genius* of those his renowned Auncestours, that so many yeares filled vp with famous memory, the Iudgement Seate of this Royall Court, referring the eye of further search, eyther to the Kings Records, or to those Regisiters of Armes and Honor whome it concerneth most to seeke out such Monuments with the Genealogies of Families, and the Armes of Stockes and Kindreds to distinguish the same, to write things done, and to register them vp in Bookes, for the perpetuall remembrance thereof. And who themselues acknowledging the high Constable, and the Earle Marshall of *England* for their Patrons, receiue yearely pensions from the Kings, and are by them with notable priuiledges rewarded.

Heere at length I might haue a large occasion to speake of the solemne Ceremonies of the Heralds; of their institution, imminuities (both in time of peace and warre) and of the auncient reputation had of them amongst all Nations: if it were lawfull for mee to roame at large beyond the breuitie I haue vnto my selfe propounded, and whom therefore I had purposed in silence to haue passed ouer. But, lest I writing of so many degrees of out Noblemen, and so great things concerning Politicall Nobility, (in leauing to be spokesmen for themselues) I might seeme to haue spoken vnaduisedly, and not indifferently, I thought it good briefly, and by the way, to touch these things concerning Heralds. They were in auncient time *Feriales*, or as Messengers of the publique faith and credit. But since the time Princes and Monarks, for dispatch of their affaires, first began to haue their Ambassadors stil resident one of them with another, the reputation of Heralds is so impaired, as that they euerie where liue as men neglected, & quite ouerthrowne. Yet what our Heraldes be, and in what houses, and vnder what Lawes they (by the fauour of our Kings) together with vs in safety dwell, I will heere, as it were, in a short Inuentorie, propound vnto the eye of the Reader. Heraldes.

The

Three Kinges, which of their offices are called
- Garter, who goeth first, as cheefe Ringleader of the all: not so much for the antiquity of his creation (for he was first created by King *Henry* the fift) as for the super-eminence of the Order of the Garter.
- *Clarentius.* Both of the ordained by K. Edward the 3. and are called Prouinciall kings of Armes.
- *Norroy.* Both of the ordained by K. Edward the 3. and are called Prouinciall kings of Armes.

The Collegiate society of Heraldes, consisteth of xiij. persons, (viz:) of

Sixe Heraldes, which by the names of their additions are called,
- *Somerset.*
- *Chester.*
- *Windesor.*
- *Richemond.*
- *Lancaster.*
- *Yorke.*

Foure Pursuiuantes, which in Heraldrie you may call learners and followers, vnto whom other Names are giuen also, (viz)
- *Rougedragon.*
- *Portcullis.*
- *Blew-mantell*
- *Rouge croix.*

ALl those by the names of *Kings*, *Heralds*, and *Pursuiuants*, are by the Kings themselues immediatelie, or by the Constable of the kingdome, or the Marshall with the Kings Authority, crowned with Crownes, graced with Collars, attired with their rich Coates, named by their names of addition, and with certaine appointed Ceremonies created, receiue their yearely stipends out of the Kings Exchequer, to consult and meete together, about Armes and Authenticall Monuments, and helping and profiting vnto the Art of Heraldry. And they by the Kings Charter Incorporate, are endowed with a publike house in London, the cheefe Citty of the Kingdome: where (besides the Immunities and Priuiledges whereby they liue) they are with the preheminences of their degrees and functions, one from another distinguished.

Are set to preserue the dignity and reputation of their society, and gouerne the rest, as for example.

Garter, King of Armes, for the supereminent Dignity of the Garter, is of thē the cheefe; whose peculiar Office it is, with all dutifull seruice to attend vppon the Knights of that order. To aduertise them which are chosen of their new election, to call them to bee enstalled at *Windsor*, and to cause their Armes to be hanged vp vpon their seates. At their burials, to haue a care of their Funerall Rites & Ceremonies. Wherfore, (beside the yearely wages giuen him by the Knights) he is by the King himselfe rewarded with a Salary double to the rest. In euery new Emperour, King, Prince, Duke, Marquesse, Earle, Vicount, Baron, or Knight, to be into this order enstauled, hee challengeth of him the vppermost Garment, which he on that day weareth. He also sheweth vnto euery new Baron, called vnto the Parliament, the place wherein he is to sit among his Peeres, and ordereth other things concerning their order.

For some of them.

Clarentius, who is King of Armes of al the East, West, & South Prouinces of *England*, on this side of the Riuer of *Trent*.

These two haue by charter power to visit the Noblemens Families, to set downe their Pedegrees, to distinguish their armes, & in the open Market-place, to reproue such as falsely take vpon thē Nobility or Gentry. And to order euery Mans Exequies & Funerals, according to their Dignity, & to appoint vnto them their Armes or Ensignes, &c. And in all things gouern the *Heralds* as well as *Garter*.

Norroy, who is also acknowledged for king of Arms throgh the north part of the kingdom, beyond the Riuer of *Trent*.

Other some are pointed to obey (viz.)

Heralds and Pursuiuants

Who in all things endeuor themselues for the defence of their society, or to their own lawfull profite in priuate, and willingly depend of the commandements of the kings

And these onely are the Kings Heralds, with vs so called, for that they receiue wages of the kings, and with publike seruice, serue all the Nobility of the kingdome.

Howbeit, Noble-men and Peeres of this Land, in ancient time had their Heralds peculiar vnto themselues. For *Chester* the Herald, and *Falco* the Pursuiuant, liued at the commaund of the Prince of Wales, and serued him. *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*, and Earle of *Penbroke*, had the Herald *Penbroke* his houshold Seruant.

Richard also, Duke of *Glocester*, hauing now obtayned the kingdome, wold needs haue his Herald *Glocester*, to bee called King of Armes for all Wales. *Charles Brandon*

Brandon Duke of *Suffolke*, retained *Suffolke Herald*, and *Marlcon* the Purſuiuant, his Seruants. The Marqueſſe of *Dorceſter*, kept *Groby* the Herald. The Earle of *Northumberland* kept *Northumberland* the Herald, and *Eſperance* the Purſuiuant. *Arthur Plantaginet, Vicount L'iſle*, took vnto himſelfe *L'iſle* the Purſuiuant: and Baron *Haſtaings*, *Haſting* the Purſuiuant. Theſe it pleaſed me to haue out of many others rehearſed, who ſerued Noblemen in their peculiar and domeſticall ſeruices. But the condition of the Seruant is made better, by the dignity of his Lord and Maſter, ſo theſe forenamed Heralds liued not with like authority or priuiledges as with the Kings.

So I breefely touch all things, for the beautifying and ſetting forth of Politicall Nobility: Now at length (by the Heralds leaue) let it bee lawfull for mee to ioyne heereunto and inſert ſome few things cõcerning Armes, whereby Noblemen are wont to be knowne from the vulgar ſort, and to be among themſelues by families diuided, being wont in ancient time to be more ſparingly beſtowed, then in this our age, and onely vpon ſuch, as had with their good ſeruice deſerued them.

But ſuch kinde of Armes ſeeme not to haue taken beginning, but of ſuch military rewards, as were wont to be giuen vnto well deſeruing men, in the Roman Common-weale. For the *Romanes*, alwayes moſt ſtriued for the obtayning of honor and glory, for the nouriſhing whereof, they with ornaments and rewards, laboured to ſtirre vp mens mindes, for the performance of noble actions, both at home and abroad. In warres flouriſhed Military guifts, *Tropheis*, *Triumphall Arches*, *Letters Laureat*, *&c.* In time of peace, at home were ſhewed honourable Titles, Images, Statues, and ſuch like. Things indeed wiſely at firſt deuiſed, and afterward ſo together with the Empire encreaſed, that how many, and what manner of Crowns, Bracelets, Chaines, and Creſts, euery mã had deſerued; what manner of trappings, Speares, Darts, or Belts, they had gotten: theſe they were wont in their expeditions in the wars, to beare in their Targets and Bucklers, or ſet vpon their Helmets; and againe, returning home, in time of peace, euery good Seruitor did hang them vp in their houſes; and thoſe Ornaments they by the name of Armes, were wont by long order of ſucceſſion, to deliuer ouer vnto their poſterity: and heereof thoſe armes of Families, heere and there diſpiercedly by the Nobility, vſed in diuers kingdomes, were (if it pleaſe you ſo to thinke) of the *Germanes* called Weapen, in our language *Armes*, and in Latine *Arma*, for that with them the enemies were repulſed.

Theſe things the ancient *Roman Coynes* declare, and the credible ancient *Romaine* Writers; the vſe wherof ſo at length preuailed in kingdomes, that as names diſtinguiſhed men from men, euen ſo Armes diuided Nations from Nations, and Families from Families: firſt granted by Kings themſelues, but afterward by the Heralds (Kings of Armes) by a Royall tranſmiſſiue power granted vnto them, they euery where eſpecially ſeruing the Politicall Nobility, vnto whom I willingly leaue theſe things. And therefore the name and office of the Heralds was euery where notable, and well beſeeming an honeſt man; whom they of ancient time wer wont to call the *Foſterers of Politicall Nobility*, the Arbiters of Equity, the Protectors of Verity, the Ambaſſadors of Princes, and the Writers of mens noble actes.

But woe is me, that I, carried with a certaine winde of this Method, haue thus euen againſt my will landed vpon our Heralds, whom (I know not by what deſtiny) euery man ſigheth and mourneth to ſee them working their owne deſtruction. Although indeed it be not ſo much to be maruailed at, ſeeing that the cauſe is right manifeſt (for lawfull bee it for mee to ſay the truth, which the thing it ſelfe ſpeketh) (viz.) the want of the *Martiall Court*, or *Court of Chiualry*, wherof I but now ſpake. For why, Nobility it ſelfe beeing oftentimes hurt or impared, the Heralds themſelues therewith languiſh alſo.

And yet for all that, heroycall truth wãteth not her Patrones, euen amongſt the moſt Noble and reuerend Antiquity, although as it were baniſhed, and almoſt a ſtranger in her owne houſe, hath together with the Muſes, her moſt louing, kinde and earneſt Patrones, and who were not euen vnto my ſelfe alſo wanting in the perfecting of theſe my endeuors & purpoſes.

These are the Orders and Degrees, of both our sorts of Nobility, Named and Vnnamed. Now into what ranks they are among themselues diuided, and what honour they owe one of them vnto another (by a certaine right of precedence) receiue heere in briefe.

1 THE Kings Maiesty.
2 The Prince of *Wales*.
3 Dukes descended of the Royall blood.
4 Dukes not descended of Royall blood.
5 Dukes eldest Sonnes descended of the Royall blood.
6 Marquesses.
7 Dukes eldest Sonnes.
8 Earles.
9 Marquesses eldest Sonnes.
10 Dukes younger Sonnes of the blood Royall.
11 Dukes second Sonnes.
12 Vicounts.
13 Earles eldest Sonnes.
14 Marquesses second Sonnes.
15 Barons.
16 Vicounts eldest Sonnes.
17 Earles second Sonnes.
18 Barons eldest Sonnes.
19 Knights Bannarets.
20 Vicounts second Sonnes.
21 Barons second Sonnes.
22 Knights Batchellors.
23 Esquires for the body.
24 Knights Bannarets eldest Sonnes.
25 Knights Batchellors eldest Sonnes.
26 Esquires.
27 Gentlemen.

The Sonnes of Knights, which are of the Kings priuy Councell, for the time, hold the places which their Fathers being knighted, were knowne to hold, beneathe Barons Sonnes. But the antiquity of the creation of euery Knight is to bee regarded: by which reasons, the Sonnes of the elder Knights, goe before the Sonnes of them that were more later created. Amongst Esquires, the antiquity of their Families, their wealth, and publike offices are considered; whereby it commeth to passe, that the wiues of them of the cheefer Families, or of such as beare great Offices take their places before others.

Howbeit, wee see no certainty to bee heere set downe concerning the places of Esquires or their Wiues, neyther concerning the places of yonger Brothers wiues forasmuch as many such things oftētimes chance, as cannot in any certaine rules be comprehended: like as it vseth to happen in *Named Nobility* (viz.) in Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons.

Now at last let vs passe vnto Knights of the Order of the Garter.

WE said in the beginning, in the diuiding and reckoning vp of our Nobility, it not to be beside our purpose, if I should vnto them also ioyn the fellowship of the order of the Garter, of others (by farre) the most honourable. For that it maketh Knights, and somtime them of the lesser Nobility also, being mē for their vertue and valour, both in peace and warre aboue others famous, not only equall vnto Noblemen at home, but almost euen vnto Kings themselues & Emperors. An order verily of all the orders of the Christian world (if it be to be compared with any other) most ancient and most famous, wherein the most true Nobility it selfe, together with Religion and vertue, attended vpon with fiue and twenty most famous Knights, is seene that (I may so say) with vndefiled Maiesty to sit in the Royall Throne. Wherefore, seeing that it is an order of so great dignity, and more famous then any other Nobility; & greater, then that it can in ranke with the other orders be included, as which includeth all the other degrees of Nobility, I haue purposed as briefely as I could, here to set it downe alone, and there-withall to conclude this Treatise.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ *The Order of the Knights of the Garter, when, and by whom it was ordayned.*

EDward the third, the moſt inuincible King of *England* and of *France*, a Prince principally endowed with al maner of piety, magnanimitie, and wiſedome, in the xxiij. yeare of his reigne, after he had oftentimes ouer the Frenchmen and Scots triumphed, vnto the honour of Almightie God, whereunto he (as beſeemed a deuout King referred al things) in his Caſtle at *Windſor*, ordained the Military Ornaments and Ceremonies of the Knights of the Garter: whereunto he gaue the name of the *Blew Garter* (but commonly called the *Garter*) and wherein hee appoynted the Kings of England as chiefe, and fiue and twentie Knights or Fellowes and Companions together. Who being men both for their martial proweſſe and birth, moſt famous, and moſt choſen Chieftaines ſolemnely ſworne, and binding themſelues together with a bond of mutuall and perpetuall friendſhip, for the defence of the honour and dignity of their Colledge and Fellowſhip, refuſe not to vndergoe any danger, no not death it ſelfe. And therefore they are called *Fellowes of the Garter*, for that they haue the Calfe of their Leg bound about with a little Girdle, ſet with precious ſtones, which we call a Garter: the ſpeciall Cogniſance of the order, whereon it is in French, in golden Letters thus writtē: *Hony. Soit. Qui. Mal. Y-Penſe.* All theſe Knights once yearely attired in the Robes and Ornaments of their Order, meete together vpon the 23. day of *Aprill*, a day dedicated to Saint *George*. The Rites and ceremonies, where-with they for the moſt great preheminence of their Order, are with moſt great ſolemnity choſen and enſtauled at *Windſor*, and the Statutes vnder which theſe Fellowes and Companions liue, ſeeing they can in iuſt Volumes be ſcarſe contained, cannot heere in few words be expreſſed. Wherefore I liſt onely to rehearſe the names of them, which from the beginning, or together with king *Edward* himſelfe, were the Founders thereof, or elſe haue by our Kings from time to time, for ſome their vertue aboue others, bene ſtill choſen to be Fellowes of that moſt honorable Order, in ſtead of them that were dead, euen vnto this our age.

Edward *the third King of* England *and of* France, *&c. Supreame or Gouernour of the Order of the Garter, and with him the fiue and twenty firſt Founders thereof, which number they neuer exceed.*

HEnry Duke of Lancaſter.
Peter Captaine Bouche.
William Mont-acute, Earle of Salisburie.
Iohn, Lord of the Iland, otherwiſe called *Liſle*.
Iohn Beauchampe, knight.
Hugh Courtney, knight.
Iohn Grey of Codnor, knight.
Miles Stapleton, knight.
Hugh Wrotheſley, knight.
Iohn Chandos, knight Bannaret.
Otho Holland, knight.
Sanchio Dampredicourt, knight.
Edward Prince of Wales, King *Edward* his eldeſt Sonne.
Thomas Beauchampe, Earle of Warwicke.
Raffe Stafford, Earle of Stafford.
Roger Mortimer, Earle of March.
Bartholmew of Burgherſt, knight.
Iohn, Lord Mohun, Baron.
Thomas Holland, knight.
Richard Fitz-Simon, knight.
Thomas Wale, knight.
Neele Lorenge, knight.
Iames Audeley, knight.
Henry Eſme, knight.
Walter Paueley, knight.

¶ *The Founders of this Order being dead, theſe following were in the time of Edward the third choſen, and being elected into the places of the dead, ſupplied their roomes.*

RIchard, ſurnamed *Burdeaux*, eldeſt ſonne of the Prince of Wales, who was alſo King of England, after *Edward* the

the third his grand-father, and was second of that name.

Lionell, surnamed of *Antwerp*, the son of King *Edward*, Duke of Clarence, and Earle of Vlster.

Iohn, surnamed of *Gaunt*, fourth son of King *Edward*, first duke of Richmond, and after of Lancaster.

Edmund of *Langley*, fift Sonne of king *Edward*, first Earle of *Cambridge*, and afterward Duke of *Yorke*.

Iohn of *Montford*, surnamed the valiant, Duke of *Britaine*, and Earle of *Richmond*, King *Edward* the third, his Sonne in law.

Humfrey of *Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*.

William of *Bohun*, Earle of *Northampton*.

Iohn Hastings, Earle of *Penbroke*.

Thomas Beauchamp, Earle of *Warwicke*.

Richard Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.

Robert Vfford, Earle of *Suffolke*.

Hugh Stafford Earle of *Stafford*.

Ingelram of *Coucy*, Earle of *Bedford*.

Guiscard of *Engolesme*, Earle of *Huntingdon*.

Edward Baron *Spencer*.

William Baron *Latimer*.

Reynold Baron *Cobham* of *Sterborow*.

Iohn Baron *Nevill* of *Raby*.

Raffe Baron *Basset* of *Drayton*.

Gualter Manny, Knight Bannaret.

Thomas Vfford, Knight.

Thomas Felton, Knight.

Francis Van Halle, Knight.

Alan Baxhull, Knight.

Richard Pembruge, Knight.

Thomas Vtreight, Knight.

Thomas Bannester, Knight.

Richard la Vache, Knight.

Guy of *Brianne*, Knight.

Richard, the second of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. *Soueraigne of the Order of the Garter, & they which by him were chosen into that Order.*

THomas of *Woodstocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, and afterward Duke of *Glocester*, sixt sonne to King *Edward* the third.

Henry of *Lancaster*, Earle of *Darby*, & Duke of *Hereford*, and afterward Duke of *Lancaster*, and at length King of *England*, of that name the fourth.

William, Duke of *Gelderland*.

William, surnamed of *Henault*, was first Earle of *Ostreuant*, and afterward Duke of *Holland*, *Hennault*, and of *Zealand*.

Thomas Holland, Earle of *Kent*, and afterward Duke of *Surrey*.

Iohn Holland, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and Duke of *Excester*.

Thomas Mowbray, Earle of *Nottingham*, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*, and Earle Marshall of England.

Edward, Earle of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* his Father being dead, Duke of *Yorke*.

Michaell de la Poole, Earle of *Suffolke*, and Chancellor of England.

William Scroope, Earle of *Wilshire*, & Treasurer of England.

William of *Beauchampe*, Baron of *Bergauenny*.

Iohn Beamont, Baron.

William Willoughby, Baron.

Richard Grey, Baron.

Nicholas Sarnesfeld, Knight.

Philip de la Vache, Knight.

Robert Knolles, Knight.

Guy of *Brianne*, Knight.

Simon Burley, Knight.

Iohn D'Euerux, Knight.

Brian Stapleton, Knight.

Richard Burley, Knight.

Peter Courtney, Knight.

Iohn Burley, Knight.

Iohn Bourchier, Knight.

Thomas Grandson, Knight.

Lewes Clifford, Knight.

Robert Dunstanill, Knight.

Robert of *Namur*, Knight.

Henry the fourth of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. chiefe of the Garter: and they which in his Reigne were chosen into the places vacant.

HENRY Prince of *Wales*, the eldest Sonne of King *Henry*, who afterward (his Father being dead) was himselfe King, fift of that name.

Thomas of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Clarence*, King *Henry* his second Sonne.

Iohn Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, third Sonne of King *Henry*.

Humfrey Duke of *Glocester*, fourth Sonne of

of king *Henry*,
Thomas Beauford, Duke of *Exceter*, Son to *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*.
Robert, County *Palatine*, Duke of *Bauaria*.
Iohn Beaufort, Earle of *Somerset*, Brother to *Thomas* Duke of *Exceter*.
Thomas Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.
Edmund Stafford, Earle of *Stafford*.
Edmund Holland, Earle of *Kent*.
Rafe Neuil, Earle of *Westmerland*.
Gilbert Lord *Talbot*, Baron.
Gilbert Lord *Roos*, Baron.
Thomas Lord *Morley*, Baron.
Edward Lord *Powis*, Baron.
Iohn Lord *Louel*, Baron.
Hugh Lord *Burnel*, Baron.
Iohn Cornwell Knight, afterward Baron *Fanhope*.
William of *Arundel*, Knight.
Iohn Stanley Knight, Steward of the Kings house.
Robert Vmfreuill, Knight.
Thomas Rampston Knight, Constable of the Tower of London.
Thomas Erpingham, Knight.
Iohn Sulbie, Knight.
Sanctius of *Trane*, Knight.

Henrie the fift of that name, king *of England, and of France, &c. Chiefe of the order of the Garter, and the Knights whom he graced with the Garter, in stead of them that were dead.*

Sigismund King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Marquesse of *Madenburge*, and Emperor elect.
Iohn King of *Portugall*.
Christian King of *Denmark*.
Philip Duke of *Burgundy*.
Iohn Holland, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and afterward Duke of *Exceter*.
William de la Poole, first Earle, afterward Marquesse, and at length Duke of *Suffolke*.
Iohn Mowbray, Earle Marshall, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*.
Thomas Montacute, Earle of *Salisbury*.
Richard Vere Earle of *Oxford*.
Richard Beauchampe, Earle of *Warwicke*.
Thomas, Baron *Camoys*.
Iohn, Baron *Clifford*.
Robert, Baron *Willoughby*.
William Philip, Baron *Bardolfe*.
Henry, Baron *Fitz-hugh*.
Lewes, *Robsart* Baron *Bourchier*.
Hugh Stafford, Baron *Bourchier*,
Walter, Baron *Hungerford*.
Simon Felbridge, Knight.
Iohn Grey of *Eyton*, Knight.
Iohn Dabrigecourt, Knight.
Iohn Robsart, Knight.
Trank van Clux, a *German* knight.
William Harington, Knight.
Iohn Blount, Knight.

Henrie the sixt of that name, K: *of England and France, &c. chiefe of the Order of the Garter, and the Knights of the Garter by him made.*

Albert, Duke of *Austria*, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and afterward Emperor.
Fredericke, Duke of *Austria*, Emperour, & *Albertus* his Brother.
Edward, King of *Portingall*.
Alphonsus, King of *Aragon*, *Naples*, & *Sicilie*.
Casimire, King of *Polonia*.
Edward, Prince of Wales, King *Henry* his eldest Sonne.
Peter, Duke of *Conimbria*, *Iohn* King of *Portingall* his Sonne.
Henry, Duke of *Visontium*, *Iohn* King of *Portingall* his Sonne.
Duke of *Brunswicke*.
Richard, Duke of *Yorke*, Father to King *Edward* the fourth.
Iohn Beaufort, Earle, and afterward Duke of *Somerset*.
Edmund Beaufort, Earle *Moriton*, afterward Marquesse, and at last Duke of *Somerset*.
Iasper Earle of *Penbroke*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.
Iohn Mowbray, Duke of *Norfolke*.
Humfrey, Earle of *Stafford*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.
Gaston de Foix, *Capitaine de la Bouche*, earle of *Longeuile*.
Iohn de Foix, Earle of *Candalia*.
Aluarus D'almada Earle of *Auerence*.
Iohn Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.
Richard Neuill, Earle of *Salisbury*.
Richard Neuill, Earle of *Warwicke*.
Iohn Baron *Talbot*, afterward Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

Iohn

Iohn Baron *Talbot*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, his Sonne.
Iames Butler, Earle of *Wilshire* and *Ormond*.
William Neuill, Lord *Fauconbridge*, afterward Earle of *Kent*.
Richard Wooduill, Earle *Riuers*.
Henry Vicount *Bourchier*, and afterward Earle of *Essex*.
Iohn Beamont, Vicount *Beamont*.
Iohn Sutton, Baron *Dudley*.
Thomas, Baron *Scales*.
Iohn, Baron *Grey* of *Ruthin*.
Rafe, Baron *Butler* of *Sudely*.
Lionell, Baron *Welles*.
Iohn, Baron *Bourchier* of *Berners*.
Thomas, Baron *Stanley*.
William, Baron *Bonuill*.
Iohn, Baron *Wenlocke*.
Iohn, Baron *Beauchamp* of *Pawik*.
Thomas, Baron *Hoo*.
Iohn Ratcliff, Kinght.
Iohn Fastolf, Knight.
Thomas Kiriell, Knight.
Edward Hall, Knight.

Edward, fourth of that name, K. of *England* and *France*, *&c.* Supreame Gouernor of the Order of the Garter, chose these Knights, into the vacant places of them that were dead.

Ferdinand, King of *Sicily* and of *Naples*, King *Alfonsus* his base sonne.
Iohn, King of *Portingall*.
Edward, Prince of *Wales*.
Charles, Duke of *Burgundy*.
Francis Sforsia, Duke of *Millan*.
Fredericke, Duke of *Vrbin*.
Hercules, Duke of *Ferrara*.
Richard, Duke of *Yorke*, the Kings sonne.
Richard, Duke of *Glocester*, who afterward vsurped the Kingdome.
Iohn Mowbray, Duke of *Norfolke*.
Iohn, Baron *Howard*, afterward Duke of *Norfolke*.
Iohn de la Poole, Duke of *Suffolke*.
Henry Stafford, Duke of *Buckingham*.
Iohn Neuill, Marquesse *Mont-acute*,
Thomas Grey, Marquesse *Dorset*.
Iames Douglas, Earle *Douglas* in *Scotland*.
William Fitz-Allan, Earle of *Arundell*.
Thomas, Baron *Maltrauers*, the sonne of *William*, and afterward Earle of *Arundell*.
Anthony Wooduille, Baron *Scales*, afterward Earle *Riuers*.
William, Baron *Herbert*, afterward created Earle of *Penbroke*.
Iohn Stafford, Earle of *Wilshire*.
Henry Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*.
Iohn Tiptoft, Earle of *Worcester*.
Galliard Duras, Lord *Duras*.
Iohn, Baron *Scroope* of *Bolton*.
Walter Deuerux, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*.
Gualtier Blount, Baron of *Montioy*.
William, Baron *Hastings*, the Kings Chāberlaine.
Iohn Astley, Knight.
William Chamberlaine, Knight.
William Parre, Knight.
Robert Haricourt.
Thomas Mont-gomery, Knight.

Edward, the fift of that name, King of *England* and *France*, *&c.* Supreame Gouernour of the Order of the Garter, vnder whom was no election of new Knights of that order. For as hee had all the places filled with Knights by his Father, whilest hee yet liued, euen so he left them. Excepting onely the seates of the Prince, and of *Iohn* King of Portingall.

Richard, the third of that name, King of *England* and of *France*, *&c.* Cheefe of the Order of the Garter, & the Fellowes chosen into that Order, during the time of his Reigne.

Thomas Howard, Earle of *Surrey*, and Duke of *Norfolke*.
Thomas, Baron *Stanley*, afterward Earle of *Derby*.
Francis, Vicount *Louell*.
Iohn Coniers, Knight.
Richard Radcliff, Knight.
Thomas Burgh, Knight.
Richard Tunstall, Knight.

Henry,

Henry, the seuenth of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, chiefe of this most honorable Order, and the Fellowes chosen into the places of them that were dead, during the time of his Reigne.

Maximillian, king of the Romaines, & afterward Emperor, chosen, his Father *Frederick* Emperor then liuing.
Iohn, King of *Portingall*.
Iohn, King of *Denmarke*.
Philip, King of *Castile*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Son to *Maximillian* the Emperor.
Alphonsus, Duke of *Calabria* and *Naples*, King of *Sicilia* and *Ierusalem*.
Arthur, Prince of Wales, the Kings eldest Sonne.
Henry, Duke of *Yorke*, & Prince of *Wales*, his Brother *Arthur* being dead, and he the same, afterward King of England.
Vbald, Earle of *Montferat*, and Duke of *Vrbin*, and of *Pesseran*.
Edward Stafford, Duke of *Buckingham*.
Thomas Grey, Marquesse *Dorset*.
Iohn Vere, Earle of *Oxford*.
Henry Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*.
George Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.
Henry Bourchier, Earle of *Essex*.
Richard Grey, Earle of *Kent*.
Edward Courtney, Earle of *Denshire*.
Henry, Baron *Stafford*, afterward Earle of *Wilshire*.
Edmund de la Poole, Earle of *Suffolke*.
Charles Somerset, Knight Banaret, and afterward created Earle of *Worcester*.
Gerard Fitz-gerald, Earle of *Kildare*.
Iohn Welles, Vicount *Welles*.
George Stanley, Baron *Strange*.
William Stanley, the Kings Chamberlaine.
Iohn, Baron *Dynham*.
Robert Willoughby, Baron *Brooke*, Steward of the Kings house.
Giles D'Aubeny.
Edward Poynings Knight.
Edward Wideuill, Knight.
Gilbert Talbot, Knight.
Iohn Cheney, Knight.
Richard Guilford, Knight.
Thomas Louell, Knight.
Thomas Brandon, Knight.
Reynold Bray, Knight.
Ryce Ap Thomas, a Welchman.
Iohn Sauage, Knight.
Richard Poole, Knight.

Henry, the eight of that name, K. of England, France, and Ireland: Supreame Gouernor of the Order of the Garter, notably chose & ascribed these of the Order of the Garter, into the vacant seates and places of the knights that were dead.

Charles the Emperor, fift of that name, king of *Spaine*.
Ferdinand, king of the Romaines, and hee the same king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Brother to *Charles* the Emperor.
Francis the French king, first of that name.
Emanuell, King of *Portingall*.
Iames, the fift of that name, king of *Scots*.
Henry the Kings Sonne, otherwise called *Fitz-Roy*, Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*.
Iulian de Medices, brother to *Leo*, the tenth Bishop of *Rome*.
Edward Seymour, Earle of *Hertford*, and afterward Duke of *Somerset*.
Thomas Howard, Earle of *Surrey*, and at length Duke of *Norfolke*.
Charles Brandon, Master of the Horse, and afterward Duke of *Suffolke*.
Iohn Sutton, alias *Dudley*, Vicount *L'Isle*, who was afterward Earle of *Warwicke*, & at length Duke of *Northumberland*.
Annas, Duke *Mont-morency*.
Henry Courtney, Earle of *Denshire*, and afterward Marquesse of *Excester*.
William Parre of *Kendall*, who was afterward Earle of *Essex*, & at length Marquesse of *Northampton*.
William Paulet, Baron S. *Iohn* of *Basing*, afterward created Earle of *Wilshire*, & at last Marquesse of *Winchester*.
Henry Earle of *Surrey*, Sonne to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*.
Thomas Bullen, Treasurer of the Kings house, afterward Vicount *Rochfort*, and at length Earle of *Wilshire* and *Ormond*.
William Fitz-Alan, Earle of *Arundell*.
Iohn Vere, Earle of *Oxford*.
Henry Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*.
Rafe Neuill, Earle of *Westmerland*.
Francis Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

Philip of *Chabot*, Earle of *New-blanch*, Admirall of *France*.
Thomas Manners, Baron *Roos*, who was afterward Earle of *Rutland*.
Robert Ratcliff, Vicount *Fitz-Walter*, afterward Earle of *Sussex*.
Henry Clifford, Earle of *Cumberland*.
William Fitz-Williams, Treasurer of the Kings house, and afterward Earle of *Southampton*.
Thomas, Baron *Cromwell*, who was afterward Earle of *Essex*.
Iohn, Baron *Russell*, afterward Earle of *Bedford*.
Thomas, Baron *Wriothesley*, who was afterward created Earle of *Southampton*.
Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount *Lisle*, King *Edward* the fourth, his base Sonne.
Walter Deuerux, Baron *Ferrers* of *Chartley*, and afterward created Vicount *Hereford*.
Edward Howard, Admirall of England, in *Brittaine Amorica*.
George Neuill, Baron of *Abergeueny*.
Thomas West, Baron *de la Ware*.
Thomas, Baron *Dacres* of *Gillesand*.
Thomas, Baron *Darcy* of the North.
Edward Sutton, Baron *Dudley*.
William Blount Baron *Montioy*.
Edward Stanley, Baron *Monteagle*.
William, Baron *Sands*.
Henry, Baron *Marney*.
Thomas, Baron *Audley* of *Walden*, and Chancellor of England.
Iohn Gage, Knight, Controller of the kings house.
Henry Guilford, Knight, Master of the horse, & after Controller of the house.
Nicholas Carew, Knight, Master of the Horsse.
Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of the Horsse.
Thomas Cheney, Knight, Warden of the Cinque-Ports.
Richard Wingfield, Knight, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*.
Anthony Wingfield, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine to the King, Captaine of the Guard, and after Controller of the Kings house.
Anthony Saint-Leger, Knight, Deputy of *Ireland*.
Iohn Wallop, Knight, Captaine of *Guynes* in *France*.

Edward the sixt, King of England, France, and Ireland, Supreame Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

Henry the second, king of *France*.
Henry Grey, Marquesse *Dorset*, after Duke of *Suffolke*.
Henry Neuill, Earle of *Westmerland*.
Edward Stanley, Earle of *Darby*.
Francis Hastings, Earle of *Huntington*.
William Herbert, Earle of *Pembroke*.
Thomas Seymour, Baron of *Sudely*.
Thomas West, Baron *de la Ware*.
George Brooke, Baron of *Cobham*.
Edward Baron *Clinton*, Admirall of England, and after created Earle of *Lincolne*.
William Paget, Baron of *Beaudsert*.
Thomas Darcy, Baron of *Chiche*.
Andrew Sutton, (alias *Dudley*,) Knight.

Mary, Queen of England, France and Ireland, and Supreame Lady of the Order of the Garter, these men (for orders sake) the other Knights beeing dead, were preferred into their places.

Philip, King of *Spaine*, husband to the Queene.
Emanuell Philebert, Duke of *Sauoy*.
Henry Radcliff, Sonne of *Henry* Earle of *Sussex*.
Anthony Browne, Vicount *Mount-acute*.
William Howard, Baron of *Effingham*.
William Grey, Baron of Wilton.
Edward Hastings, Master of the Horsse, after Baron *Hastings* of *Loughborow*, and Chamberlaine to the Queene.
Robert Rochester, Knight, dyed before the instalment.

Elizabeth of famous memorie, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Supreame Lady of the most noble Order of the Garter, chose into that Order, these men following.

Maximillian

Maximillian the Emperor, King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*. 1568.
Charles the ninth, King of *France*. 1564
Henry the third, King of *France*. 1584
Fredericke, King of *Denmarke*. } 1560
Adolph, Duke of *Holsatia*. }
Iohn Casimere, Count-Palatine of *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bauaria*. 1579
Francis Montismorency, Duke. 1572
Thomas Howard, Duke of *Norfolke*. } 1559.
Fredericke, Duke of *Wittenberge*. }
William Parre, Marques of *Northampton* }
Thomas Percie, Earle of *Northumberland*. 1563
George Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*. 1561
Henry Stanley, Earle of *Darby*. 1574
William Summerset, Earle of *Worcester*. 1570
Henry Manners, Earle of *Rutland*. 1559
Henry Hastings, Earle of *Huntington*. 1570
Ambrose Sutton (alias *Dudley*) Earle of *Warwicke*. 1563
Francis Russell, Earle of *Bedford*. 1564
Henry Herbert, Earle of *Penbroke*. 1574
Robert Sutton (alias *Dudley*) Earle of *Leicester*. 1559
Walter Deuereux, Earle of *Essex*. 1572
Edward Manners, Earle of *Rutland*. 1584
Henry Radcliffe, Earle of *Sussex*. 1586
Robert Deuereux, Earle of *Essex*. 1588.
Gilbert Talbot, Earle of *Shrewsbury*. } 1592
George Clifford, Earle of *Cumberland*. }
Henry Percy, Earle of *Northumberland*. } 1593.
Edward Summerset, Earle of *Worcester*. }
Robert Radcliff, Earle of *Sussex*. 1599
William Stanley, Earle of *Darby*. 1601
Arthur Grey, Baron of *Milton*. 1572
Charles Howard, Baron of *Effingham*, and Admirall of England, 1575. after Earle of *Nottingham*.
Edmund Burges, Baron *Chandoys*. 1572
Henry Cary, Baron of *Hunsdon*. 1561
William Cecill, Baron of *Burghley*. } 1584
William Brooke, Baron of *Cobham*. }
Henry Scroope, Baron of *Bolton*. }
Thomas Sackuill, Baron of *Buckhurst*, after Earle of *Dorset*, and Lord High-Treasurer of England. 1597
Thomas, Baron *de Burgh*. 1593.
Edmund, Baron *Sheffeild*. 1593
Thomas Howard, Baron *Howard* of *Walden*, 1597 after Earle of *Suffolke*, and Lord Chamberlaine to the Kings Maiesty, also Lord high-Treasurer of England.
George Cary, Baron *de Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlaine to Queene *Elizabeth*. 1497
Charles Blount, Baron *Montioy*, 1597. after Earle of *Deuonshire*.
Henry Brooke, Baron *Cobham*. 1599
Thomas Cecill, Baron of *Burghly*. 1601
Henry Sidney, Knight, President of the Marches of *Wales*. } 1588.
Christopher Hatton, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England. }
Francis Knolles, Knight, Treasurer of the Queens house. 1593.
Henry Lea, Knight, Keeper of the Armory. 1597

Iames the first, of Great Brittaine, *France, and Ireland, Supreame Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the saide Order.*

Christiern, fourth of that name, King of *Denmarke*. } 1603.
Henry, eldest Son to King *Iames*, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, & Earle of *Chester*. }
Charles Duke of *Yorke*, second Son to the Kings Maiesty, after Prince of Great Britaine. 1611.
Fredericke, Prince Elector Palatine of the *Rhine*. } 1613
Graue Morris, after Prince of *Orenge*. }
Lewes, Duke of *Lennox*, Earle of *Richmond*. } 1603.
Henry Wriothesly, Earle of *Southampton*. }
Iohn Ereskin, Earle of *Mar*. }
William Herbert, Earle of *Penbroke*, after Lord Chamberlaine vnto the Kings Maiesty. }
Fredericke, Duke of *Wittenberge*, installed but elected in the yeare, 1597. 1604.
Vlricke, Duke of *Alsatia*. } 1605.
Henry Howard, Earle of *Northampton*. }
Robert Cecill, Earle of *Salisbury*, after Lord high-Treasurer of England. } 1606.
Thomas Howard, Viscount *Bindon*. }
George Hume, Earle of *Dunbarre*. } 1608.
Philip Herbert, Earle of *Montgomery*. }
Philip Howard, Earle of *Arundell*. } 1611.
Robert Carre, Viscount *Rochester*, after Earle of *Somerset*. }
Thomas Ereskin, Viscount *Fenton*. } 1615
William Baron *Knolles de grayes*, Treasuror of the Kings house, after Viscount *Wallingford*. }
Francis, Earle of *Rutland*. } 1616
George Villers, after Viscount *Villers*, Earl and Marquesse of *Buckingham*. }
Robert Sidney, Viscount *Lyle*, after Earle of *Leicester*. }

Commilitonum Garteriani Ordinis habitus, à fronte & à tergo.



Ornamentum tibiale (vulgo Garterus*) gemmis & literis maiusculis aureis* HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE. *decoratum; quamvis Ordinis sit Symbolum peculiare, vestibus coopertum, ob oculos demonstrari nequivit.*

THE PERORATION, OR EPILOGVE OF THE WHOLE VVORKE.

THus haue I at laſt concluded this Treatiſe of *Nobilitie Politicke*, *Datiue*, and *Natiue*, as breefely as I could, and the greatneſſe & dignity of the ſubiect would permit. Firſt, generally; as applyed to the Cuſtomes of Countries, whereto the ſame is tide; then particularly exemplified, by the Rites and Ceremonies in vſe among our ſelues. Wherein, if ſeeking to adorne the magnificence of ſo ſtately a Theame, with eloquence of words, and beauty of ſtyle, as it ſelfe doth deſerue, I ſeeme to haue failed, I muſt plead for my ſelfe, as a plaine meaning man, that ſometimes through zeale and deuotion to the Church, vndertooke to carue an Image, repreſenting the Deity and greatneſſe of his God, out of trembling and feare, was forced to craue ayde of skilfuller workmen, hauing nothing to excuſe the weakneſſe of his wit, and expiate withall, the horror of his worke, but pious ſimplicity. Euen ſuch is my caſe; For I willingly confeſſe, that being doubtfull of my ſelfe when I tooke this Taske in hand, yet my hope and comfort was, that howſoeuer I might erre, and heerein bewray my skill, my faults prouing veniall, I might giue occaſion, to ſtir vp riper wits, to further the perfection of this rude and rough-hewd-worke, and Whetſton-like at leaſt, to ſet and ſharpen others.

If now by the ſight and view heereof, (ſuch as it is) any like to take the paines from the ſheathe, to the blade; from the ſhape, to the ſubſtance; & from the ſhaddow, to the body, to wade any further; the Volume now ſucceeding, aſwell of all the Perſons, as their atchieuements of honour, marriages, alliances, and deſcents, that euer this Monarchy hath inueſted & ennobled with the titles and degrees of *Political Nobility*, from the Earles vpward. (*Vice-Contes* and *Barons* make a Volume of themſelues) digeſted into Catalogues, will further declare.

A worke, though not ſo perfect as the time may make it proue, for at the beginning, what thing was euer ſo? (Without pride be it ſpoken) of extraordinary ſtudy, care, and induſtry. Wherein, if onely for the publike, I haue thus emploied my ſelfe, and done my beſt endeauour, *Tò acribès ouc hegegxtheſetai*. Let no mã take occaſion to taxe me of double diligence, much leſſe of affectation, ſelfe-loue, or flattery, that propounding thus a Pilgrimage pretended to bee generall, I haue ſpent my whole deuotion on the Saints of Great Brittaine. I was to fit my mould to the matter already framed, and therto wholly bending and deuiſing with my ſelfe, I aymed withall, in ſecret to redeeme ſo faire a ſubiect (ſubſiſting euery where on ſpeciall Lawes and Rites) from the wandring *Ideas* of diſcourſing Philoſophers, and contemplatiue Diuines to her owne proper Station, and peculiar Cuſtomes, that others elſe-where deſirous of the like, I might ſeeme rather to giue, then to ſtay their good example.

It remaines then now, to make good my firſt diuiſion into Celeſtiall, Morall, and Politicall Nobility, that I lay downe

the dignity of each by themselues, that by plaine demonstration and comparing of their Essences mutually together, the world may see, how euen this of Great Brittaine (which heere I call Ours) is of it selfe absolutely, the most assured Patterne, and best ordered of all others.

By Gods eternall prouidence, it is so fore-ordayned, that for ornament and safety of humane life and Nature, we see and feele daily, some steppes as it were of diuine intelligence, and seeds of Morall vertue, still fostered vp within vs, euen in this lower world.

Est Deus in Nobis agitante calescimus Illo.

That (diuine intelligence) by heauenly inspiration, doth teach vs to know God, and moues vs to serue him with all holinesse of soule, and religious obseruation.

This (vertuous disposition) by an inbred ingenuity, becomes the Mother of this our Positiue Nobility. For, as these two still ioyned together, first open the way by steps and degrees (though by diuers passages) to come to Kingly Grace, and Soueraigne *Eudochyst*, Datiuely; so *Ex Ingenuis fiunt Eugeneia Eugenes*, from inbred Ingenuity, men first become Generous, which also leades them on in the selfe-same Nobility Natiuely. For as godlinesse or piety, by diuine inspiration, and in-bred Ingenuity, by vertues infusion, makes vulgar men exempted, and so honestly respected aboue their fellowes, that nothing may disgrace them, but iniquity and heresie, yeelding matter and occasion to this kinde of Nobility that subiects obtaine from Soueraine grace & fauour, Datiuely: Euen so, where grace becomes so fixed in the person of any, that nothing can remoue it but Death or high-treason; it begets generosity by descending to posterity, Natiuely. So that, as to be gloriously happy in the world to come, by diuine inspiration from God to man, by the name of piety, proceeds from Christianity imputatiuely. And as to be honourably esteemed before God and man, for inbred ingenuity, by the name of probity, proceeds from ciuility infusiuely; so to be lawfully exempted from the vulgar sort, by the name of Generosity, proceeds from grace, Mediate or Immediate respectiuely al worthily ennobled in their seuerall kindes and places: whereby the meanest Subiect being thus made happy, becomes aswell *Nobilis* (which wee call a gentleman, and the French sound *Gentilhomme*) as the Emperor himselfe, saying; *Foy* de Gentilhomme.* And, *Me voicy Gentilhomme aussy bien que le Roy.* Though in English and in French, the word it selfe seeme straightened. For we call no man Noble, but from the Baron vpward, wher *Nobilis* in Latine, includes the meanest Gentleman, aswell as Lords and others. The names of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vice-Counts & Barons, &c. beeing titles of preheminence, to distinguish the celebrity of each mans place & function, for orderly precedence.

Thus then, though none become Christians by the rules of piety, carnally; and our inbred-ingenuity, proceed not from our Parents by the rules of probity, naturally; yet a Gentleman, one may be both reputed, and so called by the lawes of celerity, alias Cheualry, alias Heraldry, euen for humanity, and honest conuersation ciuilly, and so become ennobled in himselfe and his posterity Politically. For, "*Est aliquid clarus Magnorũ splendor Auorũ*
"*Illud posterit as æmula calcar habet.*

And as to be a Christian, is the glory of all Nobility, and to be an honest man, is of it selfe most honourable: so to bee aduanced by the eye of Soueraigne Maiesty, with such Ensignes of Nobility, as demonstrate his celebrity in himselfe and his posterity, is properly most Noble; Armes being in this respect ordayned to limit Families, as proper names do men. Whereby (this) stands distinguished frõ the other (two.)

For the first, from religious imputation, being hid frõ the world, makes Christians only glorious by faith, with God in heauẽ.

The second, from vertuous infusion, makes honesty most honorable, & vertue still admired by good works among men.

And this third, from absolute affection in Soueraigne loue and grace, makes subiects rise ennobled respectiuely abroad, but properly at home, for seruices performed in the Church and Common-weale.

Now, all that haue the happinesse to be glorified in heauen, or honoured vppon earth, or ennobled at the least, receiue it first or last from God, & his Lieutenants, whose infusiue grace and greatnesse, are the grounds of all our credits.

The first, by Diuines, beeing religiously taught

Hæret profectiò semen introrsum veri, Quod excitatur ventillante Doctrina. Nam, cũrogati spontè recta censemus. Ni mersus alo vi ueret fomes corde? Boet. lib. 1. 3.

Piety.

Probity.

Grace.

Eugeneiã. Eugenes.

Ingenuitie.

Christianity.

Ciuility.

Generosity.

Nobility, or Gentility.

* The reason perhaps why in England our Noblemen, from the Baron vpward, in points of honour, are put to no other oathes, then by laying their hands on their breasts, protest vpon their honours

Glory. Honour.

Noble. Armes.

Glorious.

Honorable.

Ennobled.

taught, and the second by Philosophers, being morally disputed, like Twins of one birth, or cousin-germans at least, by piety and probity in a heauenly kinde of kindred, makes mortall men immortall, and by fame to liue for euer. But the third, which this Treatise hath begot, or gladly would restore; being meere positiue with Kings, within their kingdomes, and Orphant-like committed to their care and speciall trust, depends vpon their wils, their Rites and Country Customes. From whence it is, we see such Rankes of Nobility, such seuerall names of dignities, and titles of honor, bestowed vpon Subiects for Piety and Probity, conspicuous in the world by Soueraigne grace and fauour. Who at first, being but meane, and of slender beginnings, become at last extolled to places of renowne, from the foot-stoole, aduanced to the type and top of honour, & the same like ebbes and floods, with time againe decline.

Fame.

These kindes of Nobility thus seuerally laide open, and by a three-fold disposition made apt to be diuided, are not (notwithstanding) so at oddes within themselues, that their Natures and their Essences admit no reconcilement, or may not be vnited in one Person altogether.

Nobility Theologicall

For the first, being celestiall, and meerly diuine, admits no worldly vanity, whose Soueraigne is God, and whose Robes of perfection wee shall then put on vpon vs, when wee come to bee presented before Christ our King in Heauen. This is our cheefest glory, our *summum bonum*, and highest blisse, whereto who striues to rise, and hopes to attaine, must worke it out by faith, and lay his foundation on the true Christian-Catholique and Apostolique-Religion; without which, euen Vertue her selfe, with all her Morall Lessons, auailes vs nothing, as pointing onely to this end, aymes at this happinesse, but obtaines it neuer.

Nobility Philosophicall.

And they that being heere conuersant with me on earth, haue their mindes so cleare and enlightened from aboue, that fore-seeing this end, they bend themselues thereto, and by a prudent care and constancy, still ayming at Iustice, seeke onely the good of the Church and Common-wealth. These (I say) by their vertues once conspicuous, become for euer famous, and worthily honoured with that kinde of Nobility, which Philosophers so magnifie and extoll vnto the world.

Nobility Politicall.

Now, these also at length being noted by their names, and made knowne to Soueraigne Kings (that as Gods with God-Almighty rule heere the earth in common) are by them ennobled; first Datiuely, with that Nobility, which descending to posterity, by right of inheritance, is Natiue of it selfe, and in all places subiect to peculiar Customes. From whence it comes to passe, that seeing Honesty, the height and type of honour, and vertue the way that leads vs thereunto; wee admire more Nobility Datiue, being truely deriued and raised for it selfe, then that which is Natiue, and descended from other, as whose person first for vertues sake, being for it selfe beloued, becomes withall illustrious, and layes the foundation of happinesse in others. *Nam Genus & Proauos, & Quæ non fecimus Ipsi: vix ea nostra voco.* For though in Nobility Politike and Ciuill, Generosity by antiquity, seeme to be respected: and to be borne a Lord, be more Noble, then so to be created; yet is it not so honourable, though farre more generous. For Vertue of her selfe being euery way magnificent, first honours the Father, then dignifies the Sonne, & magnifies posterity, which by the *Grecians* is more significantly spoken, and better vnderstood, by their *Eugeneia* and *genaion* applying this to Ingenuity, which belongs vnto the minde, and that vnto Celebrity more proper to the kinde.

Honorable. Generous.

Eugeneia. Genaion.

This then at the last, is that Celestiall, Morall, and Politick Nobility, that at first I propounded: whereof, when Diuines in their Sermons seeme to speake, and Philosophers by discourses goe about to dispute, they demonstrate nothing but Allegoricall *Ideas*, and immaginary shaddowes, the substance whereof, wee must hope to finde in Heauen; when as heere euen on earth, for the good & furtherance both of Church and Common-wealth, it is cherished and dignified at the hands of Soueraigne Kings, and as fittest for graue Councellors placed next vnto themselues, whereof this rude Treatise containes the truest patterne that the world affoords; namely, The *Nobility* of this *Monarchy* of *Great-Brittaine*. And therein as *Instar Omnium* and *Modell* of the rest, the most *Honourably-Noble* Order of knights of the *Garter*: there

The Epitomy or Modell of al three kinds of Nobility, in one Order of the knights of the Garter.

there being nothing found recorded, for Religion, in shew more beseeming a christian; for Vertue more Heroicall; nor for Pollicy, more assured, then this Religiously most Honourable and most Noble Society. For whereas all other of like institution, by growing ouer-vulgar, are become the lesse esteemed; or prouing else but idle, are at all hands neglected: onely This is still so well supplyed with the Flower of true Nobility, that euer fresh and springing, by yearely showes and lusters, it dismisseth the beholders with greater admiration, then the best words of my Pen are able to vtter.

For heere, all behold Maiesty her selfe, betweene Greatnesse and Decorum, descend from her Throne, to walke & talke kindely with her owne Nobility: and Nobility it selfe betweene Honour and Reuerence, ascending on the Seate of her own Soueraigne Maiesty.

Heere the Religion of our Church, the Wisedome of our State, and the Nobility of our Court, admiring Kingly Maiesty, meete all in one together.

And heere our King with his Prince, our Prince with his Peeres, and our Peeres with their Worthies, meete and march together in one Bond of Loue, in one Order of Chiualry, for mutuall defence both of Church and Common-wealth, amazing the beholders with the stately sight and view of one personall Maiesty, in one fellowship of Honour, and one body of vnstained and true Nobility.

Heere therefore to conclude, as the fittest place to end this weake and slender Treatise. If that which hath beene saide, deserues to be regarded (as Truth sayes it should) why do the Soueraignes and Monarchs of the world, then wrong themselues in their Greatnesse and Authority, giuing way to proud violence, and prophane intrusion, wherby Popes haue put downe Emperors, & Cardinals presume to compare themselues with Kings? For whereas they alone by speciall Commission and Preheminence of place, and Vncommunicable power, and Prerogatiue of Grace, are made the Moderators of the vertuous endeuours, and onely Creators of all Titles of Honour, belonging to their Subiects, they suffer Nobility to be tied, as it were against her owne Nature, to Fees, Houses, Castles, Cities, and Lands, senceless and transitory, that neyther infuse Religion, nor administer Iustice, nor encrease eyther in their prophane Possessors, nor make vulgar Tenants more honest, or more noble. For *Ornanda potius est Dignitate Domus quam ex Domo Dignitas vtcunq; querenda, neq; a Domo Dominus sed a Domino Domus est vbiuis honestanda.*

And thus hauing ended in the best sort I could, if I were to yeeld a reason of all that I haue done, in a word, it should bee thus: The glory of God, and my Countries honour, to whom all stand indebted in all that we are, or can bee of our selues. Allegiance & Seruice to my Soueraigne, and his Nobility, and affection by Alliance, to the memory of mine Vnckle and deceassed Friend, were the Motiues only moued mee to take this worke in hand.

Hauing therefore now both offered vp, and thus paide all my vowes: mine *Enthousiasme* compels mee to salute his blessed *Genius*, that by louing of Nobility, so hartily & so well, thus happily made happy, liues ennobled now in Heauen.

Quod tua prima fides visa est tentasse, nec vltra
In Patriæ complere decus fera Fata sinebant:
Ecce Opus exegi, nostrorum pignus Amorum,
Quod neq; Linor edax queat aut abolere vetustas.
Quam vis illa dies, quæ iam tibi corporis vmbram
Abstulit, incerti spacium mihi differat æui:
Parte tamen meliore tui, super alta perennis
Astra fruar.
Quáque patet domitis Britanna potentia Terris,
Docta per ora virum, perque omnia sæcula viues,
Si quid habet grati Generosa propago virorum.

What thou didst once attempt, our Countries worth to show,
But couldst not bring to passe, the Fates so staide thy hand;
Loe here, I haue perfo rm'd that (All) our loue may know,
Which enuy shall not eate, nor withering age withstand.

And though the day be past, that hath thy Soule remou'd
From hence; and bodies mortall shape be parted cleane away,
And threats the like to me: yet that I euer lou'd,
(I meane thy better part) I hope, I shall againe enioy.

And now, as far as Brittish power, by Fame it selfe is rais'd,
Or taming Sword, or by the helpe of any learned Pen;
Thy name shall liue, and Thou by future ages prais'd,
If Honour dwell in Noble blood, or Honesty with Men.

All

All Nobility politicall, is deriued, and best knowne by the causes.

Materiall, or the Subiect, wherof soueraigns create nobilitie, to wit:

- Vertue, that of her self is conspicuously noted, either
  - *Militarily*, or,
  - *Ciuilly*.
- Fortune, or habilitie to sustaine Nobilitie, Namely,
  - Fees, or Inheritance of Landes and Goods.

Efficient, as without which it hath no Being, namely, soueraigne *Eudochy*, or Grace and Fauor, without which, as it could not subsist, so is it not lost, but onlie by *Lese-Maiestie*, high-Treason. Therefore, from the soueraigne, as from the fountaine, it is deriued both Datiue & Natiue, and is bestowed, either

- For, and during life only
- Or made
- Hereditarie, & sueceſsiue

Regula Iuris.

For, as to infamie & baseneſſe, the Gates of dignitie are neuer set open: so Honor once bestowed by soueraigne grace, is not to be detracted to the Parties shame.

Which albeit they become diminished and spent, yet is not Nobilitie withall lost or extinct, that of her Nature is Hereditarie.

Formall, as how men beecome lawfully dignified according to rites and ceremonies, and peculiar custōs of Countries, either

- Immediately by the Soueraigne,
- Or,
- Mediately by Commission

In *England* nobility is distinguished into

- Greater, caled Nobles Titulary by Letters patents, or writs of sommōs to the Parliament, viz.
  - The Prince of Wales.
  - Dukes.
  - Marquesses.
  - Earles.
  - Vice-Counts.
  - Barons.
- Lesser made by Commission, or without Letters patents.
  - Knights.
    - Banneret.
    - Bath.
    - Batcheller.
  - Esquires.
  - Gentlemen.

Finall, to what end, to wit, Seruice done, and to be done, to the King, and Commonweale.

NOBILITY *politicall, is a Dignitie bestowed by Soueraigne Grace, vpon Persons of Vertue or ability, for life, or for euer, whereby a Man exempted and raised by Degrees, becomes lawfully preferred aboue the vulgar People, the better to doe seruice to the King and Commonwealth.*

Est, aliquid clarus Magnorum splendor Auorum,
Illud Posteritas æmula calcar habet.

The

THE SIXT BOOKE.

OF THE GOVERNEMENT

and Administration of Iustice, obserued in the *Common-wealth of Gennes or* Geneway.

CHAP. I.

THE people of *Liguria* are contained betwixt the Riuers of **Varus* & **Macra*, along the Sea-coast, & the downefall of the *Apẽnines*. Of all which country, the city *Gennes* or *Geneway* (most noble for antiqnity and power) hath (for the larger part of time) held the rule and Soueraignty, becauſe both for buildings, as alſo in nobilitie of actions, and in reſpect of valiant men, it hath euermore beene very notable among all the reſt of former times. This Cittie gracing the South with hearbs, beauteous lookes, is moſt prowdly built vpon the Sea-coaſt, and hath her backe vpon the North, at the foote of a mountaine: euen as if ſhe were deſcended downe the mount, and come to repoſe her ſelfe vppon a Plaine, the mountaine remaining on her backe part to defend the citie from the furious North. It is not altogether plaine nor mountainous, but participateth both of the one and other giring about the compaſſe of ſixe miles, ſo faire and goodly as can be deſired.

* A Riuer which diuides Narbone frõ Liguria.
*A riuer running out of Apennin us, & parting Liguria from Hetruria.

The ſituation of the cittie of Geneway.

And becauſe concerning her Antiquitie, we can not deliuer any thing certaine (in regarde ſome doe maintaine, that it was built by *Genoua* or *Iuno*, the daughter of *Saturne*; others, by *Genuinus*, the companion of *Phaeton*; and ſome by *Ianus*, who was ſaid to be *Noah)* it ſhall be ſufficient therefore to ſay, that it was accounted a citty two hundred and ninetie yeares before the comming of *Chriſt* on the earth, as manifeſtly appeareth (ſetting aſide *Titus Liuius* in the Decade of his eight Booke) by a Table of Braſſe, found (no long time ſince) in the Valley of *Pozzeuera*, and placed in the Church of Saint *Laurence:* whereon is engrauen in auncient Letters, That in the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Cecilius*, and of *Quintus Manilius*, Iudges were ſent from the Senate of *Rome*, to diſcide the variance betweene the *Vitturi*, and the people of *Geneway*, concerning the neare neighbouring valley. And becauſe as well the ſententiall execution, as the gaole deliuerie of priſoners, which were in reſpect of that ſtrife maintained, was to ſucceede and follow in *Geneway:* therefore we may heereby comprehend, that the City (vntill that time) conſiſted vpon ſome other conſiderations.

Concerning the antiquitie of Geneway. and by whom it was firſt founded.

A braſſe table found in the vale of Pozzeuena.

Now,

Geneway possessed diuers countries in the East part in former times.

Now, this so noble Cittie, in former times held a great estate, and was possessed of many Countries in the East parts: and now it is very powerfull by Sea in all respects, sometimes seruing the the Duke of *Millaine*, sometimes the king of *France*, euer being traueled with much busines, either in regard of being an illustrous and famous Cittie, or because it is the passage, and (euen as it were) the gate for going from the mountaines into *Italy*. Whereupon some conceiue and are perswaded, that it was called *Ianua*, as a Gate for *Italie*, and not *Ianua* of *Ianus*, who was old father *Noah*. But let it be in maner howsoeuer, the men of this nation are industrious, euermore attentiue to merchandize, whereby they attaine vnto great wealth, and as with other people it fareth, euen so amongest them, there is always great plenty of money, because no one priuate man, but very many more beside, haue made passage of fiue hundred thousand ducats, euen after the best valuation.

The people of this nation addicted to merchandize greatly.

And yet these men so great and wealthie, beeing molested by some parcialities, which diuers times haue endangered *Italie*, are now, and so haue beene for no small time, ready with their weapons in hand, expulsing now one familie, and soone after another, from the State; and now the Nobles gaining superioritie, afterward the popular sort; one side fauoring the *Adorni*, another the *Fregosi*, and at lēgth reduced (by the benefit of prince *Andrea Doria*) to the present libertie which they now enioy. For *Geneway* being in the power of the *French*, and *Doria* departing from seruice to the King of *France*, to whom hee was Admirall: at one and the selfe same time, deliuered both himselfe and Countrey from seruilitie to the King of *Fraunce*, and questionlesse with vnconquerable corage. For he might haue impatronised and possessed himselfe of the whole State, beeing entreated and euen (as it were) constrained by his friends, that he would vouchsafe to take the commaund of them: but he rather affected (setting aside all ambition) to restore them to their former freedome, with so much glory to him in future ages, as so rare an example in him did iustly merit: whereto (perhaps) hee might be the rather incited, by the enuie

The readines of the Geneways for all dangerous occurrents.

Andrea Doria Admirall to the King of Fraunce, and deliuerer of Geneway frō French thraldome.

he bare to *Christopher Columbus*, because, if he opened to modern people the other part of the world, which had for so many yeares beene shut vp from all other: so this other (with wel gouerned thoughts) spurning at all appetite of dominion, might open to his owne Citizens (with their libertie) the State so long lockt vp, by the discord of their owne opinions. Wherefore, deseruedly the *Genewayes* erected a Statue to his perpetuall glorie, and the memorable renowne of his immortall actions: as for his immense gift by his worthy industrie, was done to *Columbus*, by the Princes of *Spaine*.

Andrea Doria enuious of the honour of Christopher Columbus, in the restoring of his Countries libertie.

A Statue erected in honor of Andrea Doria.

Geneway thus receiuing *in anno* 1528. her nouell reformation; entred vpon the same forme of gouernement which it now maintaineth. A description was then made, and therein set downe all the Families of account, as well noble as popular, appearing as descended of fixe houses in *Geneway*: and the reckoning grew so, that in *Geneway* there were found 28. Families. All the rest remaining out of this account, and yet were of some consideration, but not derined from those fixe houses: were aggregated and written downe in the aforesaide number of twentie eight families, by the title of Nobilitie, excluding the remainder of the people and Plebeians. And notwithstanding this entrance thus made, there was an addition to the number of these Nobles, of tenne persons in like sort ennobled, either for their riches or vertue, and these were made choice of euerie yeare, applying their paines still frō hand to hand.

An obseruation made concerning the best Families in Geneway, deriued of six and amounting to eight and twentie.

The noblemen more added to the former number of eight and twentie.

With all this prouidence, they could not yet so well preuaile, but in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred seauenty and foure, a new tumult arose in the Common-wealth, and as in the wonted ciuile dissentions: so a diuision happened that yeare, betweene two factions, termed olde and new. The principall occasion which moued this contention, was, that the olde side, being not contented to haue the greater part of authoritie in the Common-wealth; did mortally hate the new side, abhorring & disdaining (albeit that the new side, both for auncient Nobility, and true vertuous merit, were equall to them in al respects) to ioyne in kindred with them. This was infinitely

A new tumult between two factions, olde & new in the Common-wealth.

Matheo Senarega a man of great account among the Genewayes, striuing to asswage this perturbation.

infinitely displeasing to *Mattheo Senarega*, a Citizen of most eminent authority, and who (at that time) was great Chancellour, and chiefe Secretarie of the Common-wealth; also had beene principall of the new side more then once, and both of the publike & priuate Councell; with very singular Eloquence hee intreated them, affirming, that it was not well, that such diuersitie of interests and priuate respects, should haue life in one and the same City: shewing also by liuely reasons, how auaileable it was to euery man, and likewise profitable for the State, that all should conuerse and like mutually together.

There are none so violēt as wilfull aged men, when they are groūded on an obstinate opiniō.

But the words and euident reasons of *Senarego*, failing of sufficient efficacie, puffed vp the olde side with greater obstinacie, yet drew a farre better opinion of the new, prouoking so farre to defend them, that oftentimes he was in danger of his life among them. For the old side did greatly enuie, that the authoritie of *Senarega* should pearch to such a height, that in him onely should be reposed, the efficacie of the publike and priuate gouernement. Neuertheless, *Senarega* opposing their pernicious demonstrations with wonderfull wisedome, mooued especially (as the fame went) by a generous disdaine, wrought in such sort, that the new side assumed the chiefe place in gouernement, excluding (well-neare) all the olde, constrayning them to forsake their Countrey, if they attempted any Armes or violence against the new side.

The new faction preuailed by generall voice against the olde, by the meanes of Senarega.

These words would much haue stirred the Common-wealth, if *Senarega*, fore-seeing the weighty perill, and preferring the publique good of all (beeing most iustly to be affected) before any priuate respect whatsoeuer, had not brideled the head-strong course of intended hostilitie. Wherefore hee wrought so painfully with the *Genewayes* themselues, the Emperour, the King of *Spaine*, and especially with Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, all fauoring him with their helpfull assistance, as the tumults in the Citty were quieted, and after some few desperate accidents, the furie of Armes was quite blasted, wherein both the faithfulnesse of *Senarega*, and his admirable wisedome euidently appeared. Hee being appointed (by vniuersall consent) Ambassadour to *Rome*, with infinite prouidence and care (to the honour of the Common-wealth, and his owne great reputation) discreetely qualified both factions, already growne to such a head on either side, both by power and maleuolence; as not onely threatned danger to the Countrey it selfe, but likewise to haue filled all *Italy* with innumerable calamities and confusions; whereof the Pope (by his Breues) deliuered most honourable testimonie, writing the actions of *Senarega* to the * *Doye*, as also to the Procurators of the Commonwealth of *Geneway*.

* A Title belonging onely to the Dukes of Venice and Geneway.

All stirres and tempestuous tumults calmly ouer-blowing, by the diligent endenours of Senarega.

The great Councell.

A Councell consisting of 400. persons, and what authoritie they haue.

FRom the whole bodie of the before-recited Families, is congregated a Councel of foure hundred persons yerely, who together with the Duke and the Gouernours, haue the charge of the Common-wealth in their power. This Councell maketh election of the Duke, and of the eight Gouernours, (becausse the Gouernours are the iust number of eight) and haue care of the State for two yeares continuance. They mannage matters of importance, and concerning generall good, as also for the conseruation of the Seigniorie: and these Gouernours (with the Duke) are properly called the *Signoria*. But and if they are at any time to handle some occasions, which are not so important and weightie, but of meaner consideration: The *Signoria* haue a lesser Councell in readie seruice, consisting of an hundred men of the Nobilitie, elected by the *Signoria* by lotterie, and out of the maine bodie of the foresayd foure hundred.

The Signoria or dominion of Geneway.

A lesser councell of a hundred Noblemen.

The Duke.

The most eminent Officer in the Common-wealth, and his authoritie endureth but 2 yeares.

THe head or chiefe of the Common-wealth is the Duke, becausse he hath the Title and Honour which appertaine vnto him: and it is an auncient degree in the Citty, whereto by varietie of times, diuers persons haue attained, but not by any course of Lawe. He continueth for two yeares, and in all that time of his authoritie,

thority, he dwelleth in the publique Pallace, hauing fiue hundred high *Germaines* as his Guard, representing heerein the forme of an absolute Soueraignetie. At the beginning of the assumption of his magistracie, for two dayes hee is clothed in his Ducall ornaments; but afterward, and the whole consistence of his regiment, hee weareth other habites, but yet of Veluet or crimson Sattin, and sometime purple. His authoritie is very important, because hee onely, and not any other, may propound what cause he wil in Councel and in the Senate, which is forbidden vnto any other Senatour. Whereupon, whosoeuer would record any Lawe to the Common-wealth, or else propound a motion of some important matter, he must break it to the duke, and passe it by his meanes.

Wherein the Dukes authoritie consists aboue all other.

The manner of the Dukes elections is thus: The third day of the moneth of Lanuary, the Senate doth assemble with the lesser Councell, without the person of the passed Duke; because hee hauing ended his Office of two yeares, returneth the first day of Ianuary home to his own house as a priuate person, and remaineth a Procurator all his life time. The lesser Councell with the Senate, doe elect among them (by ballot) eight and twenty Noblemen, one for each Familie, who so soone as they are chosen, are called into the Pallace, and there shut vppe in a place by themselues, and there, together with those Senatours, who eyther in regard of age, or by contumacie of the Families are not capable of the dukedome: they elect eighteene men amongst themselues, one for a Familie; and those eighteene, together with the same Senatours, do elect another eight and twentie, which eight and twentie are called, and beeing lockt vp with the aforesayde Senatours, they proceede by ballotting them that are to bee propounded to the Councell to be Duke. But heere you must know, that they may propound no more to the great Councell, but foure persons onelie, and in the election of that number, it is necessarie, that the eight and twentie doe agree in two third parts among themselues, with the part of the aforesaide Senatours. This being agreed between them, before they come forth of the Consistorie, they elect another eight and twenty, one for each Family, who returne together with them, from ballotting the aforesaid foure. And they rise from their Election with the two thirds, and put in place of him or them (not formerly approoued) one, or more, but of the number of the Senate: which being done, the Councell meete together, and they propound the names of the foure men concluded on and elected by the Electors: whereupon, hee of the foure that hath the most ballots, is named for Duke. And at the time when I wrote this discourse in that honourable degree of Duke, was chosen the most curteous and famous Lord, *Paulo Baptista Caluo*, sometime a Iudge, a most worthy man, for goodnesse of life, and practise in the worlds occasions.

In what manner the Duke is elected on Ian the 3. day

Ballotting is a kind of choise by Bullets, or small balles, which eache man puts in on his behalf, whō he would haue in nomination.

Paulo Baptista Caluo, elected duke of Geneway.

Of the eight Gouernours.

THere sit vpon the Bench (with the Duke) eight Gouernors, as his councellers, and their Office doth endure for two yeares: and they, with the duke are named the *Signoria*, and gouerne the Common-wealth. All these together cannot deliberate on any thing, wherein the interest of the people is concerned, or of any chiefe important business; but they call for the ayde of the Great Councell. These Gouernors are elected by two at a time, at sixe and sixe months; and their elections made in this manner.

Councellers sitting on the Bench with the Duke.

The lesser Councell and the Duke being assembled together, they elect eight and twenty men, one for euery Familie, who beeing chosen by the Senate and Duke, doe propound sometimes twelue, sometimes foureteene men to the great Councell; who (by ballotting) do make election of one of them at a time. The next day following, they obserue the same order in electing the second, to wit, the lesser Councell do elect another eight and twenty, and that eight and twenty performe the rest as hath beene said. Euery one of the eight Gouernors ending his office, remayneth Procurator or Atturney for two yeares space: so that in the Colledge of the Proctors, there are alwayes eight, that stand for the gouernement of the Common-wealth; and all these come into the Senate with the duke, and with the eight Gouernors, deliberate-

The manner how the gouernours are chosen by the Duke and lesser Councell.

8. Procurators alwayes assisting the Common-wealth.

deliberating together on important matters; and thus with these Gouernours & the Duke consisteth the whole summe of the State. Two of them haue abiding in the Pallace, the other keepe at their owne houses; and they change by turnes two at a time, at three months, and three months.

Of the Procorators or Proctors.

CONcerning these Proctors, some of them liuing, doe come to be in the Office of Duke, and some doe remaine in charge but two yeares, and they are such as haue beene Gouernours. They haue care for procuring all publike occasions, collecting the rents and reuenues, and other such like businesse; being men of chiefe reputation, and of no meane importance.

The Proctors come to the highest dignitie of al.

Of the Potestate or Proctor.

ALL the forenamed Magistrats, do onlie attend vpon the gouernement of the Common-wealth. Next now, concerning matters of Iustice and Iudgement (speaking first of criminall causes) they are guided and ordered in common by a forraine Potestate, who is a doctor, and they graunt him an honourable stipend. He hath his residence in a Pallace, which is neare to the Dukes, and he heareth and iudgeth all offences happening; but can assigne no capitall punishment, without consent of the Senate. Two other Doctors, being strangers also, doe assist him, whereof the one is called the Iudge of Malefactours, and the other Fiscall or Atturney generall: and by the ayde of these two Iudges, all processe and suites are formed against guilty persons, dealing also in cases of like nature. Beside these afore-named, the Potestate hath his Vicar, who attendeth vpon Ciuile causes, onely executiue.

The Potestate is an Officer chosen abroad and not of the citty.

Two Iudges more as his assistants.

Of the extraordinarie Office.

THere is an Office of seauen men, called Extraordinarie, and these do represent (as it were) the Princes person, because he is busied in administration of the Common-wealth. Their care consisteth, in reforming and prorouging of variances, and granting tutors to Schollers. And because contention is forbidden betweene Parents and Parents, and betweene poore and rich by ordination: these men doe appoynt what magistrate they meete, to heare offending parent and kindred, as also the strifes betweene poore and rich. Their Office continueth the space of sixe months, and is of much dignitie.

Seauen men termed Extraordinarie Officers, & what their charge is.

Of the fiue supreme Sindicators.

THere is also a Magistracie, wherein are fiue men, called supreame Sindicators; They haue authority to arraigne, not onely the Duke, but the Gouernors also, after the expiration of their charge: and they haue the like power ouer all other magistrates of the Commonwealth, to punish both the Duke and Gouernours, finding them to bee delinquent.

And when the Duke is out of his Office, and that the Gouernours haue fulfilled their magistracie; a Proclamation is published by these Supreame Sindicators, That if any man haue ought to charge the Duke withall, or the Gouernors, let them appeare in their presence, and Iustice shall be done them. In which respect, the Duke and Gouernonrs haue eight dayes assigned them for this scindication; which beeing past, and they found in errour, they are punished: but being innocent, they haue a Pattent assigned them of their innocencie, whereby they are after called to be Proctours; because they cannot enter as Proctours, except they haue the Pattent from those Supreame men, to allow their expedition. Finally, the greatnesse of this Office is such, that the Common-wealth elected for one of these Supreame Scindicators the Prince *Andrea Doria*, the deliuerer of his Countrey. They are elected by the lesser Councell, with the Senate, and sit in the Pallace next to the Senate, for their respect.

Such as trie and arraigne the Officers of highest eminencie for their offences

The Duke and Gouernours haue eight dayes for their triall.

Of the Rota.

BEcause wee haue formerly spoken of criminall occasions, now let vs say somewhat concerning ciuile causes. Wherein ye are to know, that the Common-wealth doe make choice of fiue doctours,

Other Doctors, being strangers, appointed to cēture in ciuile causes.

tors, forraignes or ſtrangers, at euery 2. yeares, which bodie of authoritie is called *Rota*. Theſe men attend vpon Ciuile cauſes onely, and dwell in the Dukes pallace: Al ſuch matters as they cenſure on, are guided by ordinarie courſe of the Imperiall Lawes, forming their Proceſſe and ſuite, according to the iudiciarie order appointed for the Cittie, which is after the auncient maner.

Of the Cenſors.

NOw, as concerning Arts, Trades and Myſteries, Cenſors are appoynted to that charge. Theſe men do prouide, that buyers, ſellers, and all ſuch as traffick in handi-crafts, ſhall haue meaſures, weights, and all things elſe to them belonging, iuſt, and according to the auncient Lawes. And here we are to obſerue, that euery Art hath chiefe or head men, who are called Conſulles, which make election of Artiſts amongſt them. Theſe Conſulles haue authoritie in the matters of their Artes, and amongſt theſe Conſulls, ſuch as deale in ſilks, may command much ouer their men: ſo that their power extendeth, to put them to the halter, to baniſh them, and perforce ſend them to the Gallies, or to giue other caſtigations to delinquents.

Care for tradeſmen & ſuch as deale in all profeſſions.

Conſulls the chiefe men of euery trade.

Of forty Captaines.

IN the Cittie of *Geneway* there are forty Captaines, of the number and bodie of the Nobilitie, and they are changed euery yeare. Theſe men haue vnder them an hundred men (for one) of the people, ſo that they make (in all) foure thouſand perſons, and the Common-wealth is ſerued by them at all occaſions. For they make a guarde in time of the leaſt ſuſpition; and when the *Signoria* is abroad, theſe fortie Captaines (bearing them company) are all clothed in Veluet, goodly and honourable ornaments, meete to attend on ſo great Lords. Moreouer, all men in the Citty, and the whole Burrough, that are apt to carrie Armes, are regiſtred downe, from the age of twentie, to threeſcore, and are reduced vnder the gouernment of thoſe Captains, who (with them) ſtand alwayes obliged to be readily armed with weapons in hand, according to the auncient cuſtome ordained.

The militarie guarde & defence of the Cittie, and their ready preparation at all times and occaſions.

Of the Generall.

THe Common-wealth hath continually a Generall, who is appoynted for Armes, to ſerue in all occurrences, and in times of warre. At this inſtant it enioyeth (well deſeruing ſuch a degree, and to the ſatisfaction of all the Nobilitie, much pleaſing to the whole hoaſt of Souldiers, and vniuerſall liking of the people) the Lord *Auguſtino Spinola*, a moſt honourable and valiant Gentleman of that Citty, full of incomparable bountie and knowledge, not onely in the occaſions of Armes, but for all mannagements of the world beſide.

Auguſtino Spinola Generall of the Geneway forces.

Of the Office of Saint George.

THe Office and Magiſtracie of Saint *George*, moſt noble among all the reſt in the Cittie, was ordained in the yeare, 1407. It is now (by length of time) the conſeruation of that Common-wealth, which, in thoſe yonger dayes had not any naturall riches or wealth, fitting the qualitie of ſuch a Country: yet notwithſtanding, it wanted not men of quicke and apprehenſiue iudgement, to find out the way, and forme ſome means for procuring of moneys, that might ariſe to common vſe: whereupon, they that liued in thoſe auncienter yeares, and gouerned the publique occaſions, tooke vp moneys of particular perſons, ſome by conſtraint, others with much willingnes. And true it is, that in this money matter, ſuch priuate perſons as diſburſed any ſummes, the publique vſe payed them, tenne, nine, eight and ſeauen in the hundred, according to the varietie of times, to the end, that they might not ſuffer any endammaging, by ſuch ſeruice as they did for publique benefit.

At what time the Office of Saint George beganne.

Prouiſion for money alwayes in bank for the cities vſe.

Proceeding in this courſe, it made men willing, ready and cautelous, in ſeeking ſecurity for their moneys, dayly put into the publique Banque, by ſelling to ſome (as for example) the power and iuriſdiction of toll for meates; to others, the impoſts of wines, and to others the taxations layd on corne. And theſe contracts made both in publique and particular, was tearmed among them Bargaining and Buying, as when particular men bought any thing of the common ſort, or in generall.

Great ſtockes of coine ariſing out of meane and poore bsginning.

The beginning of trading and Societies in Geneway, onely by the Banquers that lent out moneis to vse.

And it was ordained, that whosoeuer disbursed an hundred pounds, hee was said to hold one place among the buyers: he that disbursed two hundred, had two places; and hee for three hundred, three, and so it passed from hand to hand. So that this kinde of commerce and vsance multiplied greatly, and had names of diuers ordinations; as of the Capitoll, of Saint *Paule*, and others of their profession, by dealing in Salt, and diuers other beside, whose Titles and Names grew by their trading, and helde correspondencie particularly among the best Cittizens, hauing care for iust payments, and the dues of the profites, with consideration of the Banquer, who alwayes ordered the contracts made publiquely or priuately. Heereupon, the number of dealers dayly encreasing, both by forraigne Nations and home-bred friends, which required diuersitie of Gouernours and Ouer-seers, and which else would grow to great confusion: it was therefore ordered by the *Signoria*, that all the Banquers should bee reduced and vnited into one absolute Societie, and named the Company of Saint *George*.

Eight gouernors or Ouer-seers of the Banquers, both for lending and allowances.

Beeing thus ordained, they were also appoynted to bee gouerned by eight Citizens from yeare to yeare, who prouided and gaue order, how the Banquers should let out their summes, and receiue in their interests and allowances, whereby they held the eminencie in the Office of Saint *George*. And in regard they perceyued, that this Office gouerned these matters with wisedome and iustice, businesse dayly encreasing, and the number of places supplyed by new persons: alienation of profits grew among the Commons, and the charge of the Office euery way to be greater, by reason of lands and communities interessed with them, so that the Office attained to many priuiledges: first, by the *Signoria* of *Geneway*, and afterward of many Popes, Emperors and great Lordes, which came to dominion in the Citty: So that the Office of Saint *George*, although it depended on the common people, as also the *Signoria* of *Geneway*: yet all that came to the gouernement or Seigneurie of the Cittie, were sworne to conserue the Priuiledges of the Magistracie of Saint *George*, and to maintaine it. And because (naturally) things take original of weake beginnings, and so in processe of time attayne to perfection: euen so did this magisteriall Office, being much better ruled now, then it could be at the beginning.

The daily increasing of the Office of Saint George.

First, in answering the profites to all Banquers, they are not so determinate nor certayne, as at the originall: but yet according to the proportion of former allowances, lesse or more, and according vnto expences for the conseruation of things of especiall care, and according to the fruitfulnesse of tolles and taxations, beside diuers other benefites, assigned by the Commons to the Banquers: they are farre more secure, and more neately qualified, concerning mens consciences.

The beginning of any affaires must helpe it selfe by the succes of times, and so attaine to true integrity.

Moreouer, this place hath obtayned Seigneury and dominion by many good and sufficient allowances, which it could not haue at the beginning. Beside, euerie way are made new rules and orders, whereby there is farre better expedition of Causes, for the punishing of delinquents, and submission of the people to gouernement.

Two Communities in Geneway, and how they are gouerned.

And whosoeuer doeth consider the high account of this Magistracie, shall finde the body of the Cittie; thereby to containe in it selfe two communities, the one great, the other lesse. The great is gouerned by the Pallace, and comprehendeth all the Citty; the lesser is gouerned by Saint *George* onely, as concerning the occasions before remembred, and comprehendeth all the Banquers and changers.

A note well worth the obseruation.

The first Communitie, or the greater, is subiect to variation, and is many times vnder regiment, rather to bee tearmed Tyrannicall then otherwise: but the lesser is alwayes free, firme, and vnder the Cittizens. And certainely, which is a matter admirable, and rarely found, eyther by Philosophers or others, that haue discoursed on causes concerning Common-weales, to obserue: that within the circuite of one and the same wall, and all at a time, there should be tyrannie and liberty, life ciuile and corrupt, iustice and licence.

of

Of eight Protectors of the Office of Saint George.

The manner of electing the new Protectors of Saint George.

CONcerning this Office of S. *George*, there are eight men appoynted to gouerne it, who are called Protectours. They continue for a yeare, and are elected euery six months foure times, by the whole number of the Banquers, or Creditors for lands, & Creditors for letting forth certain sums, after this manner. Among the whole number of Citty Creditors, by lot are chosen 80. men, who meeting together soone after their election, they make a suruey among al those foure score, and select out of them foure and twenty by balotting, who being shut vp in a roome by themselues: they may not sunder or depart, till they haue ballotted for the eight Protectors, and in this ballotterie, sixeteene ballots doe confirme the election.

An other Office called of foure and fortie, being chosen out of a thousand.

In the yeare 1444. an other Office was made of Saint *George*, consisting of men, which was then called the Office of foure and fortie, in regard of a thousand, out of which number they were created. The occasion of creating these eight men, was, that being the space of thirty seuen yeres, the Office so encreased and augmented, that the eight Protectors could not (in a whole yeare) terminate nor restrain the busie occasions happening, whereby the emoluments and interests of some creditors arose so great, and other moneys in diuerse manners: it was thought fit (for setting downe good order to such Remaines, which were (in effect) the riches and substance of the office) that a necessary participation of the gaines should be digested, for the creation of such as should helpe in this prouident care, for generall vtilitie of the Office of Saint *George*, and yet to be carried in secret manner, for taking away all occasion of tyranny. And so eight Cittizens were chosen; of which two are changed yearely: and they take charge of collecting and gouerning such ouer-plusses as do arise yearely, by the managements of the eight Protectors.

An addition of eight Cittizens more to the Office.

This Office hath vnder protection the Isle of *Corsica*, and many other Citties and important places: and thence ensueth the expences layd out for their conseruation.

* An Isle in the Sea Ligusticum.

CHAP. II.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate of Religion and Common-wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.

IT is not to bee doubted, but by the singular councell of our eternall God, the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who created mankinde, whereby a Church might bee assembled and congregated: a perpetuall historie concerning the creation of things, was giuen to men.

Democritus dreaming of a former world, & of innumerable worlds

And although that the Philosopher *Democritus*, and others like to him, dreamed of an eternitie of a former world, or else of innumerable worlds, and made a mockerie at the beginning of things, and thought such a recitall to be but fabulous: yet notwithstanding wee holde them to be most true, considering, that Almightie GOD approoued the Writings of *Moses* by apparant testimonies, as by the rayfing vp of the dead and others.

The auncient historie of the Church.

Now, albeit wee receiue the auncient Historie of the Church, and singularly allow it for the Diuine authorities: yet there are many more Euidences of trueth besides; for, the auncient names of people, doe agree with the succession of the Fathers that related them, and the order of Empires hath bene such, as they were foretold to be, and so should be in their succeeding times.

The propheticall Historie the trueft and most ancient.

The Propheticall Historie then is the trueft, and the most auncient of all other; and the reason of that continued Historie, was, not onelie to let vs know the beginning of mankinde: but much more to notifie vnto vs, the Promises of the Sonne of God, and to giue vs certainety of the first, and no way to be corrupted doctrine of God, and of the testifications so oftentimes rendred to other by that doctrine, what the gouernement of the Church hath beene; for it

was preserued in the diuersitie of tumults amongst Empires, like to a Shippe floating vppon raging and tempestuous billowes, what the battailes of the Church haue beene, and the exercises of Faith.

The great blessings of God vpon his Church.

Now, it was a great blessing of God, that hee gaue a certayne seating vnto his Church, euen as an Academie, for more then sixeteene hundred yeares in a commodious place, betweene two most potent Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, to the end, that throughout them both the voyce of his doctrine might be heard. There the Promises were repeated, and the Miracles adiusted, which are witnesses of the presence of God: whose will was to haue those things set downe in writing, to the end that Posteritie might be informed by true doctrine, in the conflicts of the Church, and her manifold recoueries.

Concerning the historie of latter times.

And although nothing is found in writing by publike authority, touching the last times; yet notwithstanding, our Lord was carefull to haue the latter Historie knowne, which hath beene declared partly by *Iosephus*, and partly by *Philo*, whereof I haue made a collection, because the more studious might enioy a continuall Historie of the Iewish people, euen to the destruction of *Ierusalem*. And it pleased God, that a continued succesſe of histories should remaine to men: for seeing that Prophetical histories reached so farre as the reigne of the Persians, or to King *Cyrus*; the Greeke and Latine histories afterward, reported the great mutations of the following Empires, which also was seconded after by the Apostles writings, concerning the Sonne of God, borne of the Virgine *Marie*, crucified and raised againe; and after the Apostles, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Nicephorus* pursued in the Ecclesiasticall Historie. Wherein I make no doubt, but all such as are well aduised, will confesse, that the knowledge of the order of Times is necessarie, to vnderstand when the Doctrine was reuealed, the Sonne of God manifested, the Church congregated in diuers kinds, sometimes agitated by tempestuous stormes; and yet (after all) graciously deliuered. Wherefore, let vs giue thankes to God, for bestowing on men the continued Historie of his Sonne; and let vs keepe such Writings religiously: where-

Propheticall historie reached to the time of Cyrus King of Persia

The Church after many stormes happily deliuered

in hauing taken some paines, I hope it will proue pleasing to all Christian Readers.

The beginning of the Catalogue is the continuation of soueraigne Sacrificers, or high-Priests that gouerned the Iewish people, after their returne from *Babylon*, with the princes issued of the race Royall.

The first Familie being *the Posteritie of* Iesus.

CHAP. III.

A Catalogue of the High-Priests; or soueraigne Sacrificers, beginning with Seraia and his sonne Iosedech.

Seraia and Iosedech.

BOth these were led captiue into *Babylon*, by *Nabuchodonosor* King of the Chaldeans, and dyed in exile.

Iosuah sonne to Iosedech.

Iosuah or *Iesus*, the sonne of *Iosedech*, came backe into *Iudea* with the Prince *Zorobabell*, fiue hundred and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. He liued vnder the Kings of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, euen to the twentieth yeare of *Artaxerxes*, *Long-hand*, and presided (as chiefe Priest) first sixe and thirty yeares. Afterward, in regarde that the building of the Temple was hindered, he went into *Babylon* to *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, whom the Holy Historie nameth *Assuerus*, and was absent the space of eight yeares. After his returne hee was twenty yeares more in the high-Priesthood. *Philo* is of opinion, that he wrote the Historie of *Iudith*, which others (neuertheless) holde to be more ancient.

Darius sonne of Hystaspes, or Ahasuerus

The

The sonne of Iesus was Ioachim.

Ioachim the sonne of Iesus or Iosuah.

IOachim helde the Priest-hoode eight yeeres, in the absence of his brother, and eight and fortie yeres after his death. Hee liued vnder *Long.hand*, and *Darius* the Bastard, vntill the twelfth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ahashuerus*, who was also named *Mnemon*; hee did set downe in writing the Historie of *Hester*, and the memorie of *Phurim* was by him instituted, as *Philo* writeth.

Eliasib the son of Ioachim.

Eliasib was his sonne, who was in Office of the Soueraigne Priest-hoode one and twentie yeares, vntill the foure and thirtieth yeere of the reigne of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

Iudas or Ioiada sonne to Eliasib.

Iudas or *Ioiada* sonne to him, was hie-Priest foure and twenty yeares; vntill the third yeare of the reigne of *Darius*, who succeeded next to *Mnemon*,

Iohn and Iesus sonne of Iudas.

Iohn and *Iesus* were his sonnes, the latter whereof beeing fiered with ambition, insinuated himselfe (by the power of giftes) into the fauour of *Vogeses*, Satrape of *Persia*, to take (by his helpe) the chiefe Priest-hood from his Brother: But immediately hee payed the penaltie due vnto his wicked presumption; for in a debate and blowes being moued in the temple, he was slaine by his brother. Heere was the beginning of the euills in *Iudea*, about an hundred, sixtie and seauen yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*.

Vogeses entred with an Armie into Ierusalem, & profaned the Temple.

Iohn hauing murdered his brother *Iesus* in the Temple, was the cause of bringing the people into a miserable seruitude. For, the Satrape *Vogeses* being aduertised of the death of his friend *Iesus*, entred with a mightie Armie into *Ierusalem*, prophaned and pilled the Temple, saying, That he might aswell doe so, as the high-Priest to soyle it with the blood of his owne Brother: he collected the tribute money rigorously for the space of seauen yeares together, proceeding therein so farre, as forcing the Iewes to pay an hundred crownes of the Sunne, for euery beast that they sacrificed. *Iohn* held the high-Priest hood foure and twenty yeares, euen vnto the death of *Ochus*, and the beginning of the reigne of *Arsanes*.

His Sonnes were Iaddus and Manasses.

Iaddus and Manasses sons to Iohn.

Manasses following the example of *Iesus*, to strengthen himselfe against his brother, made alliance with *Sanaballat* the *Chuttean*, sent *Satrape* by the last *Darius* into *Samaria*, and tooke to wife his daughter *Nicossa*. But in regard of this vnlawfull marriage, hee was repulsed from the Sacerdotall Office, with diuerse others for the same cause. Beeing bereft of the Priesthoode, hee made his recourse to his Father in lawe in *Samaria*, who after he had obtayned leaue of *Alexander* the Great; builded a new Temple vppon an high mountayne in *Samaria* called *Garizim*, shaping it after the forme and magnificence of that at *Ierusalem*, and there hee caused his sonne *Manasses* to preside.

A new Temple built on mou: Gerazim in Samaria.

This diuision of High-Priests, was afterwards the cause of great tumults in *Iudea*; for, as all they which were expelled from *Ierusalem*, for transgressing the Ceremonies of *Moses* Lawe, as also for some other offences, betooke themselues to this new Temple: in a short time after, they grewe to such an head and strength, that inciting those Sacrificers, Apostates and Samaritans against the Iewes: it likewise gaue occasion to many riotous courses and theeueries on either side.

Great strifes and contentions betweene the two Temples.

Nothing was found by posteritie of this *Manasses*: but two hundred yeares after, the Temple on this Mount of *Garizim* was destroyed from the toppe to the bottome, by *Iohn Hircanus*, sonne vnto *Simon* the *Asmonean*, and Successor to him.

Iaddus administred the hie-Priesthood for seauen and twentie yeares, vnder *Arsanes*, and the latter *Darius*, euen to the time of *Alexander* the Great. He depriued his brother *Manasses* (and the rest) of the right of Priesthood; because (contrary to the Law of Almightie God) they had married with strange women. While *Alexander* the Great besieged the Cittie of *Tyre*, hee demaunded aide and tribute of this *Iaddus*, such as the Iewes had formerly payed to the Persians. Whereto he returned answer, That in the life time of *Darius* (to whom hee tooke his oath)

Iaddus depriued his brother Manasses of the Priesthood.

The answer of Iaddus to Alexander the great, concerning aide and tribute.

he neuer acknowledged any other Lord, becauſe that the Iewiſh Nation had been tributarie to the Kings of *Perſia*, almoſt euer ſince their returne from *Babylon*. *Alexander* growing angrie at ſuch an anſwere; after the taking in of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, mounted vp to *Ieruſalem* with his Armies, intending to ſubiugate the Iewes by ſtrength of Armes.

Iaddus meetes Alexander with all ſubmiſsion.

But *Iaddus* beeing thereof admoniſhed in a dreame, tooke his Prieſtlie garments, and went to meete him in great humilitie, accompanied with all the Sacrificers and Citizens. *Alexander* beholding the Soueraigne high Prieſt, alighted on his feete, and gaue vnto him reuerend adoration. Being demaunded what ſhould mooue him to reuerence an enemie, that came with ſubmiſſiue entreatie vnto him: hee replyed: *At the time of my abiding in Macedon, and thinking on the Empire of Aſia. a man was preſented to mee in my ſleepe, in the ſame or like habite as the High Prieſt weares, who perſwaded mee to vndertake the expedition of Aſia, and gaue mee good hope of proſperous ſucceſſe.*

Alexanders repetition of his dreame.

When hee was entred the Cittie, he was ſo farre from offering the leaſt taſte of an enemy, that, after hee had ſacrificed, he adorned the Temple with magnificent giftes, and at his departing hee gaue them libertie to vſe the Lawe of their Fore-fathers, and the immunities of the ſeauenth yeare, wherein the fields were not ſowne.

The ſonnes of Iaddus were Onias and Manaſſes.

Manaſſes Nephew to Eleazar.

CONcerning *Manaſſes*, wee reade not any thing, but that hee ſucceeded next to his Nephew *Eleazar*, and was a friend to *Seleucus Gallinicus*, and that vnder his gouernement, the Samaritanes being diſpleaſed at the Iewes in deſpight of the Temple, and ſeruices there performed, they put to fire and ſword the whole territory of *Ieruſalem*. Some are of opinion, that this man was not the brother to *Onias*, but rather the brother vnto his wife, and make thereabout ſome controuerſie.

A Catalogue of the High Prieſts Onias called the Auncient.

The crueltie of Ptoſomie againſt the Iewes.

IN this mans time, *Ptolomie*, the ſonne of *Lagus*, deſiring to make the people of the Iewes become tributarie; as hee entred vpon a Sabaoth day into the Cittie of *Ieruſalem*, to offer Sacrifice (the Iewes not daring to take Arms, for feare of doing contrary to the Law) vſed great cruelty againſt the Inhabitants, of whom he led away into *Egypt* ſome thouſands, as captiues and hoſtages.

The Sonnes of Onias were Simon and Eleazar.

Simon ſirnamed Iuſtus was gracious to his nation.

Simon was named *Iuſtus*, for pietie and benignitie towards his Nation. The Iewes enioyed peace vnder him, all the while as the Succeſſours of *Alexander* the great, *Antigonus*, *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and the reſt, fought in *Aſia* and *Greece* for the Monarchie.

Eleazar ſucceeded after his brother *Simon*, as Tutor to *Onias* the ſecond, being as yet a childe. In his time, *Ptolomie Philadelphus* enfranchiſed aboue an hundred thouſand Iewiſh ſlaues, led into *Egypt*, partly by the Kings of *Perſia*, partly by his father *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Lagus*.

An hundred thouſand Iews kept in ſlauery ſet at libertie by Ptolomie Philadelphus.

Moreouer, he ſent Ambaſſadors with magnificent Preſents to *Eleazar* the high Prieſt, requeſting to haue threeſcore and twelue Iewes, that could tranſlate the Writings of *Moſes* and the Prophets, out of the Hebrew language into the Greeke. Which being done, hee ſent them backe agayne with great giftes, and a Table of golde dedicated to the Temple, and other Preſents of eſpeciall value. His vnckle *Manaſſes* ſucceeded after his death; vnckle by the mother only, according to ſome: for the Greeke word ſignifieth vncle both by father and mother.

The 3 ſonnes of Simon, and a daughter alſo.

Simon had three ſonnes; *Tobias*, whom *Philo* and Saint *Luke* in his third chapter calleth *Mattathias*; *Ioſeph*, that pacified *Ptolomie*. And *Annas Hyrcanus*, the laſt Prince of the Iewiſh people, of the Linage of *Iuda*, and houſe of *Dauid*: who ſlew himſelfe, for feare of *Antiochus* the Noble.

After this man, the high Prieſts drew vnto themſelues the gouerning in all affaires.

The daughter of *Simon* the high Prieſt

Priest, was married to *Tobias*, of the house of *Dauid*.

Onias being left a childe by his Father, at last, in his age succeeded to *Manasses* in the High-Priest-hood. By his auarice he offended *Ptolomy*, King of *Egipt*, and raised him in rage against the *Iewes*, because hee refused to pay the ordinary tribute. For the high-Priests were wont to pay their reuennues yearely to the Kings of *Egipt*, for their Cittizens, amounting to twenty Talents, that is, twelue thousand crownes of the Sunne. But *Ioseph* afterward appeased *Ptolomy*, who was Nephew to *Onias* by the Sisters side, a Prince of the posterity of *Dauid*.

King Ptolomy enraged against the Iewes about the tribute-money.

Onias succeeded his sonne Simon.

Philo saith, that he was sirnamed *Iustus*. Vnder him, *Iesus* the Sonne of *Syrach* wrote his Book called *Ecclesiasticus*. And that *Simon* had three sonnes also, who (each after other) obtayned the Priesthood, which *Iosephus* testifieth apparantly. The Sonnes of *Simon*, were,

Ioseph. in Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 16.

Onias. Iesus, otherwise called Iason. Onias, also called Menelaus.

The great *Onias* is commended in the second Booke of the *Machabees*, for his piety and iustice, and is saide, that hee was a friend to *Seleuchus*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble; who sometimes furnished all necessary affaires in the Temple, with the reuennues of the Realme of *Syria*. But afterward, another man, called *Simon*, who had the charge of keeping the Temple, hauing conceyued malice against *Onias* the high-Priest; reported to King *Seleuchus*, that there was an infinite masse of gold hidden in the Temple, which the Priests applyed to their own priuate vses. And this was the cause, that the king wold no longer furnish the Temple with the wonted monyes; but also sent *Heliodorus*, to make seizure on the wealth, and commit it to the Kings Treasury. But as hee would haue audaciously haue entered (with his followers) into the secret place of the Temple, he was smitten downe, & very neere dead, yet recouered againe by diuine mercy, and by the prayers of *Onias*.

Onias commended for piety and iustice.

Heliodorus sent to seize on the wealth and treasure of the temple.

Afterward, the discord so encreased between the Prince of the high-Priests, and the Traitor *Simon*; that many murders were committed by the friends of *Simon*: which made *Onias* to retire himselfe towards the King *Seleucus*, and gaue way to the fury of his enemies. But before *Onias* could get thether, *Seleuchus* was dead, and *Iason*, Brother to *Onias*, had obtayned by bribes and gifts to *Antiochus* the Noble (succeeding the deceassed King) the administration of the high-Priests office. Whereupon, *Onias* doubting King *Antiochus* as much as his Brother; durst not go to him, but went to a free place, neere to *Daphne*, a city of *Syria*, & being drawne thether by deceitfull meanes, was also slaine by *Andronicus*, Lieutenant to the King, and at the requeſt of *Menelaus*, whō *Iason* hauing expulsed, possessed himselfe of the high Priests Office, as heereafter shall be declared.

Iason getteth the High-Priests Office from his Brother Onias.

The murder of great Onias.

The Sonne of this Onias the Great, was Onias.

Onias beeing left young at his Fathers death, and afterward growing to more ripenesse of yeares; standing in feare of *Alcinus* the high-Priest, he fled into *Egipt* to *Ptolomy Philometor*, accompanied with some of his feilow-cittizens. There *Ptolomy* gaue him permission, to builde a Towne and a Temple, in the Territory of *Heliopolis*, in resemblance of that at *Ierusalem*; which was called *Onion*, fiue great miles from *Memphis*, now called the great *Cayro*. For in regard that *Ptolomy* waged warre with *Antiochus* the Noble, & stood in need of his neighbours succors, he was perswaded by *Onias* to build a Temple, as if by that meanes, all the people of the *Iewes* would league with the Kings of *Egipt*, & take their part. About 230. yeares after this Temple was built, at the same time as the Citty and Temple of *Ierusalem* were ruined; it was also despoyled of all her Iewels, and shut vp by Edict from *Vespasian* the Emperor.

Onias flyeth into Egypt, to Ptolomy Philometor.

The building of a new temple in Egipt.

The Sonnes of this Onias, dwelling in Egipt, were Helchias and Ananias.

These two Brethren, beeing Colonels of the *Egiptians* Army, ayded valiantly *Cleopatra*; so that her Sonne *Lathurus* being excluded, she obtayned the kingdom. But

The two brethren Commanders of the Egyptians Army.

But after that *Ptolomy* had recollected his forces, and passing into *Egipt* through *Iudea*; *Helchias* putting him to flight with his Army, died in *Syria* of a sharpe disease. For the rest, wee reade nothing of the posterity of the high-Priests of *Egipt*.

Iesus, named *Iason* also, second Sonne to *Simon*, after the death of *Seleuchus*, bought of *Antiochus*, brother and successor to *Seleuchus*, the high-priesthood, for fiue hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of gold, as wee speake vulgarly; promising him beside as an ouer-plus, forty eight thousand crownes of the Sun, as an annuall tribute. And to gaine himselfe more grace with this wicked King, he builded places in *Ierusalem*, for the exercising of young people, in such pastimes as he had instituted, and these were to bee performed, at such times as the people vsed to meete in the Temple. He receiued and magnificently entertained *Antiochus Epiphanes* with his Army, with Lamps and flaming fires, & songs composed in praise of the King: and this was at such time as the King departing thence, planted Garrisons of strength in the Fortresses of *Ierusalem*, and this was but a beginning to the intollerable seruitude which afterward followed.

The High-Priests Office bought for 500. Talents.

The entertainment of king Antiochus into Ierusalem.

Iason hauing enioyed the high-Priesthood three yeares, sent his Brother *Menelaus* with gold and great charge to *Antiochus*: but now hee prooued to be payed with coyne of the same stampe, as before he had done to his brother *Onias*; for by the same crafty contriuing, *Menelaus* set him quite beside the Priesthood. And *Iason* standing now in feare of *Menelaus*, with-drew into the land of the *Ammonits*, where he closely concealed himselfe, vntil a false rumour ran abroad, that *Antiochus* entring *Egipt*, dyed. These newes so cheered vp his drooping spirits, that being accompanied with a thousand men in arms, he intruded vpon the Citty, where being fauoured by the inhabitants, for the rapines and cruelties committed by *Menelaus*; he slew many of *Antiochus* his faction, and compelled *Menelaus* to saue himselfe in the *Syrians* Garrisons kept in the Forts.

Iason is iustly requited for treachery to his brother Onias.

Iason soone encouraged, and as quickly daunted againe.

But hearing the returne of *Antiochus* from the Land of *Egipt*, and losing all hope of the Priesthood, againe he retired among the *Ammonites*, of whom he could not now be receiued, standing in feare of *Antiochus*, who was neere at hand with his army. Expulsed also (for the same reason) by *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, out of his marches, and hauing no accesse into *Egipt*, & lastly, forsaken of all; he passed by Sea to the *Lacedemonians*, among whom hee was concerned in kindred: and yet, as a iust punishment for his ambition, he dyed very poorely in banishment.

The miseries and wretched end of Iason.

Onias, named *Menelaus* also, the third Sonne of *Simon*, according to *Iosephus* (albeit in the second Booke of the *Macchabees*, he is not said to be the Sonne of *Simon* the High-Priest, but brother to one *Simon*, of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, who had charge of the Temple, as we saide before in speaking of *Onias*) beeing sent to King *Antiochus* the Noble, by *Iason*, Prince of the sacrificing Priests, with money and commission about important affayres; did so cunningly insinuate himselfe, into the good grace of the King and his Courtiers; that by promising three hundred Talents (which is an hundred and fourscore thousand crownes of the Sun) more then all that which *Iason* payed, and accusing him of diuers crimes beside: he preuailed so farre, that the Soueraigne Priesthood was taken from *Iason*, and conferred on him in his stead.

2 Macchab. cap. 2. 3.

Menelaus his cunning insinuating with the King and Courtiers.

This dignity thus obtayned, he pursued the same impieties as *Iason* did, in the customes and manners of the Pagans, & farre exceeding him in rapines and cruelties. For at the entring into his gouernment, to make himselfe the surer of so ill-gotten honour; he slew *Onias*, eldest Son to *Simon* his brother, as *Iosephus* affirmes, who being exiled, kept close in a franchised place neere *Daphné*, a Towne in *Syria*; there hee caused him to bee murdered by *Andronicus* (Gouernour of *Cœlosyria*) by fraud and treason, and for which offence, *Andronicus* was sentenced with death by the King.

Menelaus more wicked then his Brother Iason.

Afterward, being vnable to furnish the great payment of money hee had promised to the King; he solde many vessels of gold, which he had couertly stolne out of the Temple: which sacriledge comming to be knowne, great mutinies were moued among the people. At length, *Menelaus* was accused and conuinced by three Ambassadors, sent from *Ierusalem* to *Tyre*. But by the meanes of a Courtier, named *Ptolemy*

Menelaus sacriledgiously robbeth the Temple, and yet carieth it away by corruption.

Ptolomy (soundly corrupted with money) hee was absolued and the King pacified, preuailing withall so farre, that his accusers were executed for calumniators: and he returning backe to *Ierusalem*, began againe to tyrannize ouer the Cittizens.

Prodigious signes seene in the ayre, foretelling lamentable euents that followed.

Much about this time, for the space of forty dayes, there appeared in the Heauens, hoasts or bands of men, fighting both on horsebacke and foote: which prodigious signes, prognosticated the horrible calamities which soone after were to follow. For as *Antiochus* was leading his Army (the second time) into *Egipt*, purposing to vsurpe the Country by open warre, seeing he could not do it vnder colour of Guardianship, because *Ptolomy Philometor* (his Nephew) was yet but young: *Iason* rushed into the Citty with his Army, againe to repulse his brother from the Priesthood, ouer-comming a great number of the Inhabitants, that tooke part with *Antiochus* and *Menelaus*. Who finding his strength too feeble, fled to the Fortresses and Garrisons of the *Syrians*, dispatching messengers vnto *Antiochus* for better ayde.

Antiochus enforced to depart from Egipt, cometh before Ierusalem.

And now *Antiochus* being vrged thereto by the rigorous command of the Romanes, and deliuered by *Popilius*; left *Egipt*, comming thence in a raging madnes, fearing a further reuolt of the Iewish Nation. Hauing brought his Army before the Citty, hee found the Gates fast shut, and the inhabitants ready to defend themselues. Whereat being vexed, he forced into the Citty without any great difficulty: because *Menelaus* with his faction, and the *Syrian* Garisons ran vp and downe in the Citty, and put to the Sword many Cittizens, and giuing entrance to the enemy at the Gates. Being entred, *Antiochus* charged his people to kill all that they met with in Armes, and not to spare eyther age or sexe: so that within three dayes space, fourescore thousand men (or thereabout) were slaine in *Ierusalem*, beside diuers thousands ledde away captiues, and sold for slaues.

A pittifull massacre of men in the Citty, & many solde into slauery.

The King, conducted by *Menelaus*, entred into the most holy part of the Temple, touching with his polluted hands the sacred Vessels, which he caused to be carried thence into *Syria*, with a thousand, eight hundred talents of treasure, as much to say, as eleuen Tuns of gold of our money: which treasure had bin partly giuen to the Temple, and partly was put there in trust for the benefite of widdowes and orphanes, as into the onely surest place both for reuerence and sanctity. So, after *Antiochus* had restored *Menelaus* to the high-Priesthood againe, and had planted strong Garisons in the Citty (wherof *Philip* of *Phrygia* was Captaine, a man very bloody and cruell) hee returned backe to *Antioche* again with his great booty. Two yeares after, fearing a reuolt of the *Iewes*, he sent the Colonell *Appolonius* to *Ierusalem*, with two and twenty thousand men, who expressed no countenance of an enemy, but encamped without the Citty, attending for the Sabboth day, and then giuing the determined signall, hee slew & massacred the vnarmed multitude, that came foorth to behold the Campe of the *Syrians*. Then entring violently into the Citty, hee put all to the edge of the sword that withstood him, robbing, spoyling, & burning it in many places, throwing downe the walles and fortifications: yet rampairing the Walles and Bulwarks, in that part called, *The Citty of Dauid*, and planting there a potent Garison.

Menelaus restored to the High-Priesthood againe, by Antiochus and Garisons planted in the Citty.

The Citty of Dauid in Ierusalem.

This was a preparatiue, to attaine (in time) to the Kings full ayme, who purposing to turne (perforce) the *Iewes* from the Law of their fore-fathers (a thing which he knew they would withstand to their vttermost power) first of all he gaue order, to dispossesse them of Armes and Weapons, leauing them naked of all munitions, succour and resistance. This discomfiture made by *Appolonius* in *Ierusalem*; soone after the King sent thether *Atheneus*, another of his Colonels, with an especiall Edict, whereby he commanded all Nations that were in subiection to him, to vse (in euery kingdome) the same Religion which the *Greekes* did: prohibiting expressely to the *Iewes*, the vse of circumcision, & other ordinances commanded them by God. He likewise planted Garrisons aswell in *Ierusalem*, as in other Cities and Townes of *Iudea*, to inflict cruell punishment on al them, that did not obtemperate the Kings Edict. Beside, the Temple was prophaned by the Kings Command, and the Image of *Iupiter Olympus* worshipped in the Sanctuary, euen in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and many paillardizes and whoredomes committed with-

The Iewes left naked of all meanes whereby to vse resistance, or helpe thēselues.

A cruell Edict sent out by Antiochus against the Iewes.

within the circuite of the Temple. Moreouer, by the same Edict Royall, the holy Bookes were forbidden ingenerall, and that man iudged worthy of death, with whom the Booke of the Law should bee found; yea, and seuere inquisition made for it euery Moneth.

The Citizens of Ierusalem durst make no opposition in their owne defence.

As thus the Cittizens of *Ierusalem* were disarmed, oppressed, & very strong Garisons planted ouer them: euen so were they destitute of any Captain, not daring to vse force or opposition, against the wicked commands and excessiue tyrannies of *Antiochus*: considering also, that *Menelaus* the soueraigne High-Priest, had formerly instituted the behauiorss vsed among Pagans in *Ierusalem*, to keepe himselfe in his dignity, & in the Kings fauour, approuing and assisting all his enterprizes; in which respect, many that made vertuous profession of the Law giuen by God, were most inhumanely murdered by the Soldiors of *Antiochus*, and their goods confiscated. Others (in great numbers) forsaking the City, and leauing all their goods behinde them, went to hide themselues in Caues and desert places, as *Mattathias* the *Asmonea* withdrew (accõpanied with his children) into the little Village of *Modin*.

The horrible punishment inflicted vpon two women.

In the second Booke of the *Macchabees* is described the horrible punishing of two women, who were accused to the Lieutenant of *Antiochus*, that they had circumcised their children, contrary to the Kings Edict. Whereupon, they were condemned, and (for a terror to other) they were led naked through the streetes of the City, their infants strangled, hanging at their breasts, and afterward throwne downe from the top of the City wall. There is also set downe, the seuen Brethren & their Mother, tormented with most exquisite tortures; and yet they helde fast the profession of the Law. By which horrible cruelties, iudgement may be made, aswell of the extreme rigour of *Antiochus*, as also the miserable estate of Gods people: of whom, some reliques were yet reserued, by meanes of the *Asmoneans*, raised vp by God, to represse the rage of *Antiochus*, & to maintaine the Law of God by Armes, as heereafter shall be declared.

The Asmoneans raised by God to represse Antiochus.

In the meane time *Menelaus*, Author, beholder and promoter of these inflictions vpon the people; retayned still the title of Soueraigne high Sacrificer, euen then when *Iudas Macchabeus* tooke (by power) the Citty and the Temple: he being then hid in the Fortresse, vnder the protection of the *Syrians*, vntill that after the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, hauing seized on *Ierusalem*, concluded peace with *Iudas Macchabeus*, and by the perswasion of *Lysias*, brought him captiue into *Syria*, as the firebrand of all the warre, and of the ouerthrowing of the *Syrian* Armies by the *Asmoneans*, and there he was also slaine, after he had held the high-Priesthood twelue yeares. This was the last Sacrificer of the posterity of *Aaron*, to whom the diuine right appertained, for administration of the Soueraigne Priesthood. For *Antiochus Eupator* appointed in the place of *Menelaus*, a certaine man named *Alcimus*, who might bee of *Aarons* posterity; but not of the Family of that *Iesus*, who with *Zorobabell* had returned from *Babilon* into *Iudea*. This *Alcimus* presided foure years, and then dyed of a sudden sickenesse, two yeares after the death of *Iudas Macchabeus*.

Menelaus taken and led Captiue into Syria.

The last high-Priest of Aarons posterity

Alcimus succeeded in the high priesthood.

Alcimus being dead, the Temple and the people was seauen yeares without a Soueraigne high-Priest, vntill such time as the power of *Ionathas* encreased, who was the Brother of *Iudas*: when the dignity of the Priesthood was transferred (by consent of the people) into the Family of the *Asmoneans*; where it remained so long, as to the beginning of the Reigne of *Herod*, about 116. yeares.

The High-Priesthood translated to the family of the Asmoneans.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the Asmoneans, being the second Family.

As much to say, as them of the posterity of Simon, *to whom the principality, as well of the High-Priesthood, as also of the Iewish people being transferred, it continued from the time of* Antiochus *the Noble, vntill the Reigne of* Herod.

Simon. Iohn. Mattathias.

THE Sacrificer of the Family of *Ioarib* of *Ierusalem*, dwelling in the Village of

The first opposition of the high Priest against King Antiochus.

of *Modin*, did first oppose himselfe against *Antiochus* the Noble; who, by horrible torments constrained the *Iewes* to transgresse their Law, and to deale in those behauiours vsed among the Pagans; in the hundred, forty and fiue yeare of the kingdome of *Syria*, an hundred fifty and nine yeares after the death of *Alexander*, and an hundred sixty and fiue yeares before the birth of Christ. For *Mattathias* seeing a certaine *Iew*, who (to please the King) sacrificed a forbidden beast vpon a Pagan Altar, it being prohibited by the diuine Law: enflamed with a iust and holy zeale (in the presence of the Cittizens of his owne Nation, suffering such a wicked acte to be done, as also of the Kings Lieutenant) slew the offender, and then beating downe the Altar, deliuered arms to all them, who (making more account of the word giuen by God, thē the threatenings of a Pagan King) had forsaken their goods, and liued in the Deserts, frō whence many returning daily; hee leuied a great Army, by whose helpe he deliuered worthily the neighbouring Townes, from the Idolatries of *Antiochus*, and replanted the seruice and ordinances commanded by the Law diuine.

Mattathias slew a Iew for sacrificing a forbidden Beast on a Pagan Altar.

Mattathias freeth the people from the Idolatries of Antiochus.

But this valiant man, deepely stept in age, after hee had (for a yeares space) led this banished wandring troope, and after he had exhorted his Sonnes to the study of piety, as also the valiant defending of the Law giuen by God, against the wicked Edicts and torments of *Antiochus*, reconciling them all to concord and mutuall reuerence, dyed peaceably, in thē yeare 146. of the Kingdome of *Syria*; 160. after the death of *Alexander*; and 164. before Christ was borne.

The death of the reuerend old man Mattathias.

Mattathias had fiue Sonnes.
Iudas, *Ionathas*, *Simon*, *Iohn*, and *Eleazar*.

Eleazar firnamed Amran or Anaram.

Eleazar, otherwise called *Amran* or *Anaran*, a very hardy young man, after he had performed many valiant deeds; in the fift yeare after his Fathers death, going to finde out *Antiochus Eupator*, Sonne to *Antiochus* the Noble, with his brother *Iudas*; he saw (among other) a goodly Elephant, exceeding in greatnesse & rich furniture. Whereby, hee imagining that the King should be vpon him, ran towards him ouer-boldly, and slaying many Soldiours euery where about him, got vnder the Elephant, and giuing a deadly stabbe in his belly, the Elephant fell downe vpon him, and thereby was the death of *Eleazar*.

Eleazar slain by an Elephant falling vpon him.

Iohn, firnamed *Gaddis*, after the death of his brother *Iudas*, was sent by *Ionathas* and *Simon* his other brethren into *Arabia*, with the Iewels & precious things which they had conquered in warre, to place them in the custody and guard of the *Nabatheans*: but the *Ammorites* layed ambushes by the way for him, and hauing slaine him, tooke also the spoyles away from him and his traine.

Iohn slaine by the Ammorites.

Iudas, was firnamed also *Macchabeus*, which diction in Hebrew is written *Maccabai*, wherof each letter signifieth a word, taken from the Song of *Moses* in *Exodus*, in these expresse words: *MECAMO CHA BAILEM IEHOVA?* That is to say: *Who is like vnto thee (O Lord) among the Gods? Iudas* vsing this sentence for his Motto or deuice, and making one phrase of the first Letters of the foure words, caused himselfe to bee firnamed *Macchabeus*. His father being neere his death, appointed him the cheefe guide & Leader of the poore and miserable multitude: who had rather endure all afflictions whatsoeuer, then renounce the doctrine giuen them by God. Soone after the death of his Father, he ouercame the Army of *Appolonius*, and made vse of his Sword in all the battailes he fought afterward with a smal band of men; he vanquished the Army of *Saron*, Gouernour of *Syria*, who was slaine in the field, and with him 8000. men. These victories obtained the first yeare, made *Iudas Macchabeus* highly renowned. The yeare following, which was the 147. of the *Greekes* reigne, *Antiochus* went into *Persia* with his Army, and left in the kingdome of *Syria*, *Lysias*, as Regent and Gouernor to his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, giuing him expresse charge to destroy the *Iewes*. For the execution of which command, *Lysias* sent into *Palestine*, forty thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, vnder the conduct of *Ptolomy*, *Nicanor* and *Gorgias* his Colonels, who entred hostilly with their Armies into *Iudea*, and encamped before the Village of *Emaus*. *Iudas* perceiuing perill, led his Army into *Maspha*, a place (long agoe) built before the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and very famous for Religion.

The name of Macchabeus. Exod. 15, 11.

Micamocha Baelim Iehoua.

Iudas made Leader of the people.

The valiant actes of Iudas Macchabeus.

Lysias made Gouernor of young Antiochus Eupater.

There

The small Army of men that Iudas had with him.

There he publikely commanded a fast, giuing charge, that by earnest and hearty prayer they should craue of God, that so small a handfull of men (for hee had but three thousand apt for warre with him) might valiantly defend themselues against so great a power of enemies. Which being done, he remoued his Campe, and went directly to confront the hoast of his aduersaries, and setting vpon them in the night season, droue them to flight, & slew three thousand with the Sword. Vpon the successe of this exploite, hee went to seeke the other part of the Army, which was guided by *Gorgias*, who intended to steale vpon the *Iewes* in the dead time of night. But *Gorgias* hearing the former defeature, and perceiuing the smoake of lighted fires in the Campe of the *Iewes*; fled away in haste with his forces. So *Iudas*, with so silly a power of people, enforced the huge hoasts of his enemies vnto flight, and got very great booties from them.

The wonderful successe of of Iudas against Gods enemies.

Lysias hauing intelligence of his mens ill successe, being mad with anger, leuied a farre greater power, to make fresh warre vpon the *Macchabees*. And the yeare following, which was the 148. of the *Greekes* reigne, himselfe in person (for hee grew distrustfull of his Captaines) accompanied with threescore thousand foote, all of them pickt and chosen men, & fiue thousand horse, inuaded *Iudea*, by passing thorow *Idumea*. And as he was encamped in *Bethsura*, on the Frontiers of *Iudea*, *Iudas Macchabeus* came to meete him with ten thousand men (so much was the number encreased, of them that detested *Ethnick* Idolatry) and after hee had inuoked publikely the ayde of God, hee fought with the enemy.

Lysias commeth with a mighty Army against the Macchabees.

Lysias perceiuing how couragiously the *Iewes* fought, as men that meerely despised death, breaking furiously through his rankes, his men beginning to turne their backes, and fiue thousand of them hewen in peeces; ralliered together his scattered troopes, and led them backe to *Antioche*, hoping to speede better at another time with a new expedition. Wherein he was preuented, by the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, who being repulsed frō besiedging *Persepolis*, as hee led backe his Army in ill order by *Babylon*, and beeing informed (by the way) what bad successe his Armies had sustained in *Iudea*: he fell first into a greeuous vexation of spirit, & afterward of body, so that his intestines were smitten with horrible diseases. Yet being nothing the milder by this visitation, but rather more vehemently prouoked against the *Iewes*: after his returne, he purposed a speedy iourney to *Iudea*; there to race their Citties, especially *Ierusalem*, and vtterly to extirpate the Iewish Nation. But as he proceeded on in this violent resolution, and making too much haste on the way; the Chariot (wherein he lay sicke) was ouerturned, and his body so bruised against the ground, also the extremity of his impatience so violent; that his blood ouer-boyled, his entrailes putrified, and his flesh outwardly rotted, yeelding forth a most loathsome and intollerable stinke, so that in wonderfull torments, he gaue vp the ghost, acknowledging the diuine vengeance of Heauen. Thus died this most cruell Tyrant, in the 148. yeare of the *Greekes* reigne; of his owne the 12. and the fourth, after those many robberies, as well of the Temple, as the Citty of *Ierusalem*.

The great & horrible iudgment of God declared in the death of Antiochus the Noble.

Iudas encountreth the great Army of Lysias.

Iudas Macchabeus, much encouraged by this so notable a victory, conducted his Army to *Ierusalem*; where he cleansed the Temple, formerly defiled and prophaned by the seruice of Idols, and offered sacrifices according to the Law, in the yeare of the *Greekes*, 148. before Christs Natiuity, 162. the 25. day of the Moneth of *Chisleu*, that is to say, Nouember; the very same day, that (three yeares before) it had beene robbed & prohaned by *Antiochus*, placing therein Images and Idols. He builded also *Sion*, and strongly munited *Bethsura*, that it might serue as a Fortresse against the *Idumeans*.

The returne of Iudas to Ierusalem, & his purifying the Temple.

Antiochus repulsed at his besiedging Persepolis.

Hauing done this, he kept his Armour daily on his backe, because he was still assayled by the *Idumeans*, *Ammonites*, and other, who laboured to ouerthrow the power of the Iewish Nation, which began to exalt it selfe in some good measure. But the brethren of the *Macchabees*, repelled those insulting Nations worthily, diuiding their Armies, & fighting fortunately in many places at a time, yet vsing their victories rudely enough. In the 150. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Iudas* laide siedge before the Forts of *Ierusalem*, which from the Garrisons made many courses; killing such

Iudas went daily with his Armour on.

Antiochus Eupator giueth aide to Menelaus.

such as would sacrifice in the Temple, & very much molested the Cittizens. But *Antiochus Eupator*, being vrged by *Menelaus*, to send him aide, for reliefe of them that were besieged in the forts; sent an army into *Iudea* by *Lysias*, consisting of 10000. foote, and 20000. horse, and besieged *Bethsura* a long time. In the meane while, *Iudas* beeing aduertised of the Kings comming in person thither, raised his siege from before the forts, and went to meet the enemy with his Souldiers, of whom he made some slaughters in diuers skirmishes. Yet finding himselfe to be oppressed by so ouer-great a multitude, retired into *Ierusalem*, where being enclosed within the munitions of the Temple; he endured a long and difficult siege, enforced (vpon the coming thither of *Antiochus*, who folowed after *Lysias*) to play vpon aduantages.

Antiochus layeth a very dangerous siedge to Ierusalem.

So long lasted this sharpe besieging, vntill the King, being certified of *Phillips* coming, who, vnder colour of reducing the *Persians* vnder the awe of *Epiphanes*, sought to possesse himselfe (as the fame went) of the Kingdomes both of *Asia* and *Syria*: offred peace to them that were besieged in the Temple, with libertie of liuing according to the laws of their forefathers. But after that *Iudas* had brought his garrison out of the Temple, the King being amazed at the fortifications, beat downe their walls, contrary to the accord made at the Temple, and led *Menelaus* the Soueraigne Sacrificer captiue away with him (according as we haue saide already) insti'tuting *Alcimus* in his stead, who also was named *Ioachim*, and so took his way home againe to *Syria*.

Menelaus led away captiue by king Antiochus into Syria.

CHAP. V.

Antiochus and Lysias are put to death by Demetrius; the wicked behauiour of Alcimus the high-Priest; the death of Iudas, and the succession of his brother Ionathas.

IN the 151. yeare of the Greekes, *Demetrius* flying from *Rome*, where hee had bin detained in hostage, made seizure on the kingdome of *Syria*: putting to death the sonne of *Epiphanes*, named *Antiochus Eupator*, and his Gouernour *Lysias*. Now *Alcimus*, coueting to retaine still the dignitie of the High-priesthood, conferred vpon him by *Eupator* and *Lysias*: went to *Demetrius*, and there accused all his nation (especially the *Asmoneans*) as Authors of the tumults, and perturbers of the peace of *Iudea*, & that they had throwne him out in banishment. Heereupon, the King sent *Bacchides* with a maine army, to reseate *Alcimus* in his office. Being entred *Ierusalem* with his power, by fraude hee slew many innocent Citizens, & leauing strong forces with *Alcimus* to safe protect him, returnd back into *Syria*. While thus *Alcimus* abused the power and fauor of the King, for putting many to death that were contrary to him: *Iudas* finding these courses to be intollerable, & taking to heart so great cruelty in the soueraigne Sacrificer; vndertooke the defence of innocents, putting all them to death that tooke part with *Alcimus*. Whereuppon, *Alcimus* fearing the vertue and power of *Iudas*, fled the second time to *Demetrius* at *Antioche*, and there formed a criminall accusation against *Iudas*.

The greedie desire of Alcimus for still enioying the Priesthood.

Bacchides entreth Ierusalem with his Armie.

Iudas vndertaketh to reuenge the outrages of Alcimus.

Nicanor then was sent with a puissant Army, who thought craftily to surprize *Iudas*, vnder a colour of kind conference, and so leade him along to the King. But this compact being discouered, he entred into open armes; and being fought withall by *Iudas* in plaine battell, was constrained to retire to the fort of *Sion*. Afterward, issuing forth of *Ierusalem* in great anger, all his forces assembled together; hee threatned all the sacrificing Priests with death and vtter destruction of their Temple, if they did not deliuer *Iudas* aliue to his hands. But *Iudas* hauing reinforced his Armie, encountred againe with *Nicanor* at *Bethsura*, in which battaile he slew the captaine *Nicanor*, & discomfited the whole army, being aboue 9000. men. This hapned the 13. day of the moneth *Adar*, which is February; and that day was afterward solemnely obserued, in regard of such a notable victorie.

Iudas fights with Nicanor in plaine battaile.

Nicanor slain by Iudas in the second battell.

After these successefull aduentures, *Iudas* perswading himselfe, that *Demetrius* would seek reuenge on the Iewes for this his great ouerthrow; deuised to strengthē his power by the assistance of strangers. Heereupon, hee sent Ambassadors to the *Romanes*, to capitulate vpon confederacy

Iudas craueth ayd and fauor of the Romanes.

with them, requesting (among other particulars) that the Senate would forbid *Demetrius*, heereafter to molest and afflict the *Iewes*. But (as humane succors are deceitfull) so the alliance of the *Romanes* was more discommodious to the *Iewes*, then if they had giuen them no ayde at all: because it made them the more sleepy and negligent, and also was more offensiue to the enemy. Whereupon it hapned, that the yeare following, being the 152. of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* sent *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* with a potent army into *Iudea*. There *Iudas* met them with two thousand men onely, and although the most part of thē slipt away, and forsooke his company, eyther thorow wearinesse of so long a war, or fearing the enemies power, or by the practises of *Alcimus*: yet notwithstanding, he ventred on the Army of *Bacchides*, with eight hundred braue Soldiors, and fighting valiantly, there he dyed with thē al, in the sixt yeare after his fathers death, good old *Mattathias*, and before the Natiuity of Christ, 158. yeares.

Bacchides & Alcimus sent with an Army into Iudea.

The valiant death of Iudas Macchabeus.

The yeare following, which was the 153. of the *Grecians* Reigne, *Alcimus* caused the walles of the inner house of the Temple to be destroyed, which the ancient sacrificing Priests had builded: to the ende, that not any munition should remaine, which might serue to retreate the aduersaries to the Kings of *Syria*. And hardly had they begun to beate it downe, but he was smitten suddenly with a Palsy, and therein surrendred vp his soule: but he had continued dumbe some long time before; and this was in the fourth yeare of his Priesthood.

Alcimus striken with a sudden palsie dyed.

Ionathas the second Sonne of Mattathias.

Ionathas followed next in degree to his brother Iudas

Ionathas, or *Ionathan*, succeeded in the principality to his brother *Iudas*, and by this occasion. After the death of *Macchabeus*, while the *Iewes* (which had embraced the manners and religion of the Pagans) grew to be more emboldened, and sought for all those well disposed people, that had followed *Iudas* & his Brethren, sending them to *Bacchides* to bee cruelly murdered; adding also the famine, which greatly encreased, because, during these continuall warres, the fields had bene left without any tillage, so that the best persons, and which had most vnderstanding in religion, were extremely anguished: they made their recourse to *Ionathas*, entreating him to vndertake the defence of the poore afflicted, and to imitate therein the vertue and piety of his brother. *Ionathas* consenting to thē, soone after made head mainly against *Bacchides*, and hardly escaping, retired his Soldiors into the desert, where *Bacchides* made no account to pursue them; but fortefied some Townes, and planted strong Garisons in them, daily to torment the *Iewes* by sallies & courses. Which being done, he retreated back his Army into *Syria*, after the death of *Alcimus*. By which meanes, the *Iewes* had some relaxation from warre, for about the space of two yeares, to wit, the 154. and 155. of the *Grecians* reigne.

Ionathas vndertaketh the cause against Bacchides.

In the yeare, 156. *Bacchides* was againe incited by the apostate *Iewes*, to surprize (by some sudden aduantage) the two brethren of *Iudas*: but the ambushes being reuealed, hee came and openly assaulted them in the Towne of *Bethessen*. Neuertheless, perceiuing the Towne to be well munited, and the *Iewes* furnished with all fitting matters, as fully resolued to defend themselues valiantly: he made peace with *Ionathas*, and the captiues beeing surrendred on eyther side, tooke his way backe to *Syria*, which was the cause that *Iudea* had some time of repose and quietnesse.

Bacchides made a peace with Ionathas

The yeare 160. *Alexander* the Noble, who sought to possesse himselfe of the kingdome of *Syria*, which was then vsurped by *Demetrius*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble, and vnderstanding the power of *Ionathas*; sent Ambassadours to him with worthy presents, to practise with him for to ioyne in his intention, offering him (moreouer) the Soueraigne Priesthood, on condition, that he would ayde him against *Demetrius*. Beside, he solemnly inuited him to the mariage, which hee had purposed in the Citty of *Ptolomais*, with *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Ptolomy Philometor*. *Ionathas* being allured by these offers, vnder hope of enioying (by this meanes) two neighbouring Kings to bee his friends; went to be present at the royall wedding, and carryed gifts of great value with him. He was entertained by the two kings, so honorably as possible might be, and afterward sent backe againe, with confirmatiō in the high-Priesthood, as also the principality of *Iudea*, for the people (after the deceasse of *Alcimus*) had remained 7. yeares without a Soueraigne Sacrificer.

Ambassadors sent to Ionathas by Alexander the Noble.

Ionathas obtayned the High-Priests Office, and the Principaliry of Iudea.

By

By this meanes, came the dignity first of High-Priesthood to the *Asmoneans*, the ninth yeare of the principality of *Ionathas*; of the *Greekes* 160. as hath bene saide; and before the birth of Christ, 150. But 5. yeares after, as *Ptolomy* had caught the kingdome of *Syria*, with his daughter *Cleopatra*; so he gaue them both to *Demetrius Nicanor*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, & then *Ionathas* had work enough to do, to enter into the good grace & fauour of the new King. Neuertheless, by gifts and offrings he preuailed so well at last, as vpon the auouching of his grace towards him, hee recouered a great part of *Iudea*, & wonne among his own people, no meane power and credite. In the latter dayes of his principality, he fortefied the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and renewed alliance with the *Romaines*, contracting kinde friendship also with the *Lacedemonians*. Soone after, he was surprized in *Ptolomais*, by the fraud & treason of *Triphon*, who, although he had promised to release him, if he might haue his two Sonnes sent him as hostages, and an hundred Talents (whereof his brother *Simon* made satisfaction, sending both the money & the children) neuertheless, the most cruell Tyrant murdred both the Father and his sonnes. Hauing done this abhominable deed, and thinking no way to be resisted in his wicked courses; by treachery he slew *Antiochus*, sirnamed *Sedetes*, Sonne to *Alexander* the Noble, to whom he was Tutor, & for the restoring of him to his Fathers kingdome, hee had euicted *Demetrius Nicanor* out of *Syria*, but got it into his owne possession. In this manner *Ionathas* held the principality of the Iewish people eighteene yeares, and was the first administratour of the Soueraigne Priesthood of the *Asmoneans*, which hee held ten yeares.

Ionathas accepted into the fauour of Demetrius Nicanor.

Ionathas take prisoner and afterward slaine with his two Sons.

Triphon maketh himselfe King of Syria.

Simon the third Sonne of Mattathias.

Simon succeeded his Brother *Ionathas*, in the yeare of the *Greeks*, 170. & before the Natiuity of Christ, 140. being elected (by common consent of the people) Duke & Soueraigne Sacrificer: because he had valiantly assisted his Brethren *Iudas* and *Ionathas*, for maintaining the doctrine giuē by God, & the repressing of persecutions. At the beginning of his gouernement, he surprized some Forts from the *Grecians*, among which was that of *Ierusalem*, which till that time had beene held by the *Syrian* Garisons, & had wonderfully tormented the Citizens. He famished them in such sort, that they were constrained to yeelde themselues, and afterward purified prophaned places, the 23. day of the second Moneth, in the yeare, 171. Vnder him, *Iudea* began to respire and breathe a while, which for the space of 25. yeares after *Antiochus* the Noble, had bin terribly shaken and wasted with continuall warres. The fields began again to recouer their former nature; places burnt and destroyed, to be re-builded; and those prophaned with Idols, to be neately cleansed: In briefe, the voyce of heauenly doctrine began againe to bee heard and deliuered in the Temple and Synagogues. In the third yeare of his Priesthood, *Simon* renewed alliance with the *Romanes*, and by a Decree from their Senate, was confirmed Soueraigne Sacrificer, & to be styled Prince of the people.

Iudea began to recouer breathing & quietnesse.

Simon renewed alliance with the Romanes.

Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*, brother to *Demetrius Nicanor*, preparing war against *Triphon*, who vsurped the Kingdome of *Syria*: labored *Simon* with great promises for alliance, as doubting least hee would giue hinderance to his enterprize. But hauing conquered the Kingdome of *Syria*, and *Triphon* chased thence, in the yeare, 174. he falsified the former alliance, & redemanded diuers Townes and Cities in *Iudea* of *Simon*, as also the Fort of *Ierusalem*, and a great summe of money beside; or else he would denounce warre against him, if he did not yeeld to what he demāded. Now in regard that *Simon* refused to grant so vniust a demand, *Cendebeus* was sent into *Iudea* with an Army, whom *John Hyrcanus* and *Iudas*, Sonne to *Simon*, discomfited, as he was wasting the champain Country: and hauing destroyed the Forts built in the Marches of *Iudea* by the enemy, they returned backe with great glory.

Antiochus Soter leuieth warre against Triphon.

Antiochus breaketh his amity plighted to Simon, and vrgeth vniust demands.

Three yeares after, to wit, the 177. of the *Greekes*, and 133. before the birth of Christ, as *Simon* (growing now auncient) returned, visiting & ordayning the Churches, and the dissipated pollicies in *Iudea*; he arriued (with his Wife and two of his Sonnes, *Iudas* and *Mattathias*) neere to his kinesman *Ptolomy*, the Sonne of *Abobus*, whom he had constituted Gouernour of the whole Region about *Iericho*. But he wickedly murdered him, sitting at the Table of a Banquet, whereto (most traiterously) he had inuited him, onely for that bloody purpose.

Simon groweth ancient in yeares.

Simon murdred at a banquet by his Sonne in law.

Simon elected Duke and High-Priest by the people

The gouernment of Simon.

Foure Asmoneans, the Father and his three sonnes.

Thus foure *Asmoneans*, namely, the Father *Mattathias*, and three of his Sonnes (each after other) fighting valiantly three and thirty yeares, in defence of the Law giuen by God, against the persecuters of his people, ended their liues. And although they could not so compasse the matter, as to cleanse *Iudea* wholly of Pagan Idolatries, because many among the people were (openly) Epicures, and many mightily deiected, by seeing the woful calamities of the people, and others inueigled by the Gentiles prosperities; did willingly renounce the first receiued doctrine of their Fathers, and embraced the impieties of the Paganes: yet notwithstanding, they preuailed so well by their power, that the writings of the Prophets were preserued, the seruice ordained by God, not abolished, nor the Iewish pollicy any way dissipated. All which ensued by the singular goodnesse of God, to the end, that the pollicy and ministry appointed by him (in some good measure still maintained) should continue to the time of Christ, that men might know, when & how the Messias was to be sent. The principality and high-Priesthood continued (sometime) in the Family of the *Asmoneans*, to the successors of *Simon*, because *Iudas* and *Ionathas* had not left any issue of theirs.

Iudea not wholly recouered from Paganisme, & the reason why.

The writings of the Prophets safely preserued among so many persecutions.

Iudas and Ionathas left not any issue.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the imprisonment of Simons *two Sonnes and their Mother, by their cruell Vnckle* Ptolomie; *and lastly, their lamentable death. The valiant actes of* Iohn Hyrcanus, *Sonne to* Simon. *The destruction of* Samaria, *&c.*

The Sonnes of *Simon*, were
Iohn Hyrcanus. Iudas. Mattathias his successour.
A Daughter, maried to Ptolomy, *the sonne of Abobus, Gouernour of* Iericho; *who murdered his Father, as also his Wife & two of his Children.*

Iudas and Mattathias.

The gouernment of Iericho giuen to Ptolomy by Simon.

HAuing accompanied their Father, going with his Wife to see *Ptolomy* their Sonne in law, to whom he had formerly spoken, to giue him the gouernement of *Iericho*: they were imprisoned with their Mother, by their Vnckle *Ptolomy*, who before had slaine their Father at a Banquet. Now, while *Hyrcanus*, seeking to reuenge so horrible a deed, had besieged a small Towne, whereto *Ptolomy* had withdrawne himselfe: the Tyrant caused them there to bee pittifully dismembred, as also their Mother; vntill such time as *Hyrcanus*, moued with compassion, & not able to endure the torturing of his brethren and Mother, raised the siedge, albeit his captiued Mother, still vrged him earnestly, to maintaine the assault.

The two sons of Simon and their Mother cruelly tormented.

Iohn Hyrcanus.

In the life time of his Father, hee discomfited the Army of *Antiochus Soter*, which was conducted by *Cendebeus*. Next after the death of his Father, and the taking of his two Brethren, himselfe hardly escaping from the ambushes of the murderer *Ptolomy*: hee came to reuenge his Fathers death, and besiedging the Towne whereto *Ptolomy* was returned, being ouercome with pitty, by seeing the torments which his Mother & Brethren suffered, at euery time when hee gaue the assault, considering also, that the seuenth yeare of rest was neere at hand; he retreated his Army. Afterward, *Antiochus Soter* made warre vpon him, so that he was shut vp within the Citty of *Ierusalem*, which *Antiochus* besiedged in seuen places all at one time: being pressed with famine, hee yeelded vp the City, vpon condition, that he would beate down the Forteffications of the Citty, deliuer hostages, & fiue hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of Gold.

The Army of Antiochus Soter vanquished by Iohn Hyrcanus.

Iohn Hyrcanus besiedged in Ierusalem, and the City yeelded vpon agreement.

But as he was in want of money, or accidentally seeking for some by vrgent necessity, or admonished so to doe by a dreame: he opened the Sepulcher of *Dauid*, wherein he found three thousand Talents of Gold, which amounteth to 18. Tuns of Gold. Being thus readuanced, he not only made peace with *Antiochus*, but also entred into amity with him, so that he entertained him into the Citty with his Army, and being well prouided of mony, he was the first (of the Iewes) that had strange Soldiours vnder his pay. With whom he accompanied King *Antiochus*, he going in warre against the *Parthians*; and yet his company was but slenderly beneficiall to the King. For although by the valiancy

Three thousand Talents of Gold found in Kings Dauids graue.

Hyrcanus aydeth Antiochus against the Parthians

valiancy of *Hyrcanus*, he ouerthrew a part of the *Parthians* Army, yet soone after, when *Arsaces*, King of the *Parthians*, came with a new Army, & he should then haue met and ioyned with him: Religion hindered *Hyrcanus* and the *Iewes* from going to the fight, because it was then the Feast of *Pentecost*. By which meanes, *Antiochus* being destitute of the *Iewes* helpe, was slaine, with a great number of his people.

The Feast of Pentecost hindred Hyrcanus from the battaile.

After the death of *Antiochus Soter*, *Hyrcanus* began to make small account of the Kings of *Syria*; as being men, that (by ciuill warres) had broken the forces of their kingdomes. Wherefore, bringing back his hoast from *Asia*, he tooke many Cities and Townes in the kingdome of *Syria*, which had in former times appertained to *Iudea*. He razed also the Temple of *Garizim* in *Samaria*, builded by *Sannabalat* the *Cutthean*, (as hath before bin remẽbred) two hundred yeares after it had bin builded in fauour of *Manasses*, Brother to *Iaddus*, in the time of *Alexander* the great.

The Temple of Garizim in Samaria razed.

He compelled also the *Idumeans* (after he had giuen them many chastenings) to receiue circumcision, and other ceremonies of the *Iewes*. And to strengthen himselfe the more against the Kings of *Syria*, whō he thought not fit to make any more surprizing of Citties; hee renewed alliance (by Ambassadours) with the *Romanes*, in the fourteenth yeare of his principality, and the 191. of the kingdome of *Syria*: *Cneus Domitius Barbarossa*, and *Caius Flaminius* being Consuls, an hundred and 19. yeares before the Natiuity of Christ.

The Idumeans receiue circumcision.

Aliance made with the Romanes.

Afterward, as *Demetrius Nicanor* had bene restored to his Kingdome by *Arsaces*, and as quickly againe repulsed from it by *Alexander Zebena*, when he prepared himselfe to make warre on the *Iewes*: so *Hyrcanus*, allying himselfe with *Alexander* the victorious, had sustained as little ioy thereof, if an admirable accident had not corrected their error. For *Antiochus Gryphus*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, seeking to recouer his Fathers kingdome, slew *Alexander* in battaile, and (after that victory) purposed to inuade *Hyrcanus*, the leagued friend to his enemy. But hearing of another preparation of warre against himselfe, by his brother *Antiochus Cyzicenus*; he was glad to keepe at home still in *Syria*. So, while the two bretheren did wel-fauouredly contend with one another (a long time) for the kingdome of *Syria*; *Hyrcanus* and *Iudea* remained in quietnes, during which time, *Hyrcanus* well fortefied himselfe by strong Castles newly builded, re-enforcing al his most commodious munitions, collecting vp great summes of money, & prouiding other necessary matters, to exploit his warre affaires.

Hyrcanus maketh alliance with Alexander the victorious.

Antiochus Gryphus and Antiochus Cyzicenus fight for the kingdome of Syria.

Finally, hee laide siedge to the most strong Citty of *Samaria*, and left there his two Sonnes *Antigonus* and *Aristobulus* to continue it, while himselfe attended to the administration of more important Oeconomical affaires. Hereupon, the *Samaritaines* called to succour them *Antiochus Cyzicenus*; who repulsed the sonnes to *Hyrcanus*, and chased them so farre as to * *Scythopolis*. Againe, the two brethren brought their Army before *Samaria*, and againe *Antiochus Cyzicenus* (being requested) entred into *Iudea*, pilling and spoyling whereseoeuer he came. But being repulsed, hee gaue the charge of his Army to two of his Captaines; one of them being slaine by the *Iewes*, and the other corrupted with money, surrendred (by treason) *Scythopolis*, and the other neighboring Citties. So the Citty of *Samaria*, hauing endured (in great misery) a whole yeares siedge, was at the last forced and quite destroyed. Such was the ending of this most mighty Citty, which (for a long time) had paragond it selfe equall with *Ierusalem*; but about an hundred yeares after, it was builded againe by *Herod*, who named it *Sebasta*, in the honour of *Augustus Cæsar*.

Samaria besiedged by Hyrcanus and his forces.

* A Citty of Syria, neere to Iudea, called also Decapolis.

The Citty of Samaria razed and destroyed to the ground.

CHAP. VII.

How the rest and prosperity of Iudea, begat sundry Sects among the people, especially of the Pharisies, Sadduces, &c. The diuersity of their opinions: and a breefe narration of the Doctrine, in vse among the first Fathers.

THE Country of *Iudea*, being thus reduced to repose & quietnes, & by the paines of *Hyrcanus*; her prosperity procured enuy & distaste, aswel toward her own people, as (more especially) to the Pharisies. For factions grew thē in great esteem among the meaner people, by simulation

Of the Sect of the Pharisies and their dissembled holinesse.

sanctity, and great swarmes of deuised traditions, concerning some kindes of bodily exercises: so that (whensoeuer they pleased) they could cause the common people to mutiny against the Princes and the High-Priest. *Hyrcanus* had sometime beene a curious fauourer of this Sect; in which regard, the Pharisies did beare him great affection: but at the last, he estranged his kindnesse towards them, finding himselfe offended at the punishment of *Eleazar* the Pharisie, by some outrage offered him. And this was the reason, that hee tooke part with the *Sadduces*, who sharply reprooued the traditions of the Pharisies, and in hate and spight to the Pharisies sect, hee abolished (by publike Edicts) many of their traditions, which made him and his Sonnes to be mortally hated, aswell of the Pharisies, as of the people. Whereupon ensued great mutinies among the people: which his Sonne *Alexander* very hardly appeased, but not without great effusion of blood.

Hyrcanus a fauourer of the Pharisies, leaneth afterward to the Sadduces.

Hyrcanus & his Sonnes hated of the Pharisies and vulgar people

Now, because mention is here made of these two Sects, both of the Pharisies and Sadduces, whereof more will be spoken in the following Histories, as likewise is in sacred Writ: I thinke it not amisse to make some addition, of matters found in authenticall writings, concerning the variance and difference betweene them. For in speaking of their originall, we can but follow coniectures onely: except this infallible certainty, that both the one and other Sect were newly forged, by leauing the ancient and pure doctrine of the Prophets. This firme rule ought euermore to be held in the Church, that there is one sole true doctrine, of the diuine essence & will, made manifest of God by certaine and vndoubted testimonies, and was giuen to the first Fathers and Prophets: but much more enlightened afterward, by the voyce of the Sonne of God, our Lord Iesus Christ, dead, and raysed vp againe for vs, as also by the voice of the Apostles. And no opinions ought to be embraced, contrary to that first Prophetical doctrine and voyce of Gods owne Sonne: because many sayings of the Prophets do witnesse this rule to be true. As *Esay* condemneth those Doctors, which propose (as the doctrine of God) opinions forged in their owne braines, and such as neuer were giuen of God. Being armed then, and well warned by this rule, wee may the better iudge of these Sects.

The diffrence betweene the Sects of the Pharsies and Sadduces.

Testimonies of Gods will giuen to our first Fathers.

Esay 29,14.

But in making this recitall, I may not forget that most lamentable complaint, which the so mighty infirmity of mankind ought much to bemoane, because euen then, when the Church consisted of so small a number, to wit, in few Tribes of *Israel*, poorely impayred, and shut vp in that narrow country neighbouring to the *Phœnitians*, and that then (with so small pollicy) discipline could scarsely maintaine it selfe peaceably, or doctrine bee kept in good concord: such horrible furies being prepared against it, yea, & they embraced by the greater part of the Gouernours, publishing them wholly, without dissembling any thing, although they were plainly repugnant vnto the Law of God. The Sadduces acquitted themselues of sacrifices, and neuertheless affirmed publikely, that after this present life, there remained no other, nor any iudgement; and that the soule (being separated from the body) should haue no more life, and that men should not rise againe. But the Pharisies were a little more modest, and yet notwithstanding, they had as well corrupted the doctrine giuen by God, as we shall haue better occasion to speake of heereafter.

The poore & small beginning of the Church in the few Tribes of Israel, and continuance thereof in many troubles.

Concerning the opinions of the Sadduces.

The Pharisies more modest then the Sadduces.

Neuertheless, God had a true Church all this while, which stil retayned the light of his doctrine: and yet, was it not greatly to be lamented, that in one & the same company, which bare the name of the Church, among a troope that called vpon God in truth; such errours should not onely bee dispersed, but also allowed by the authority of Princes and Doctours? Beside this, the assured and prophaned arrogancy of many (euen in our times) ought greatly to be reprehended, who dreaming of no dispersion of errors in the Church, eyther for satisfaction of their owne ambition, vnder colour of religion seeking after kingdomes, or by heaping superstitions one vpon another, thereby to fit and furnish their owne auarice; doe neuer thinke on (in this case) the ancient and old examples of the Pharisies & Sadduces, who declared sufficiently, the very like euils crept into the Church, euen as apparantly then, as those of other times. It is therefore very necessary, to haue one certaine rule, in listening to the voyce Euangelicall,

God alwayes had his true Church, retaining still the light of his Doctrine.

The errors of elder times very apparant to be discerned.

uangelicall, according as Saint *Paul* said: *If any man preach any other Gospell to you, let him be accursed.*

Galath 1.9.

Furthermore, consideration is to bee had, of the time of that first Doctrine, agreeing with the voyce of the Prophets, the Sonne of GOD, and the Apostles: and next, of such perswasions as haue crept into the Church, some whereof haue beene confirmed by the superstition of men vnlearned, others haue beene voluntarily receiued, as seruing the ambition of the mightie, and for benefite to the kitchin. Acknowledging then, and bewayling the harmes of the Church; let vs seeke after the springs or fountaines of true doctrine, to the end wee may truely call vpon God, who hath alwayes preserued some part of mankinde, where his true knowledge might shine, to bee the Temple of God, and afterwards partaker of his glorious company, because mankinde was not created in vaine. But before I discourse on the originall of Sects, and Diuisions of the Church, it is needfull first to say somewhat, concerning the first true Church or Schoole, which from the beginning of mankinde, hath beene gardian and keeper of the true doctrine: from whence hath issued many, who (as seditious) haue scattered diuers corruptions among the truth of doctrine.

The time of the first doctrine, and superstitions since encreasing.

The harmes and euills of the Church ought much to be moaned

Of the first true Church or Schoole.

Mankind was not borne by accidentall chance, neither created without cause: but it pleased God, that he should haue a reasonable nature, embelished with a bodie, wherein the knowledge of him might shine, and to whom he might communicate his wisedome and goodnes, & that hee should enioy his company once and for euer. Now, although God expressed his wisedome and goodnesse, by creating the great workemanship of the world: yet notwithstanding, his goodnes made it selfe much more apparant, in that (after the fall of *Adam* and *Eue*) he sent from his secret seate, that infinite mercie for their recouery, by giuing them the promised Seede to come. And to make it the better knowne and vnderstood, hee would haue men to heare the sound of that sweete voice: *The Seede of the woman shall breake the Serpents head*. Such as receiued graciously this consolation, were receiued of God, and made members of the eternall Church of God. Thus first of all, the Church was created, and the Schoole instituted, wherein our first Parents taught the doctrine of God to their children: concerning the creation of all things; concerning their owne fall; the paines and punishments to ensue; the trecheries of the diuell; the causes of death and all humaine miseries; the promise of the Seede to come, whereby the great and iust anger of God was to bee appeased. Also, how sinne was to be defaced, eternall life restored, the difference of good and euill works, and that such a difference being imprinted in the soules of men, was truely the Lawe diuine, agreeing with the intelligence and diuine will; so to shine in the spirites of men, that it might bee a testimonie of God to men, that he was one God, and how to bee adored: admonishing likewise, that hee would iudge the actions of men, because conscience would else exercise a burdenous iudgement in vs.

Genes. 3.15.

The reason why God created mankind

The great grace and mercie of god to man after his fall.

The first creation of the Church by God, enstructed to our first Parents, and so to their posteritie.

There they were taught the diffrence betweene this naturall knowledge, and the other of higher qualitie; the pronounced promise of the secret bosome of the eternall Father, touching the Seede; the future iudgement of all mankinde: and that such as (by faith in that Seede) attayned to beleeue therein, were acceptable to God, and in that faith had recourse to him, striuing to order their manners by the rule of the diuine Lawe, should liue eternally in the most sweete company of God. Others, who arrogantly contemned God, & the promised Seed to come, running furiously on the bridle of their wicked desires; were like vnto diuells, enemies to God, and after death should liue in horrible torments, whereof they discerned some resemblance in this life, by the terrours of such, whose bodies were adiudged to terrible punishments.

The diffrence betweene heauenly knowledge, & that which is naturall.

The despisers of God and the promised Seede.

Those first Fathers declared, how God had clothed them with the skins of beasts, to signifie, that (after death) they should bee denested of their corrupted bodies, and put vppon them (as the garment or roabe of the Lambe) that is to say, the promised Seede, which was to be sacrificed, that all mankind might be saued by him. They taught the will of God to bee such, that by this meanes it should bee sought, knowne and called on, as it was made manifest: and that our mindes lea-

The clothing of our first Fathers in the skins of beasts had a further relation,

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ning vpon his promise, gaue vs to vnderstand, that then wee are in the grace of God, when (by fayth) wee relie vpon his promises, and that hee would haue no other gods to be receiued, or Sacrifices offered by them that forgot or reiected this doctrine giuen by God. They also manifested, that God would haue one sole and certaine assemblie, which should be consenting in doctrine, gathered together by inuocation and sacrifices: in which sole assembly, should be the future heires of eternall life with God.

One sole and certaine assembly instituted by God to bee his Church.

As an Interpreter to their Sacrifices, this predication was often repeated; *This maner of behauiour, and these publique assemblies are instituted, to the end, that this doctrine should be sent to Posteritie.* In them the voyce of the diuine Promise, and the doctrine declared by vs, was to be heard: for god would haue his voice to be heard of all men. In which respect, it was and is requisite, that there should bee honest assemblies; and although the Church will be alwayes tormented with great calamities: yet shall she be exalted as a Castle on a high mountaine. These our Sacrifices which you see, are the chaines and linckes of such assemblies, and no other paintings haue we to admonish vs, then the diuine Promise so graciously giuen vnto vs.

The reason why ancient ceremonies were instituted.

What the Sacrifices did represent.

Hauing enstructed their children in these great matters, they added, concerning the Seede to come, That that Lord, who should breake the head of the Serpent; was already (and euen then) assisting to his Church, although he was not (as yet) reuested with humaine flesh. That he was the Image of the Eternall and only Father, begotten of him, who prayed to his Father for the Church, and defended it, and (with the Father) comforteth the hearts of Beleeuers, euen in their greatest feares, by his Promises, and kindleth in them the light of the blessed Spirit, for the beginning of eternall life. Which Spirit proceeded from the Father, and from this promised Lord. By this meanes they taught to know the only true God, wise, good, iust, true, chaste and pure, Creator of heauen and earth, of Angels, and of mankinde; to the end, that all might vnderstand, there was one only eternall Father, who had created all with this promised Lord, who is his Image, and with the blessed Spirit, so that no other Diuinitie was to be imagined.

Christ was assisting to his Church long before his Incarnation.

The first meanes of knowing the blessed Trinitie according to the instruction of the first Fathers.

Moreouer, in this holy Schoole, the first fathers taught the doctrine concerning the nature of things, giuing to vnderstand; that there were certayne lawes of Celestiall motions, to deliuer testimony, that this world was not made by aduenture, but created by the intelligence of a super-excellent workeman. They taught beside, the course of the yeare to be ordained, because God would haue men to know the order of times; thereby also to vnderstand the order of diuine promises, and how they were to be reuealed, as to know what the first giuen doctrine was, thereby to iudge of the newer afterward. And because men might cõprehend, that all things were created by the Diuine Councell and Prouidence: they shewed diuerse vses of Plants, to what end they were created, and for the vse of man. Heereupon they expressed, how God assisted the nature of man by those remedies; thereby also enstructing, that oftentimes Innocents are holpen of God by admirable meanes, and yet without the ayde of creatures.

Other doctrines instructed by the fathers concerning policie,

The course of the yeare, and the knowlege of Plants.

That this was the doctrine of the first or Primitiue Church, the narration of *Moses* sufficiently declares, in *Genes.* And it is not to be doubted, that the wisedom of the golden Age, before the Floud, was much greater then that after the Floud, whẽ nature became more weak & feeble. And though that many, both before and after the Floud, might forget or misprise true doctrine; yet notwithstanding, God would not suffer his true Inuocation to be quenched among men: but euermore reserued som company that kept this doctrine, (from one time to another) renued & dispersed it further off by nouell testimonies. Againe, when after the Floud, the multitude of men began once more to encrease, though the light of true doctrine might be extincted in *Babylon*: yet notwithstanding the studie of Astrology remayned, touching the motions and effects of the Starres, with the knowledge of things growing in the earth.

The wisedom of the golden Age before the Floud.

God euermore conserued the inuocating vpon his name.

And in this meane while, the promise of God was still preserued and kept, renewed and illumined in the posteritie of *Noah*. Afterward, when this pollicie became to be so well ordayned among the people

The ten tribes cut off by the kings of Iuda, and yet the truth of Doctrine still encreasing.

people of *Israel*: all the Colledge of the *Leuites* was as an Academie and place of exercise. There, some Sacrificers and Prophets taught againe the auncient and vncorrupted doctrine.

But afterward, when the tenne Tribes were cut off by the Kings of *Iuda*: then great confusions (both in Religion and Doctrine) followed. And yet neuertheless, God raised in the dismembred part of *Iudaes* Kingdomes, *Elias*, *Eliseus*, and other Prophets, to draw diuers there to the truth of knowledge: which was the reason that the Prophets had great troupes of Auditours, in regarde that *Elias*, *Eliseus*, and the rest had deliuered (from hand to hand) their sacred preachings and interpretations. Some did leaue theirs written, as *Esay*, and they that followed after. This custome did alwayes continue in this people, and especially in the Temple, where the sacrificing Priests gaue the interpretations, or else-where among the Doctours, and such as were interpreters of the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets.

Causes, how the truth of doctrine grew to contempt and bastardizing.

But in the latter times, after the returne from *Babilon*, and after the Prophet *Zacharie*, when the High-Priests beganne to affect familiarity with the kings of *Iuda*, and sought to make themselues great and powerfull, the study of true doctrine became contemned, and after that *Iudea* was spoiled by *Antiochus*; many places were lost, the companies of Students, and their Maisters scattered, and and discipline being thus neglected, it is very likely that the studies became to bee wonderfully changed. Howbeit, that alwayes some of the Colledge of the high-Priests, and of the people, kept some sparks of the true doctrine liuing among them: as *Simeon*, *Zacharie*, *Anne*, and other, whose youth neighboured to the warres of *Antiochus*. Notwithstanding, many audacious Expositions of the Propheticall Bookes, wandred farre off from the auncient doctrine.

Some remnants of Gods truth at all times remaining.

Concerning the name of Interpreters.

It is very likely, that at the beginning, the name of Interpreters was common to some men of the best iudgement, and likewise to other, that transfigured the doctrine of the Church into Philosophie. By succession of times, as this new Philosophie was most pleasing, and many earnestly fauouring it: the Schooles began to be so much the more frequented, and a kinde of doctrine was then concluded on. In this manner a profession or Sect (which then was in admiration) was ordained; without changing the name of Pharisie, asmuch to say as an Expounder, as nowadayes the title of Doctour, is the name of a most honest Office and Profession: for many learned men doe conceiue the Pharisie to be named, rather for Interpretation or Exposition, then by separation or diuision.

The name of Pharisie is an Expositour.

Iosephus reporteth some of their opinions, but they are better to bee vnderstoode in the Euanglicall Historie, and what their principall errours were. For, although they carried themselues as interpreters of the Prophets: they auouched the Bookes not onely of *Moses*, but also of the other Prophets, adioyned to the holy Histories by publique authoritie of the Ancients, to remaine in their credite and integritie. Neuertheless, they helde false opinions concerning the vse of the Lawe, and transferred the promises of the *Messias* Kingdome, to politicall vse. They helde exteriour Discipline, for Iustice satisfying to the Lawe, and denyed that wicked affections were sinne, or doubting of God, or courage enkindled by hatefull or lustfull desires: prouided that they proceeded not to outward offence. These corruptions are expressely reproued in Saint *Matthew*, where it is said; *Whosoeuer looketh on a woman, to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart*. And although that many vnlearned men in the Church, read these Sentences as Paradoxes of the Stoickes, who painted the Ideaes of the vertues, to the end that men should striue to come nere to them (which is impossible for any man in this world to do) yet are they propounded to the Church to other ends.

The errours of the Scribes and Pharisies, and in what manner they held them.

Math.5.28.

The Sonne of God knew, that in the imbecillitie of this nature, no man can be without bad desires; therefore hee would haue the preaching of repentance to be dayly sounded among men, that acknowledging our corruptions in due manner, wee should confesse our owne guiltinesse, and make our recourse to the Sonne of God. The Philosophie of the *Pharisies*, obscured this aucient Propheticall

No man in this life time can be free from corrupt and vnlawfull affections.

The Pharisies celebrated the promises made to Abraham.

ticall doctrine, as it had beene in all times after *Caine* and his Posteritie.

In like manner, the other part of heauenly doctrine, to wit, the promised *Messias* was also obscured. The Pharisies knew and celebrated the magnificēt Promises made to *Abraham*, recited by *Iacob*, and often repeated by the Prophets: but they maintained, that they spake only of a politicall kingdome. They dreamed also, that the *Messias* should come like vnto an other *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, to vse the whole Empire of the world, the people beeing subiected vnto him: and yet notwithstanding, that this Empire should be more iust, milde and peacefull, then any of them before. They affirmed, that the *Messias* should reigne a a thousand yeares; that the Israelites should liue three or foure hundred yeres without feare of warres, seruitude, or famine, or any other great calamities: And that there should bee no other nature in the *Messias*, but humane.

The carnall opinions of the Pharisies, concerning the Messias and his Kingdome.

In these idle imaginations, all the doctrine of the Sonne of God, of anger against sinners; of the sacrifice and death of the *Messias* was buried. And yet neuertheless, truth was not wholly quenched in the Church, but (as I haue said) some sparkes remayned with *Simeon*, *Zacharie*, and many such like, who read the Prophets without corruption.

Sinnes to be pardoned by ceremonies and killing of beasts ordained in the Lawe.

After that the Pharisie had corrupted the words of the Lawe, and the promises thereto appertaining: they dreamed that sinnes were to be pardoned by ceremonies and slaughter of beasts, ordained in the Lawe. This perswasion brought in great gaine, for the people (being thus perswaded) multiplied the more their sacrifices. These so thicke mistes of darkenesse had some apparance of wisedome and pietie; which neuertheless are oftentimes reprehended of the Prophets.

Questions cōcerning the acting & performing of deuised ceremonies.

Ceremonies growing to great augmentation and encrease, many questions (as in the like cases happeneth) were moued; touching the manner of perfourming them, & other circumstances, which (indeede) required many declarations. And as Monks heaped vp together great summes of money, by the buying and selling of humane traditions, with their annexed circumstances: euen so the Pharisies would locke vp and let loose the ceremonies of *Moses*, at their pleasure; and adde to them their owne nouell deuices, as well for the confirmation of superstition, as their owne gaine. Saint *Matthew* telleth vs, that the lucratiue tradition is reproued: that it was much better to giue somewhat to the Temple, then to norish and relieue their owne poore parents: euen as now adayes it is maintained, that a number of slouthfull idle Monkes, should rather enioy great reuenewes, then any thing spared for the relieue of poore Schollers. Matth. 15. 6, 7

Tradition for a Sabbaoth daies iourney 2 halfe miles, appoynted by the Phariles.

The tradition of the Sabbaoth was also in great vse, as *Hierome* alledgeth: for *Alziba* and *Hilletus*, both *Rabines*, do say, a Sabaoth dayes iourney is but two halfe miles. Beside, in this Sect remained some studies of doctrine, and some care of gouerning the discipline. They could well conclude, that there was an eternall and intelligent God, true, good, iust, chaste, well-doing, and a reuenger of offences: whereby they confessed all things to bee created, the heauens, the earth, Angels, men and other creatures. They affirmed also (by opinion of philosophy) that there was but one person in the diuinitie, boldly reiecting the Primitiue and Prophetical doctrine concerning the Sonne of GOD and the blessed Spirit: although they had apparent testimonies of the Son of God in *Dauid*, *Esay*, *Micheas* and *Daniel*; and of the Holie-ghost, in many Sermons of the Prophets.

The Pharisies allowed but one Person onely in the Godhead.

Of the Lawe of Moses, and what they gathered therby

Moreouer, they confessed, that God the Creator of all things, was manifested by his Promises, and by publishing his Lawe: surpassing all other in goodnesse, with a most goodly pollicie, ordayned and warranted by many testimonies of his presence. Wherefore they would not haue any one to call in doubtfull question the prouidence of God, nor to doubt that the posteritie of *Abraham* (to whom God had giuen this ordayned pollicie) should bee any other then the people of God, or the Church whereof God had a peculiar care. They taught them that God gouerned the principall mutations which happened in this life, as the encreasings and diminishings of Empires, the ruine and building againe of great Citties; because they knew their euents to agree with the prophecies of empires, which are in *Moses*, *Esay* and *Daniell*; adding

Particular matters taught by the Pharisies.

ding withall, that they knew that their Citie *Ieruſalem* had beene diuinely builded.

The Phariſes maintained the freedome of mans wil.

And yet (for all this) they affirmed, that the affaires and liues of all men, were gouerned by humane councelles; and they magnified the libertie of mans will, as alſo the faculty of Free-will: yea, and in ſuch ſort, that they held a man might ſatisfie the diuine Lawe, and be iuſt by his diligence, meriting all goodneſſe both preſent and heauenly. And contrariwiſe, that ſuch as offended the diuine Lawe by exteriour tranſgreſſions, ſhould be puniſhed both in this life and the other. For their opinion was (that the ſoule ſeparated from the bodie) ſhould liue, and that there ſhould bee a reſurrection of the dead, wherein God would reward the iuſt, and ſend into euerlaſting puniſhments, ſuch as had ſoiled themſelues with execrable vices. And yet they held withall, that he would puniſh many crimes by preſent calamities, adding alſo; that ſome might be defaced by ſacrifices, and the penalties due to them, made more milde or leſſened.

They allowed alſo the reſurrection of the dead.

Now, although this doctrine was very paſſable in appearance; yet notwithſtanding, they aboliſhed the true vſe of the Law, and with the benefites of the *Meſſias*, the doctrine of free pardon. Wherefore, eyther they confirmed truſt in mens owne iuſtice, or left their conſciences in pittifull doubts: in regarde that mens minds being thus ouerthrowne, fled from God, and trembling againſt him; neyther durſt approach neare him, nor call vppon him truly

The true vſe of the Lawe vtterly aboliſhed by them.

For the more ſure maintaining theſe their diſciplines, they had inſtituted many exerciſes; the moſt part whereof ſerued rather for oſtentation, then any reſtraint to their owne bad deſires. The maner or forme of their garments was notable; for they wore great long cloakes, with fringes about them, inter-wouen with the words of the Lawe. Oftentimes they vſed to waſh themſelues, hauing at the entring into their houſes holy-water, wherewith they ſprinckled themſelues. They obſerued choice of meates in their faſts, muttering long prayers to themſelues, which Saint *Matthew* calleth Battologie, much babbling.

Inſtitution of many diſciplines for oſtentation.

Ceremonies vſed by the Phariſies.

Matth.6.7.

Their ſacrifices and apparance of pietie, attracted greatly the familiarity of women, which was the cauſe that adulteries and diuorces grew to be very frequent among them; and to enioy therein the more liberty, they enlarged the law of diuorces. For the auncient cuſtome of diuorces implied, that they were not to be done, but vpon knowledge of the cauſe, and the inſtruments to effect them, was, with the knowledge and conſent of the magiſtrate, and ſeperation might not be graunted for light cauſes and diſturbances; but by good reaſons induced to the Iudges, who were knowne to bee graue men, and of great integritie.

Women familiarly allured to their Sacrifices.

The auncient manner for graunting the bil of diuorce.

But the Phariſes (vtterly diſannulling this auncient cuſtome) made diuorces vpon their priuate authority, either without cauſe, or for cauſes of no moment: ſo that the lawe of diuorce ſerued onely as a baited hooke, to allure and betray other mens wiues; as among the Pagans, and as at this inſtant with the Turkes, it is in vſe.

The law of diuorce ſerued for the betraying of mens wiues.

By this kind of proceeding, men might reiect their wiues when they thought fitteſt, without any reaſonable cauſe, and contrary to the nature of mariage, which God himſelfe inſtituted at the beginning, to the end, that it might be the aliance of an inſeparable company when hee ſaide: *They ſhall be both one fleſh*; that is to ſay, a male and female ſhal be ioyned together inſeparably. In like manner, the Lawe of *Moſes* did not permit diuorce without cauſe; but rendred a reaſon whereby ſeparation might be allowed, to wit, *If any vileneſſe were found in her*. And the ancient *Atticke* cuſtome intended, that no diuorce ſhould be granted, without knowledge of the cauſe. Since when, by ſucceſſion of times, the bands of diſcipline haue been let looſe, by the encreaſe of lewdnes and incontinencie: ſo that the auncient *Atticke* cuſtome became quite changed. And ſo in the latter times of the Iewes, all grauity for the maintenance of aliance in mariage, grew greatly extenuated. For ſhee could not be ſaide to be a true wife, whom the husband might caſt off at all times, and whenſoeuer ſuch giddines intoxicated his braine, and without anie wighty cauſe. This vniuſt cuſtome of the *Phariſes* was the cauſe of that queſtion in S. *Mathew*, where mention is made concerning the alliance of marriage, and the firſt inſtitution therof repeated: alſo by a ſeuere

Gods firſt inſtitution of marriage.

Geneſis 2.24.

Moſes lawe for diuorce.

Deut.24.1.

The Atticke cuſtome concerning diuorce.

The latter times of the Iewes much negligent in marriage caſes.

Matth.19.6,7.

The vniuſt cuſtome of the Phariſes.

ſeuere declaration, light and triuiall ſeparations of mariage, vſed both among the people of the Iewes, and Pagans likewiſe, are forbidden and condemned.

Vices frequēt and common to ſuperſtitious natures in al ages and nations.

It hath beene common to all ſuperſtitious natures, in all ages and nations, to peruert the order of precedent actions; yea, & in ſuch ſort, that they grow to be very difficult and rigorous exacters, of multitudes of their owne deuiſed ceremonies: being (in the *interim* time) very careleſſe for the neceſſary ſeruices of life, whereof the Decalogue giueth cōmands, and letting looſe the bridle to infinit lewd affections. And many of them appeare meerely as Iugglers, ſuch as are deſcribed in our Satyres, who (by counterfeited grauitie) diſguiſe great vices, whereof is ſaid; *That they ſhew themſelues to be wiſe men, and yet liue in diſſolution.*

Iugling tricks of the Phariſes.

Moſt of the Phariſes were of one molde.

And although among the *Phariſies*, ſome were more modeſt then others, as *Gamaliel*; ſome alſo vnderſtanding the doctrine more purely, renouncing errors, as *Nichodemus*: yet notwithſtanding, the moſt part of them were of this coyne or ſtampe. They had execrable errors (concerning the Diuinitie) engrauen in their ſpirits, and touching the political Empire of the *Meſſias*. They vnderſtood nothing of the promiſe for remiſſion of ſins, nor of the true Inuocation. They had a falſe opinion of the *Moiſaical* ceremonies, and of their owne. Moreouer, they added other enorme vices to theſe; as to eſteeme wel of themſelues, for they reputed themſelues to be wiſe, iuſt, princes and pillers of Gods Church; preferring themſelues before al modeſt and religious people indeed, becauſe they affected to haue their carriage more ſeene and obſerued, themſelues to bee more honoured and feared, then any other. Neuertheleſſe, they were in continuall debates and variances, aſwell among themſelues, as the Citizens, feaſting together for pride, ambition, enuy, contempt, hatred, euill ſpeaking and venimous iniuries. So that through their priuate couetouſnes, they moued not only many domeſticall tumults, but aymed at the yoake of ſtrangers; for they were skilfull in thoſe artes (welknowne among themſelues) in ſeeking to compaſſe a tyrannicall power.

Execrable errours held by the Phariſes.

Their pride in opinion of themſelues, and their actions, excelling all, and none good enough to be equall with them.

First of all, they ſtrengthened themſelues by the fauors of neighboring kings, of high Courts, mighty men, and planting factions among the people; forgetting to imitate the ancient ſaying; *If the Serpent doe not eate a Serpent, hee will neuer become a Dragon*. And either by calumnies, or other like means, they oppreſſed all ſuch, as (in emulation) were hinderers to their power. Aboue all, they were very ſpleenatiue againſt the profeſſors of true doctrine, carefully ſeeking all occaſions whereby to ſpoile them: as it is ſaid, they ſlew *Zachary* the Father to *Iohn Baptiſt*.

What maners and practiſes were in obſeruation amongſt the Phariſes.

Now although (as I haue formerly ſaid) that among the *Phariſes*, ſome were more modeſt then other, & ſome (being thereto admoniſhed) forſooke their errours, and embraced the true doctrine: yet notwithſtanding, the following Hiſtories of the Iewiſh people, and the Euangelicall narrations doe teſtifie, that the opinions and behauiour of this troupe, and all ſuch as made profeſſion of this Sect, partaking with them in their rites and ceremonies, were none other then as I haue heere ſet downe.

The folowing hiſtories will make more apparant proofe of theſe people.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ *Concerning the originall of the other Sect, tearmed Sadduces, contrary in nature to the Phariſies, and what cuſtomes were obſerued among them.*

From whence the Sadduces had their originall.

IHaue beene the larger in diſcourſing on the *Phariſes*, in regarde that this Sect dazled or deceiued mens ſight, by an apparance of farre greater ſuperſtition, then that of the *Sadduces*, and going beyond them in authoritie. Now I ſhall (in briefe) ſay ſomwhat of the *Sadduces*, in ſo much, as this Sect receiued no originall from ſuperſtition; but rather from contempt of God, ſauouring to be Epicurian.

Foraſmuch as the *Phariſies* charged men with numberleſſe ceremonies, that neither their bodies or conſcienees could bear any more; like to ſome other in theſe later times, whoſe lawes and impoſitions haue growne beyond all meaſure, that many

In what manner the Sadduces began to insinuate themselues.

fired (with teares) to be disburdned: so started vp other profane people, who, without any true iudgement, loosing the bands of all restriction (by an *Epicurian* audaciousnes) instituted another Sect contrary to that of the *Pharises*, naming themselues *Sadduces*. For, to cary some esteem before the people, they tooke this honorable title, deliuered from Iustice: For *Zaddikim* signifies Iustnes, & this name was opposite to that of the *Pharises*, who were tearmed Interpreters, and disputed on many things. Now it was a matter more notable and glorious, for men to be stiled Iust, and doers of the Law, then Interpreters and Disputers. Others deduce the name from *Sedak*, a *Chaldean* word, which signifies to part or diuide. Bicause they vnderstood the *Sadduces* to be termed (according as we speake) Schismatickes, diuided from sentence with the rest of the church; but I guesse that their aduersaries forged that Etymologie.

The Sadduces name held to bee more glorious then that of the Pharises.

The diuells mightie power in those vnsetled times.

It is no great matter, whence the appellation came, let vs rather consider the deed it selfe, & be terrified withall, in thinking on so horrible an example. Wherein plainly appeared the power of the diuell, forraging in this company, which bare the name of the church of God; considering, that (euen then) in people very well conditioned, among whom discipline was easily entertaind, because their extendure was so smal, & where there were no strangers to intermeddle; many durst (by publike authority) propound most execrable errors, and erect, euen in the midst of the Church, a Schoole like that of *Epicurus*. Let vs consider on this also, that after these Churches were spread abroad farre & wide, many mighty errors were sowne in & by them; as namely the confusion of the Empire, and the conuersation of Pagans, among whom they liued. Wherefore, let vs not flatter our selues, by a vain assurance of the name of the Church, as if that all had bin, or were without sinne.

Errours arising frō these dissenting churches, by meanes of the Sects.

And although it is not possible to report all the mad prankes of the *Sadduces*, without great griefe and anguish; yet notwithstanding, it is necessary the Historie should be written. For, it plainly appeareth, that some profane Iewes brought a monstrous audaciousnes into *Iudea*, and such wicked opinions as they had learned of Pagans, meerely Epicurians, by haunting to them familiarly; for they carried no meane resemblance with them. The Sect of the *Sadduces* retained the name of God, for feare lest it should appeare, that they would dissipate the pollicie, which was singularly maintained by the bands of Religion. But they endeuoured to efface out of mens vnderstanding, the true inuocation vpon God, and the true feare of him.

Monstrous opiniōs brought into Iudea by diuers profane Iewes.

They maintained, that mens soules being sundred from their bodies, should neuer rest, and that men should reuiue no more after death: neyther that any other iudgement was to be expected, wherein the iust were to be discerned from the vniust. The names of eternall life, & of hell, were to this Sect as meere fables and terrours to affright young children. And because they would make their intention knowne, that it was to ease the mindes of men, from the burden of Pharisaicall traditions, and to teach liberty: they feigned, to recall men back to the writings of *Moses*, and therefore alleadged his saying, where it is forbidden to adde to the Law. By this meanes they frustrated all the writings of the *Pharises*, with all their interpretations and traditions: the release and discharge whereof was pleasing, and affected by many, because that the number of them was well-neare infinite.

Furious and most mōstrous blasphemies held & maintained by the Sadduces.

All the Pharises writings made voyde and of none account.

From thence, and there framing their beginning, they went on further vnder the same colour, & reiected all the Bookes of the Prophets (the bookes of *Moses* onely excepted) auouching, that he neuer meant or spake, but of this present life onely. To maintaine the forme and order of their Commonwealth, they sayd; That the law ought to be obeyd, & sacrifices to be performed, because God punished great offences in this life. Contrariwise, for good actions and obedience, he gaue peace & abundance of goods: confirming al their fancies by the words of *Moses*, where hee speakes both of blessings and cursings.

All the books of all the prophets reiected by the Sadduces, only the books of Moses excepted.

The breuitie of this Doctrine, agreed and contented light headed spirits highly; and prophane persons were not a litle delighted with these opinions: which were confirmed by the iudgement of sense only, because euery man thought that an intollerable burthen, and hardly gaue credite to those Articles, which were out of his present sight & comprehension. And

The Sadduces doctrine confirmed by the iudgemēt of sense only

therefore this Sect (how wicked soeuer it were) wanted not store of folowers.

A refutation of the grosse and abhominable errours of the Sadduces Sect.

Now although it be true, that God is the gardian of politicall societie, and that he punisheth vniust murders in this life, lest the companies of men should be consumed, as also to the end, that they may be manifest signes of his diuine Iustice to euery eye: yet notwithstanding, God in meane while (by an admirable councell best knowne vnto himselfe) suffereth many iust persons to be slaine by the wicked; as *Abell*, the children of *Israell* in *Egypt*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, *Ieremy*, and innumerable other. These examples doe testifie, that there remayneth another Iudgement, wherein God will declare his iustice, by bringing the iust and vniust into iudgement: and the wicked, being sent into torments, shall shew the iust to be victorious, although it continue some time after death. For, seeing that God declared, that he had a care of *Abell*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, and *Ieremy* during their liues: if after death he should haue made no account of them, it had much dissented from his præscience; yea, and from his iustice also. It is then most euident, that the *Sadduces*, who denyed any other iudgement to remaine after death; did cut off the diuine and iust prouidence, from a great part of mankind, and especially from such as haue excelled in righteousnesse.

The Sadduces denyed any other iudgement to ensue after death.

The sacrificing Priest of the *Sadduces*, beeing at the Altare, conceiued, that the *Israelitish* Nation was not chosen of God (who onely had the true knowledge of God on earth;) because they had been so often oppressed by Kings of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* & *Syrians*; and, euen when their neighbors (being dispersed throghout *Iudea*) spoiled many thousands of iust persons, compelling them that suruiued, to feed on the slaughtered bodies of their fellow-Cittizens: in this case, shall there bee no attribution of iustice and prouidence to God, if instantly hee shewe not himselfe to haue a care of his, and that (therefore) there remayneth no immortality? Thus vnder the shadow of ceremonies, were mens soules abused, by outward and apparant Legier-dumaines, the diuine Prouidence being exactly taken away, euen as the *Epicurians* did.

The reason why the people of Israel were condemned by the Sadduces.

Now, considering there were these debates between the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, in such great matters, let such as reade, conceiue, not onely how great and frequent the tumults and perturbations of this people haue beene; but also, how rudely both the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, and diuers other with them (being manifestly Atheists) vsed the true Church, as *Simeon*, *Zachary* and their poore flocke. But as then (among so many wolues and lions) some faithfull guardians of the true doctrine were reserued; so (no doubt) but God will stil continue it to all succeeding times; and as hee did to *Simeon* and the rest, so he will euermore stand in the iust defence of his Spouse the Church, supporting her against all miseries whatsoeuer.

Matters left by the Author to the Readers discreete consideration

CHAP. IX.

Of a third Sect, contrary to the Pharises and Sadduces, who termed themselues by the name of Essæans: their originall, Religion and maner of life.

IT ordinarily happeneth, that when seditions haue once gotten themselues into actiue motion: many partialities and diuisions will thrust in after them. As *Homer* feigned, that the Storehouse or Armory (wherein *Aeolus* had locked vp the winds) being broken open: the Sea became troubled euery where, the windes flew abroad with such extraordinary violence; euen so in kingdoms & Empires, after that politicall order commeth to bee once troubled and dis-ioynted; many diuisions must needes follow after. Many Sects exalted themselues, during these debates betweene the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. For some, detesting the profane doctrine, and Ethnicke licence of the *Sadduces*, and seeing Religion and piety masked by the *Pharises*, and that, to disguise great and grosse vices, such as were whoredome, ambition, malice, enuy, cruelty, lying, rapine, and the like, they set before mens eies (as a cloude of dissimulation) dreadfull seueritie, and and some seuere ceremonies; beganne to

Sects and diuisions being once in fauor do beget many more to follow.

Distaste in some at both Pharises and Sadduces.

to diuide themselues from both one and other.

Essæans, workers, or reprouers of other mē, in regard of their owne excellencie.

And these Seperatists & diuided people, formed a name for themselues, called *Essæans, Workers*; by which title, they gaue mē to vnderstand, that which they reproued in others, & wherin they would seem more excellent then they: namely, that they fled from the profane libertie of the *Sadduces*, & allowed not the hypocrisie of the *Pharises*, disguised in so many kindes: but that they would doe deeds or workes profitable to other, and commaunded by God, hauing alwayes this vsuall sentence in their mouths; *Euery word without work, is meerely vaine and vnprofitable.*

No mention made of the Essæans in the Ecclesiasticall historie.

There is no mention made of them in the Eccleſiasticall history, either because they had not inuēted any new kind of doctrine, but retained the doctrine of *Moses* & the Sacrificers: or in regard they dwelt at th'end of *Iudea*, toward the lake *Asphaltida*, as in a retiremēt, & neuer intermedled with the gouernmenr of affairs, shunning the contentions of the *Pharisies* and *Sadduces*. Their maner of life was like to that of the Monkes; for, either they were not maried, or if they were, they abstaind from their wiues; hauing their goods in cōmon, doing such businesses as were inioyned thē. They sought not after riches, voluptuous pleasures, or honors; but digd and delued in gardens, as in a life of solitude, seeking carefully for knowledge in the natute of Plants, and their iuyces, stones and animalls, learning their remedies, and exercising Phisicke faithfully, which serued more then all other Artes for the life of man.

The maner how they liued far from the fashion of other men.

Vertuous and charitable qualities exercised by the Essæans.

Moreouer, they practised many vertues, as beneficence, patience in visiting sicke persons; such as were not able to helpe themselues, they would feed them, carry them, wash and bathe them, neuer shrinking at grosse sauors, coming either frō wounds, sweats, or other annoyances. Their cunning, faith & diligence was very commendable, in knowing wel how to prepare medicaments; to know the kindes of diseases; what remedies were apt for them; to know also times & seasons, when phisicke ought to be ministred. In briefe, the vertues & welldoing of a learned, industrious and faithful Phisition appeared in the most of them.

And as it is a good thing, that youth should be enstructed in learning, the doctrine of good maners, the Art of phisick, and to accustome their tender spirites to discipline, & the vnderstanding of virtue: euen so in the assembly of the *Essæans*, the very skilfullest were chosen by a certaine number, who instructed many throghout *Iudea*. For al modest men, & such as shunned the managing of affaires in ciuile dissentiōs, affected rather to haue their children taught by the doctours of this Sect, then any other, which they held in horror, & would haue no acquaintance with them, seeing them so tempestuous in the Common-wealth, by their owne particular couetous desires, and continually mouing vnnecessary contentions.

The Art of Physicke is meet and profitable to be learned by yong people.

The doctrine and life of the Essæans aimd onely at two especial ends

The *Essæans* addicted their life and religion principally to two heads or points, to wit: In calling vpon God in a priuate kind of life, and in honest bodily labours, which were the expulsion of vices, and profitable to other men. And for satisfaction both to the one and other, they had partition of times, so that they might attend on busines till the fift houre of the day, that is to say, to eleuen houres before midday. Their labor ending at that houre, certain numbers of people (round about) met there together, according to the places distributed to euery one. In this assembly, some passage in *Moses* and the Prophets was read, the Auncients that sate as Presidents, gaue addition of the exposition: which they would not haue to be written, but retained in the minde, and so transferred to the gouernment of manners, admonishing (according to the exigence of time) what they thoght profitable for peace and tranquilitie, for they would haue none of their followers to meddle in the Common-wealth.

Concerning their meetings and assemblies.

What times they reputed most conuenient for meditation and prayer.

After this reading & exposition, they inuoked Gods assistance both in publike & particular. They held those times to be most meet for meditation & praier, when the body was not charged with meats & fumes, & that inuention is most sprightly in them, whose mindes were fasting from worldly cogitations. Two or 3. houres being employed in reading and prayer, euery one went to supper, or walked in company, or alone by himselfe, according as it stoode with his good liking, or as his heart required. The rest of the day, vntill the Euening came, was spent in

The exercises afterreceuing sustenance.

learned discourse and talking of God, of Plants, of medicaments, and their experience in euery thing: or else of the historie of their owne nation, and what miseries had beene common to them. Before the darke houres of night, they met together againe, and went to prayer.

Now, although the order of their behauiour and actions were wisely gouerned, and many (in their Colledges) liued modestly; yet notwithstanding it came to passe, that some of them (wonne by their owne couetous desires) forgot the Lawes diuine, and (in the neighbouring towns) fell to voluptuous pleasures. But the rigour of each Colledge was such, as if any one had defrauded another, if hee had lied, or had infected himselfe with whoredome: immediately (by common sentence) hee was excommunicated out of the company. For (among them) was kept the most ancient custome of the Synagogue, whereof is spoken in Saint *Mathew*, Because there might no question be vrged, for instituting any new forme of Iudicature; but the playne auncient fashion, recited as it was giuen by the Fathers, the traces whereof are remaining in the Church.

Discipline ecclesiastical ordayned for such as offended against the Lawes of their colleges.

Matth. 18.17.

The principall parts of the doctrine taught by the Essæans.

This pollicie of the *Essæans*, comprehended the principall parts of their doctrine, to wit; the study of learning, the exercises of Inuocation, reuerence to their Gouernors, bodily labors, temperance, and modest maners according to the Decalogue, the nourishing of youth; who were instructed in learning, and the Art of Physicke; paines and punishments also appointed for delinquents. *Iosephus* commended the College of the *Essæans*, comparing them to the Schoole of *Pythagoras*. *Pliny* also makes mention of them in very honorable maner, terming them *Essæncans*, as (since then) diuers other did; for there he speaketh of no other people, but onely the *Essæans*. Hee placeth their dwelling towards the Lake *Asphaltida*, on the west side, not farre from the Citty of *Iericho*, where were the gardens of Balme. It may be, that this place was chosen to study the Art of Physick, as not being the like in all the world, for abounding in all the principall medicines. By this passage of *Pliny*, and by *Iosephus*, it appeareth, that the colledge of the *Essæans* continued to the time of *Vespasian*: besides, *Iosephus* reporteth, that they carried themselues very valiantly in warre.

Ioseph. in Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 9. Plin. in l. 5. c. 2.

The habitation of the Essæans.

Now wil we returne to *Hyrcanus*, who after he had held the gouernement, and the High-priesthood 31 yeares, died, leauing 3. children. Hee was accounted singularly happy in 3. things; to wit, that he had bin so long a time a peaceable prince of the people, and the soueraigne Sacrificer: adding thereto, that he was beleeued to haue the spirit of Prophecie, & knowlege in things to come, by the gift of god.

The Authors returne to the former Historie.

CHAP. X.

Hauing briefly discoursed on the 3. seuerall Sects, of the Pharises, Sadduces, and Essæans: we go backe againe where we formerly left, to speake of Hyrcanus and his Sonnes.

Iohn Hyrcanus had fiue sonnes, *Aristobulus* the first, *Antigonus* the second; a graue yong man, who in his life time, accompanyed with his brother *Aristobulus*: expulsed *Antiochus Cyzicenus* out of *Iudea*, and tooke *Samaria*. The father being dead, his brother also was crowned King. But soone after, when hee had exploited the affaires in *Galilee*, he went vp to *Ierusalem*, accompanied with braue Souldiers, to be present at the Feast of Tabernacles. His brother growing suspitious of him, and causing him to be entrapped by his warlike troups; he was slaine by them neare to the Temple.

The valiant actes of Antigonus.

Antigonus slaine by his brothers meanes.

Alexander the third, called *Iamnes* also, had two sons, namely, *Hyrcanus* the first, *Aristobulus* the secõd, *Absolon* the fourth; being of a most milde and peaceable spirit, liued by himselfe priuately. A daughter of his was married to his cosin *Aristobulus*. The fift sonne of *Hyrcanus* is not named at all, and yet was slayne by his brother *Alexander*: because that (after the death of *Aristobulus*) he affected the kingdome.

The fift sonne of Hyrcanus slaine.

Aristobulus, after the death of his father *Hyrcanus*, being the first that changed the Principalitie into a dignitie Royall; imposed on himselfe the diademe, and sent also for his brother *Antigonus*, whom he loued. He put his other three brethren in prison, and that which is much more, he starued his owne mother to death in prison; because she demaunded

Aristobulus crowned himselfe king of Iudea.

ded the succession and gouernement of the principalitie, which *Hyrcanus* had left vnto her on his death-bed.

Antigonus the second son of Hyrcanus slaine.

Afterward, he caused his brother *Antigonus* to be slaine, he being a braue man, and a bolde warriour, laying diuerse ambushes for him, as hee returned victoriously from *Galilee*; only because he suspected that he affected the kingdome.

Immediately, beeing highly distasted by this murdering of his brethren, he became seized with a grieuous paine in his entrails, and hauing cast vp a great quantitie of bloud by vomiting, the Page that carried the Bason from him, fell (accidentally) in the same place, where the ground remained as yet infected with the blood of murdred *Antigonus*, and there he spilt the cast blood of *Aristobulus*: which hee vnderstanding, and falling into acknowledgement of the diuine iust vengeance; in excessiue torments both of soule and body, yeelded vp the ghost. After he had reigned one whole yeare onely, and during which time, hee had augmented the kingdome of *Iudea*, and constrained the *Itureans* to vndergoe Circumcision, hauing formerly vanquished them. He was called *Philellin*; because hee vsed greatly the familiarity of Pagans.

A strange iudgement of God iustly shewed vpon Aristobulus, & his despaire.

People of Syria-Cæles neere Arabia, very expert in shooting.

Alexander, called also Iamnes.

A prediction giuen to Hyrcanus in his sleepe.

HIs father *Hyrcanus* neuer saw him, for as he was in great care about the succession of his children: it was foretolde him in his sleepe, that his riches and principalitie, should fall into the power of that new borne babe, whereat hee growing greatly offended, commaunded, that hee should be nursed in *Galilee*, like to a simple priuate person.

Alexander attaineth to the Crowne.

After the death of his father *Hyrcanus*, he was clapt vp in prison (with his two other brethren) by *Aristobulus*. But *Aristobulus* dying at his yeares expiration, hee came to the Crowne, by the means of *Alexandra*, wife to *Aristobulus*, to whom he had promised marriage.

Alexander killed his brother.

Soone after he was crowned King, he slew one of his brethren, who practised nouelties; and entertained the other (named *Absolon*) honorably, because he was of a peaceful spirit. Then taking order for publike affaires, hee besieged the cittie of *Ptolomais* round about. The cittizens seeing all hope of succour voyde from *Syria*, in regard of the ciuile warre, which made mighty hauocke there; called from *Cyprus* *Ptolomie Lathurus*, expulsed by his mother *Cleopatra*. He coming to them with 3000 men, *Alexander* retired his army into his countrey, and dispatched a messenger secretly into *Egypt*, desiring ayde of *Cleopatra* against her son *Lathurus*. Publikely he capitulated aliance with *Lathurus*, promising him 24 tuns of gold, if, expelling the tyrant *Zoilus*, who vsurped *Doris* and *Cæsarea*, he would render those Seigneuries to the Iewes.

An Ile in the sea Carpathium, betweene Cilicia and Syria.

But *Ptolomie* being aduertised of *Alexanders* secret machinarions, breaking all alliances, inuaded *Iudea* with his Army, where *Alexander* mette him with his forces well appoynted, and after a rude encounter, *Alexander* was put to flight, and lost 30000. of his men. *Lathurus* not a litle glorying in this victory, made mightie waste in *Iudea*, sacking & spoyling all places where he came, killing both women and children in euery village; and after he had sliced them in peeces, he caused their limbes to be boyled and eaten by his souldiers, to make them the more terrible to the Iews. Very soone after, *Cleopatra* chased this Tyrant out of *Iudea*, as doubting lest if he should grow any greater, thē he would further insult vpon *Egypt*. *Alexander* went to visite her at the siege which she maintained before **Ptolomais*, where he gaue her great gifts: and after he had bin royally welcomed by her, and combined alliance with her, he tooke his way homeward againe.

A country of Greece, neare the gulfe Meleacus.

The great cruelties of Lathurus against the vanquished Iewes in Iudea.

Much about this time, while *Lathurus* returned to *Cyprus*, and *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, *Alexander* tooke *Gadera*, *Anathunta* and *Anthedon*, and hauing held a long siege before *Gaza*, with losse of a great number of his men: finally, by the treason of *Lysimachus*, he entred it, & slaying the Citizens most inhumanely, he raced it to the ground. Nor would he pardon 500. of the principall persons, who labored to yield the city to him: but drew them from foorth the Temple of *Apollo* (whereunto they had fled for freedom) to put them to death. But these iocund prosperities were ouertaken with a domesticall sedition: for, in the Feast of Tabernacles, hee was iniuried by the people, as vnwoorthy of the Priesthoode, because hee was borne of a slaue: And hardely it happened, that (in his sacrificing) he was not slayne

Tolomira by the red Sea.

Cities of Decapolis in Syria.

The barbarous butcheries of Alexander the High priest.

Alexander hardly escaped killing, & bloodily reuenged it on the people.

by the multitude then about him, who smote him with the boughes and branches, which the *Iewes* vsed to carry at that Feast. Not a little enraged at this wrong, he called his souldiers together, and entring vpon the vnarmed people, slew about sixe thousand of them: calling diuers strangers from *Persia* and *Cilicia*, to serue as a Guard about his body. Afterward, marching forth with his Army, he vanquished the *Moabites* and *Galaadites*, compelling them to pay him tribute.

The Moabites & Galaadites conquered.

Shortly after, to his great misfortune, hee encountred with *Oboda*, King of the *Arabians*, fell into his ambushes, and his Army being hewen in pieces, he escaped with much difficulty. Vpon this bad successe, the Pharisies (enraged with hatred against him) tooke occasion to raise the most part of the Iewish people likewise in mislike of him, with whom he warred (very hardly) sixe whole yeares. For the *Iewes* that were his aduersaries, drew *Demetrius*, the Sonne of *Gryphus*, to oppose his forces with such troopes as hee had called from *Damas*, where hee reigned: against whom *Alexander* fought to his great losse, for all his strange Soldiors lay slaine in the field, & he had no means to saue himselfe, but by flight. Yet, notwithstanding his instant calamity, some of the *Iewes* were hartened to take his part, in turning requitall vpon *Demetrius*: and beeing assisted with some sixe thousand men, he made a smal recouery of his former losse.

The Iewes entred into ciuill warre gainst Alexander.

Alexander findeth helpe in his heauy extremity.

Now, albeit vpon this victory, *Demetrius* (perceiuing the reuolt of the *Iewes*) retired his hoast home into his kingdome: yet notwithstanding, the most part of the *Iewes* (who were coniured against *Alexander*) continued in Armes still, whose power *Alexander* brake by little and little, aswell through industry, as by vertue. And after he had sped well in some skirmishes, hee shutte vp his very mightiest enemies, in the Fort belonging to the Towne of *Bethom*, which he enforced with great difficulty, & vsed extreme cruelty vpon his captiues. For he tooke eight hundred of the principal *Iewes*, causing them all to be crucified, while he sate banquetting at a Table with his Concubines, and in the presence of al his inuited guests, hauing formerly commaunded their wiues and children to be miserably murdred. The rest (affrighted by this cruell example) fled out of *Ierusalem* in the night time, being about eight thousand of his enemies.

The most part of the Iewes in Armes still againt Alexander.

Eight hundred cheefe Iewes crucified by Alexander, while he banqueted with his Concubines.

By this meanes, that dreadfull ciuill warre was appeased, which had continued more then sixe yeares; and wherein, aboue fifty thousand *Iewes* were slaine. After these domesticke troubles, by continuall courses hee reuenged himselfe on strange aduersaries, who had giuen succour and retreate to the seditious *Iewes*, winning from them many Townes and Citties. Returning home againe, through his intemperance, hee fell into a Feauer quartane, which held him for the space of three yeares. And yet, hating to abstaine (all this while) from trauaile and war, dyed in besiedging a Castle on the Mount of the *Gergesenians*, in the nine and fortieth yeare of his age; of his reigne and Priesthood, the seuen and twenty. Before his death, he left his kingdomes gouernment to his wife *Alexandra*, and gaue her charge to pacifie the Pharisies, whom he and his Father had offended, vnto their great detriment.

Sixe yeares ciuill war cost the liues of more then fifty thousand Iewes.

Alexander died in war, besiedging a Castle.

He left two Sons: Hyrcanus & Aristobulus.

Of whom we shall haue leysure to speak heereafter; because first of all, we are to say some-what concerning *Alexandra*, the wife of *Alexander Iannes*.

Alexandra, wife to Alexander Iannes.

After shee had instituted in the High-Priesthood her eldest sonne *Hyrcanus*, who desired nothing more, then to leade a priuate life: she succeeded in the kingdome after her husband *Alexander*, being especially aided by the power of the Pharisies, to whom she gaue authority, to reuocate and erect their ancient traditions, which *Hyrcanus* (her father in law) had abolished, & granted to them many other fauours beside. So that the Pharisies administred the whole Regiment of the Kingdome at their owne pleasure; onely the bare name of Queene remained to *Alexandra*. Finally, as they vndertooke the boldnesse, to execute (vnder colour of iustice) the cheefest Councellors to the deceassed King *Alexander*, whō they suspected to haue incited him against the Pharisies Sect: so they proceeded on in many inhumanities. The friends of *Alexander* going to *Rome* with his sonne *Aristobulus*, obtained (by fauor of the Court) to

Hyrcanus, eldest sonne to Alexander created high-Priest.

A woman reigneth ouer the Iewes.

Alexanders friends goe with Aristobulus to *Rome*.

to goe as Captaines of warlike troopes, to the Castles.

Tygranes king of Parthia vsurpeth ouer Syria.

At this time, *Tygranes* King of the *Parthians*, made seizure on the kingdome of *Syria*; becausse the *Syrian* Kings had consumed all their strength and power by domesticke warres. And being entred also into *Iudea*, planted his Campe before the Citty of *Ptolomais*: whereof (neuertheless) Queen *Alexandra* bought the peace by liberall bounty of gifts. After the taking of *Ptolomais*, *Tygranes* returning with his Army to his Countrey: heard newes concerning the victory of *Lucullus*, and the flight of *Mithridates*.

Aristobulus a great enemy to the Sect of the Pharisies.

Within a while after, *Alexandra* being fallen into an extreme sickneſſe, her Son *Aristobulus*, taking in ill part the dominion of the *Pharisies*: fled to the friends of his Father, who had the guarding of the castles, by whose assistance, he got possession of the principall Citties in *Iudea*. In this feare of the Pharisies, and no great assurance of *Aristobulus*, who (neuertheless) approched neere with his Army; *Alexandra* was called out of this life, in the ninth yeare of her Reigne, and the Lxxv. of her age, which brought peace to the Land of *Iudea*. But becausse she had encreased the power of the Pharisies; it was the reason of many troubles which followed.

The death of Alexandra.

The sonnes of Alexander Iamnes, and of Alexandra, were (as hath bene said)

Hyrcanus the second.

Aristobulus the second.

War between the two Brethren, Aristobulus conquereth both kingdom and Priesthood.

Hyrcanus the second, naturally peacefull, and a louer of quietneſſe, was enstalled by his Mother *Alexandra* Soueraigne Sacrificer, in the place of his deceassed Father. And moreouer, after the death of his Mother, by hereditary right he obtayned the kingdome. But being vanquished by his Brother *Aristobulus* in battel, he was glad to saue himselfe in the Fortresse of the Temple; commanded there to leade a priuate life, the kingdome and High-Priesthood beeing quitted to his Brother. For some time he endured these conditions, but beeing afterward moued by some accusations, which *Antipater* the *Idumean* (father to *Herod*) put into his head, as also the frauds and fetches of his brother *Aristobulus*; hee was induced to flye thence into *Arabia*, to king *Aretas*, whom *Antipater* had won by liberall promises, to attempt the restitution of *Hyrcanus* to the kingdome of *Iudea*.

Hyrcanus his flight into Arabia.

Aretas inuadeth Iudea to restore Hyrcanus.

Aretas inuading *Iudea* with a potent Army, and hauing *Aristobulus* at the encounter; ouercame him, and taking the Citty of *Ierusalem*, held him so long besiedged in the Temple, vntill by the command of *Scaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he was forced to retire with his Army into *Arabia*, and so the enterprize for *Hyrcanus* proued to none effect. After that *Pompey* had vanquished *Tygranes*, & was come into *Syria*, the two brethren, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, accused each other before him, touching their right to the Kingdom and High-Priesthood. But *Pompey*, more enclining to the part of *Hyrcanus*, by the prouidence and seruices of *Antipater*; released *Aristobulus* vnder certaine conditions. Neuertheless, *Aristobulus* meaning nothing but meere mockery to all commands, and trusting to the munitions in the City of *Ierusalem*: *Pompey* (in reuenge) entred it violently, and won the Temple so strongly defenced, where were slaine of the *Iewes*, about the number of two and twenty thousand, and the City (with the most part of *Iudea*) rendred tributary to the *Romaines*. Which tribute they payed for a certaine time, as *Iosephus* confesseth, amounting to the sum of 10000. Talents, which is 60. Tuns of gold. *Pompey* hauing walked in the Temple, and entred into the holiest part of all, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*: at his departing, restored *Hyrcanus* to the Soueraigne Priesthood, but not the kingdome. Also, he led along with him to *Rome*, *Aristobulus* as prisoner, with his two sonnes, *Alexander* (who neuertheles escaped by the way) and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters likewise.

The two brethren pleade their cause before Pompey.

Iudea and Ierusalem made tributary to the Romans.

Iosephus in Ant. Iud. lib. 3. cap. 7

Aristobulus led prisoner to Rome by Pompey.

Thus *Hyrcanus*, being possessed of the soueraigne Priesthood, about foure yeares after the death of his Mother *Alexandra*, succored *Scaurus* (left in *Iudea* with two legions) when he besiedged *Petra*, a City of *Arabia*. Afterward, he fel into the fauor of other *Romain* Lieutenants, sent into *Iudea* only by the perswasion and friendship of *Antipater*; as with *Gabinius*, *Crassus*, *Cassius* and *Iulius Cæsar* himselfe, to whō he sent aid, vnder the conduct of *Antipater*, when he was much hindred in the war of *Egipt*. And becausse *Antipater* had caried himself valiantly, *Cæsar* confirmd the high-Priesthood to *Hyrcanus*: & appointed *Antipater* to be

Hyrcanus in good fauor with many of the Romane Lieutenante.

Antipater protector of all Iudea.

be Tutor, Curator, or (as we vse now a-dayes to speake) Protector of all *Iudea*. At the same time also, *Cæsar* permitted to *Hyrcanus*, to re-establish the fortifications of the Citty of *Ierusalem*, which had beene beaten downe by *Pompey*.

After that *Iulius Cæsar* was slaine by the conspirators, a powerfull Iew, named *Malachus*, being offended at the encreasing greatnesse of *Antipater* the Idumean, and that the whole administration of affaires should be in his hand; surprized his life by poisons. But thereupon, *Iudea*, beeing destitute of so wise and valiant a Gouernour, fell to very miserable condition. For *Malachus*, tempesting his thoughts with mounting hopes, to become sole maister and commander; was slaine euen in the entrance to his enterprises, by *Herode* sonne to *Antipater*, to whom (though he was as yet very yong) his father had giuen the charge of *Galilee*. On the other side, the brother of *Malachus*, desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, thecued in the manner of an enemy. Also, *Antigonus* the captiued son to *Aristobulus*, escaping from the prisons of *Rome:* leuying men of arms, made him selfe maister of a great part of *Iudea*.

Antipater poisoned by Malachus a Iew.

Malachus slaine by Herode Antipaters sonne.

Antigonus escaped the Roman prisons.

After that *Herode* had imbarred his proceedings, *Antigonus* vnder promise of a thousand talents, which value sixe tuns of golde, and of fiue hundred most noble women; procured *Pacorus* and *Barzaphernes*, Satrapes in the Kingdome of *Persia*, to enter with a maine army into *Iudea*, to ouerthrow *Herode* and his brother *Phaselus*, whom *Anthonie* (one of the three Monarches) had before made Tetrarchs of *Iudea*. Which beeing done, they should perforce render the kingdom of the Iewes, to the sonnes of *Aristobulus*. *Pacorus* thinking it best, that *Herode* should bee surprized rather by subtiltie, then by violence; sent *Antigonus* on before with some bands of men, to get possession of *Ierusalem*; and he (in the meane while) would follow with his Armie by Sea, so farre as to *Ptolomais*, where he had ordered, that *Barzaphernes* should meete him with a passable Army. Many gaue kind welcomes to *Antigonus*, running affectionately to him, and promising their ayde against *Herode*. Neuertheless, *Herode* and his brother found themselues the stronger in many encounters, not only within the Citty, but also without the walles.

Herode and Phaselus Tetrarches in Iudea.

Determination for the armies meeting

Finally, *Antigonus* distrusting his forces, called *Pacorus* into the Citty, vnder pretence, that (as an Arbitratour) hee should compound the difference for the Principalitie, which was betweene him and *Herode*, vnder conditions more tollerable: but his purpose was indeede, to surprize *Herode* vnprouided. Moreouer, hee laboured with his vnckle *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus*, worming it so into their heads, to go in embassie to *Barzaphernes* (remaining in *Galilee* with his army) and to preuaile so farre with him by rich presents, that he should retreite his power into *Syria*. To which councell *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, and *Phaselus* (brother to *Herode*) yeelding, without suspect of ill; were taken by the *Parthians*, (euen as the matter was in monopolizing) contrary to the right of Nations, and deliuered as captiues to *Antigonus*.

Antigonus practiseth by cunning to compas that which he aimed at.

Hyrcanus and Phaselus taken prisoners

Herode being formerly aduertised of these plots and compacts of *Antigonus* & *Pacorus*; went foorth of the Citty in the night season, with all his family, some friends, and 800. women, rich and excellent in beautie, and left the persons and their goods in custody of *Massada*, a well defenced Citty of *Idumea*: which being done, he went thorow *Egypt* to *Rome*, euen in the worst time of all the world.

Herode escapeth, and goeth secretly to Rome.

Phaselus, brother to *Herode*, doubting the cruelty of *Antigonus*, because he was without armes, and bound; ranne his head (with great violence) diuers times against the wall, and by that meanes slew himselfe.

Phaselus desperately kills himselfe.

Antigonus, not contented with the dispoyling *Hyrcanus* of the High-priesthoode, caused him beside to become deformed, by cutting off his eares, fearing lest he should afterward attain to the Priesthood againe. For it was not lawfull, that any gelded man, or defectiue in any limbe or member of body, should administer in sacrificing. Moreouer, distrusting that he had not sufficiently enough prouided for his owne security; hee deliuered *Hyrcanus* captiue to the *Parthians*, to carry him out of *Iudea*, as farre as possibly they could.

The cruelty of one brother to another.

The flight of *Herod* being come to the notice of the barbarous vnciuile people, and they singularly displeased for the women,

The spoyle & hauocke of the barbarous multitude, & Hyrcanus led away captiue.

The spoile & hauock of the barbarous multitude, & Hyrcanus led away captiue.

men: which *Antigonus* formerly had promised to them; pilled and spoyled the citty and the pallace royall. And yet not satisfied with this booty, robbed many places about *Ierusalem*, without leauing any thing behinde them. And after they had ordained *Antigonus* King of *Ierusalem:* they withdrew their armed troups home into their owne countrey, leading *Hyrcanus* (the soueraigne Sacrificer) along with them captiue.

Hyrcanus deliuered by K. Phraates, and sent into Babylon.

It was not long after, that *Phraates* king of the *Parthians*, beeing informed of the nobilitie whereof he was descended; did set him at libertie, and sent him into *Babylon*, to be President ouer the Iewes inhabiting there, where, for about fiue yeares he was in great honor. But hauing heard, that not onely *Herode* obtained the kingdome of *Iudea*, by *Augustus Cæsar*; but also, that he was conioined to him in affinitie, because hee had taken in marriage his Niece *Mariana*, the daughter of *Alexander*: he thought on returning him backe againe, promising him mountaines and meruailes, for the goodwill of *Herode*.

Herode worketh with the King of Parthia, for the return of Hyrcanus into Iudea.

About this time it fortuned, that *Herode*, desirous to beget vnto him the courage of the Iewes, whom hee knew to beare great affection to *Hyrcanus*: repealed him backe by Letters and Ambassadors, and foorthwith sent great Presents to the king of the *Parthians*, to pay the ransome for his captiuity. Whereupon, *Hyrcanus* thinking there would not be any further question of deferring; contrary to the councell of al the Iews which were in *Babylon* (who entreated him earnestly to stay there, as fearing that which followed after) returned into *Iudea*.

Hyrcanus honourably entertained by Herode.

Herode wellcomed him very magnificently, and (for some time) vsed him honourably; euen to the appealing of his father, and often conferring with him on the very principall affaires. Notwithstanding, he would not surrender to him the principality of the high-Priesthood, for the defect of his eares: but, instead of *Antigonus* (slaine before) substituted a certaine man, named *Ananelus*, come from *Babylon*, to enioy the Priesthood. Soone after, he gaue manifest signes of his deadly hatred, against all the posterity of the *Asmoneans*. As, when (by a close ambush) he slew *Aristobulus*, nephew to *Hyrcanus*, and his most dearely affected wife *Mariana*, Niece also to the said *Hyrcanus*.

The cruel and bloody murdering of the Asmoneans by Herode.

Finally, after the ouerthrow of *Marke Antony*, one of the 3 chief rulers, to whom *Herode* had beene companion, and sent him succors diuers times in war; as some sad thoughts ouertooke him, for feare of *Augustus*, being Conquerour, and of his aduersaries thorow the country of *Iudea*, but especially fearing the people (who loued him not) should mutiny by this occasion, & transferre the kingdom of their Ancestors to *Hyrcanus* (who only remained of the roiall family of the *Asmoneans*) began to lay snares and close contriuings against the life of the miserable old man. For, he imposed a false crime vpon him, that hee would haue vsurped the Kingdome: and to make it probable, he composed counterfeited Letters; whereupon he being condemned by sentence of the great Consistory, was executed, albeit he was aboue 80. yeares olde. All his life time was troublesome vnto him, being agitated with infinit accidents of fortune, yet he (naturally) affecting quietnes, and a meane estate. Only heerein reprehensible, that he was too facile, in listening to such as prouoked him on to the attempting of fond nouelties.

Hyrcanus only left of the noble Asmoneans family.

Herod caused Hyrcanus to be most wrõgfully put to death.

Aristobulus the second.

Aristobulus had a gallant, youthfull and hote disposed nature.

BRother to the aboue named *Hyrcanus* the second, and sonne of *Alexander*: As young a man as he was, and of hote and liuely spirit, yet notwithstanding, for nine yeares space, he left to his Mother the administration of the Kingdome, which *Alexander* (dying) gaue to hir; contenting himselfe with a priuate life. But at the length, his mother being detayned by a long sickenesse, and very dangerous, and he (not a little offended) that all matters were guided according to the fancie of the Pharises; by stealth made his recourse into the citty, and conferred with the friends to his deceassed father, who had the keeping of the Castles. Being ayded by them in bountifull maner, he gathered an army; by whose assistance, hee possessed himselfe of diuers neighboring places about *Ierusalem*.

His strengthning himselfe by his fathers friends.

His mother *Alexandra* dying, vpon this his preparatiue for warre; *Hyrcanus*, who all the life time of his mother as Queene, had held the High-priest-hood: being

Hyrcanus is ouercome by Aristobulus in battell.

being the eldest son, made himselfe King by right of inheritance. And to defend his right by Armes, hee went to affront his brother neare to *Iericho*, with an army ordred in good equipage. But being left of his people, who reuolted to *Aristobulus*, vnder hope and perswasion of better recompence; he had no other helpe, but to shield himselfe in the munition of the Temple, where he was for some time besieged by his brother, and finally deliuered, vpon condition, that he should leaue the Kingdome and High-priesthoode to his brother, and leade a priuate life by himselfe.

The hope of Hyrcanus to recouer the Kingdome againe from his brother Aristobulus.

Some while after, hee conueyed himselfe couertly into *Arabia*, by the perswasion of *Antipater*; as hoping to regaine the Kingdome from his brother, by the meanes of king *Aretas*. *Aristobulus* knowing the comming of *Arctas*, King of the *Arabians*, with *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, went foorth to meete them: and beeing vanquished in a day of warre triall, hardly fled backe againe to *Ierusalem*, where hee was (for a time) besieged by the enemies, that closely followed his footing, vntill such time, as hauing promised 300. talents to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he preuailed thereby so well; that *Scaurus* sending in the name of the *Roman* people to *Aretas*, commanded him to auoyd out of *Iudea*, except hee would be enemy to the *Romans*. By this meanes the siege was raised; and *Aristobulus*, desirous to be reuenged, assembled men, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*, of whom he slew sixe thousand in one fight.

Seaurus raiseth the siege which was laid to Ierusalem.

The coming of Pompey to Damas.

While these things were thus in working, *Pompey*, hauing pacified the East parts, came to *Damas*, where *Aristobulus* sent him a magnificent Present, accusing his brother *Hyrcanus* very strongly to be a perturber of the common peace. *Pompey* heereupon appointed, that at the Spring time, both the brethren should be personally present, before him at *Damas*. Where *Pompey* vnderstanding the difference betweene them, was more inclined to the case of *Hyrcanus*; as well for the equitie of his cause, as for his loue vnto *Antipater*. Neuertheless, he suffered *Aristobulus* to depart, vnder conditions, which he cared not to keep, but (by machinations) made a mockerie at the matters commanded him; and (indeed) did nothing at all. Heereat *Pompey* beeing highly offended, entred into *Iudea*, with the Army which he had brought against the *Arabian* * *Nabathæans*. And because *Aristobulus* had againe mocked *Gabenius*, one of the Lieutenants to *Pompey*, not furnishing him (according to promise) concerning the deliuering of certaine summes of money: *Pompey* beeing much incensed by the disloyalty of *Aristobulus*, brought his Army and Engins before *Ierusalem*, and because the Iews would not yeeld themselues, he tooke the Cittie by force, ayded by the councell of *Hyrcanus*, on the fasting day of the third month before *Pentecost*; and in the yeare when *Marcus Tullius Cicero* confounded the Conspiracie of *Cataline* in *Rome*.

* People of Arabia Felix betweene the Persian Sea and the red Sea.

Pompey entred into Iudea with his Armie.

In the surprizall of the Citty two and twenty thousand Iewes were slaine by the Souldiers, and *Pompey* (with his friends) entred into the place called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and intruded to see such things as were not lawfull, but onely for the Soueraign Sacrificer. And vnderstanding that there were great summes of Golde and gold money in the Treasury, and twelue tuns of siluer coyne; without taking anie thing, he departed thence, and commanded the place to be purified againe. Hee restored *Hyrcanus* to the high-priesthood, and caused the authors of the warre to be beheaded, who had bene motiues to the rebellion of *Aristobulus*. Afterward, he demolished the walles of *Ierusalem*, and made all *Iudea* tributarie to the *Romaine* people. Also he adiudged to the Empire of *Rome*, the Cities and Townes of the *Asmoneans*, which were takē before from the Kings of *Syria*: restoring also such to libertie, as in times past had liued in freedome. By this meanes hee locked vp the nation of the Iews within narrow limits, that before had extended their dominion very farre.

Ierusalem surprised by Pōpey and his power.

The Sanctuarie polluted and profaned by the Romaines.

The Cities and Townes of the Asmoneans adiudged to the empire of the Romane people.

At his departure, hee left two legions in *Iudea*, vnder the conduction of *Scaurus*, taking *Aristobulus* captiue, with *Alexander* and *Antigonus* his two sonnes, to leade them home in triumph: but *Alexander* (hauing deceiued his keepers) escaped by the way. Here was the beginning of the seruitude of the Iewish nation, who were thus enthralled to the power of the *Romaines*. The discord of two brethren gaue the first occasion of this calamitie: three-

Iudea brought into slauery by the discord of 2. brethren.

three score yeares before the natiuitie of Christ; foure yeares before that *Aristobulus* (his Mother dead, and his Brother *Hyrcanus* deiected from the seate Royall) had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea*. Saint *Ierome* writeth, that *Iakin*, father to the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, was borne the same yeare that *Ierusalem* was surprized.

I thought it fit also, to insert heere the sad issue and successe of *Pompey*, considering, that it seemed to be done diuinely, that hee should be murdered face to face the place which hee had profaned, aswell by effusion of bloud, as by foolish audaciousnesse. For, foureteene yeares after the taking of *Ierusalem*, being vanquished by *Cæsar* in the battaile of *Pharsalia*, and thinking to saue himselfe by flying to the Sonne of *Ptolomie* the Fleutster, whom he had recommended to the Romaine Senate, when he was chased and banished out of his Kingdome neare to * *Pelusium*, coming foorth of a small Barke, and aged about three score yeares; he was slaine by the command of King *Ptolomy*, in the presence of his wife *Cornelia*. And, as it is thought, *Virgill* wrote these verses on his death:

A great Trunck lying vpon the Sea shore,
A bodie without head; a head lying
Farre from the shoulders.

Pelusium is distant from *Ierusalem*, a litle more then thirtie *Germaine* miles, but iust confronting it, according to the calculation of *Ptolomie*. Seauen yeares after the surprizing of *Ierusalem*, *Aristobulus*, being escaped from imprisonment at *Rome*; came into *Iudea* with his other Sonne *Antigonus*, where againe he fortified the Fort of *Alexandrion*, which *Gabinius* had destroyed. Many Iewes (affecting noueltics) ranne to him, so that being accompanied with eight thousand chosen men; hee dared to encounter with the *Romaines*, which *Gabinius* (then Proconsull for *Syria*) conducted, who, but a litle before, constrained *Alexander*, the other sonne of *Aristobulus* (thinking to possesse himselfe of the kingdome) to deliuer him vp those Fortresses, and to craue peace. But *Aristobulus*, sustaining the worst in a sharpe fight, retired with two bands of men, into the most strong towne of *Macheron*, scituated on the Lake *Asphaltida*, somewhat a little lower then the place where *Iordaine* entreth into it. In which towne Saint *Iohn Baptist*, beeing a long while imprisoned, was finally beheaded. In two dayes the *Romaines* conquered the towne perforce, and *Aristobulus* taken, was led to *Gabinius*, wounded as he was; and so the second time sent bound to *Rome*, with his two children.

Matters thus pacified in *Iudea*, *Gabinius*, attended by his Gendarmery, reseated *Ptolomie* the Fleutster in his Kingdome, he being expulsed thence by them of *Alexandria*; in which exploite he was assisted by *Hyrcanus* the soueraigne Sacrificer, and *Antipater* the Idumean. At his returne, he found all in *Iudea* and *Syria* full of troubles and tempests, for *Alexander* rauaged againe throughout *Iudea*: but *Gabinius* ouercame him in a day of battell (where he had worke enough to doe) and chased him quite out of *Iudea*; hauing massacred ten thousand Iewes.

Afterwards hee continued two yeares in the Prouince, gouerning all matters quietly, according to the testimony of *Iosephus*. And hauing repayred many Townes; which had beene much spoyled in the precedent warre; he left the Army in the power of *Marcus Crassus*, a verie greedy and couetous man, who attempting warre against the *Parthians*, arriued there in *Syria*, in the yeare after his second Consulship, one and fiftie yeares before the birth of Christ.

This man hauing intelligence, that there was a great masse of money locked vp in the Temple of the Iewes, went to *Ierusalem*, and was admitted to the most secret place of the Temple; from whence (contrary to his former faithfull promise) he carryed away more then ten thousand talents, that is to say, three score tunnes of golde; beside a beame of gold, which weighed three hundred Minaes, or (as *Iosephus* expoundeth it) seuen hundred and fifty *Romaine* pounds weight, amounting to fiue Quintalles and more then an halfe of our weight. *Eleazar*, Guardian of the Temple, deliuered that beame to *Crassus* very willingly, because he had promised and protested by oathe, that hee would not touch any treasure of the Temple, no more then *Pompey* had done tenne yeares before.

Now, concerning this auaritious Proconsull, soone after, he dearely payed for his wilfull periury and sacrilege; beeing miserably

The iust iugement of heauen inflicted vpon Pompey

A towne on the edge of Egypt.

The death of Pompey.

The fort of Alexandrion newly strengthened.

Macheron the place where Saint Iohn the Baptist was put to death.

Ptolomie the Fleutster restored to his Kingdome by Gabinius.

Ios. in Ant. Iud. lib. 9. c. 15

Marc. Crassus receiueth charge of the Armie.

Crassus breaketh his faith plighted to Eleazas guardian of the Temple.

The iustice of heauen on Crassus for his periury & sacriledge.

miserably slaine by the *Parthians*, with his son *Publius*, an excellent towardly yong man, and wel-neare thirty thousand *Romaines*, that rather would bee slaine, then taken; *Crassus* was then threescore yeares of age.

Pitholaus a Iew raiseth tumults on the behalfe of Aristobulus.

In the meane while, one *Pitholaus*, a very powerfull Iew, and friend to *Aristobulus* the captiue; after his second surprizall, beganne to raise tumults in *Iudea*, and weakened the side of *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*. But after the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthians*, when *Cassius*, Questor to *Crassus*, re-assembled the rest of the *Romaine* Armie, who had fled away, and brought them backe into *Syria*, and as he ransacked the Cities of *Iudea* for want of mony: he was perswaded by *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, to make triall of his forces against *Pitholaus*, whom he vanquished in the field of battell, and brought him captiue with the *Romaine* army into *Syria*, so that thereon ensued peace in *Iudea* for some time.

Cassius takes Pitholaus prisoner.

Fiue yeares after, the warre was kindled betweene *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; and *Cæsar* comming to *Rome* (forsaken of *Pompey*) tooke *Aristobulus* out of prison, and sent him into the East with two Legions, to subdue *Syria* & *Iudea*. But being poisoned by the way, by them that tooke part with *Pompey*: hee remayned long time in the Ile of *Malta* vnburied, vntill *Marke Anthony*, one of the three Monarchs, sent his body into *Iudea*, and commanded that he should be interred in the Sepulchre of Kings.

Aristobulus poysoned and buried in the Sepulchre of kings.

Such was the end of *Aristobulus*, after many mutations of fortune, hauing been twise taken and sent to *Rome*, where hee was almost foureteene yeares prisoner. He was of a factious and seditious spirit, for, being moued with ambition, he quarrelled for the kingdome of *Iudea* with his brother *Hyrcanus*: vntill such time as hee caused his death, and brought his Countrey into miserable seruitude, which proued the ruine of all his nation.

The seditious spirit of Aristobulus.

He had two sons, and as many daughters; *Hyrcanus* the second his first sonne, soueraigne Sacrificer, who had a daughter named *Alexandra*, married to his cosin *Alexander*: a woman wise, but very vehement, whom *Herode* afterward put to death. *Aristobulus* the second had *Alexander*, *Antigonus* the second, *Alexandra*. First married to *Philippion*, sonne to *Ptolomy*, king of *Chalcis*, which is a Region on the coast of *Libanus*. Afterward, *Ptolomie* (inflamed with the loue of his daughter in lawe) slew his sonne *Phillippion*, and tooke her in marriage. And after succoured and defended his brother *Antigonus*, against *Herode* and the *Romaines*.

The Sonne murdered by his owne Father, to enioy his wife.

Alexander the second.

Surprized with his father *Aristobulus* by *Pompey*; before he arriued at *Rome*, deceiued his guardes, and escaped. Fiue yeares after, assisted by an Armie, hee inuaded *Iudea*, expulsed his vnckle *Hyrcanus* from *Ierusalem*, repayred the destroyed munitions, and planted there a Garrison. But *Gabinius*, Proconsull of *Syria*, being called thereto by *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, hauing fought with him in battell; held him a long time besieged in the Citty of *Alexandrion*, vntill such time as he was constrained to yeeld himselfe, and put downe the chiefest fortifications. Being pacified by the entreaties of *Alexanders* mother (who always condemned the foolish enterprises of her sonne against the *Romaines*) shee obtayned pardon for *Alexander*. Neuertheless, *Gabinius* sent him to *Rome* with his father *Aristobulus*, and *Antigonus* his brother captiues: yet writing to the Senate, that it might stand with their good liking, to send backe the children of *Aristobulus* to their mother, because he had made such a promise in name of the Senate; in regarde that that valiant woman, had euermore take good part with the *Romaines*.

Alexander escaped from his keepers before hee cam to Rome

The exploits of Gabinius Syria.

The kindnes of Gabinius for the sonnes of Aristobulus

The Senate was willing heerein to gratifie *Gabinius*, but *Alexander*, being returned into *Iudea*; returned bad recompence to *Gabinius*, and the Senate, for the great grace which they had granted him. For, seeing *Gabinius* to be hindred in *Egypt*, by much trouble (as hath already beene said) being fauored with thirty thousand men: againe he stroue to subiugate *Iudea*, and cruelly murdered all the *Romaine* Souldiers, that he could finde in the garrisons of the surprized Cities. For which cruelty, hee payed the iust punishment about fiue yeares after.

The ill requitall of Alexander to Gabinius and the Romaine Senate.

Gabinius being returned into *Iudea*, laboured first to appease these matters with *Antipater*: but no way preuayling, he vnited the forces of the *Romaine* Armie; giuing

Treacherie and disloyalty lies in wait for fit opportunity.

uing a violent and dangerous encounter to *Alexander*, wherein ten thousand *Iewes* lost their liues, and the rest driuen all in route. *Alexander* striuing to saue himselfe, and seeing his attempts so often times frustrated, and his forces broken; lay close hidden for a while, vntill he vnderstoode, that ciuile warre was kindled betweene *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, and his father *Aristobulus* (deliuered out of prison) came thither with two legions. Then he bestirred himselfe to leuy Souldiers also; but was taken in *Syria*, euen vpon the very beginning of his enterprise, and led to *Antioche* to *Scipio*. Before him the *Romanes* accused him of cruelty, which he had vsed against the *Romaine* Souldiers in the Garrisons: whereuppon, by Commaund receiued from *Pompey*, hee was beheaded before *Scipio*, who then helde *Syria*, some few moneths after the death of his father *Aristobulus*; forty sixe yeares before the Natiuity of Christ; and the selfe same yeare as *Pompey* was slaine in *Egypt*, as hath bin sayd.

Alexander accused of crueltie before Scipio, & beheaded.

This *Alexander* had these children by *Alexandra*, daughter to *Hyrcanus* the second.

Alexanders children.

{ *Aristobulus* the third,
And
Mariana, whom *Herod* after espoused

But we shall speake hereafter of *Alexanders* children, because I am desirous first to relate somwhat, concerning the actions & fortuns of his brother *Antigonus*.

Antigonus was twise sent prisoner to Rome.

Antigonus, the last sonne to *Aristobulus* the 2. was twice taken with his father, and sent to *Rome*: once by *Pompey*, and another time by *Gabinius*. But then (by the fauour of the Senate) he was returned into *Iudea* with his brother *Alexander*; & spent some time with his Mother in the City of *Ascalon*. Then hee went to *Ptolomy*, (Lord of *Chalcis*) his kinseman, who refused to assist the fool-hardy and vnhappy attempts of his brother *Alexander*, for feare of the *Romanes*. But after the death of his father and brother, when as *Iulius Cæsar* had finished the war of *Alexandria*, & was come into *Spaine*: he presented himselfe before him in al humility, and made a great complaint, aswell of the pittifull ouerthrow of his father *Aristobulus*, as also of his brother *Alexander*, both being cruelly slaine by the partakers with *Pompey*.

Antigonus complayneth to Iulius Cæsar against the gouernement of Antipater.

He further proceeded, and taxed *Antipater* with vniust gouerning, who beeing but of a meane descent, and a stranger: had (neuertheless) vsurped the kingdome of the *Iewes*, and had left nothing to *Hyrcanus*, but the silly name of Soueraigne Sacrificer, doing all at his owne pleasure, to establish the power of his children, and pretending to take away the principalitie from the Iewish: the people (of the royall family of the *Asmoneans*) thereby to transferre it to his Sonnes. He said, that himselfe was the onely man left, to whom the lawfull succession of the kingdome appertained; who notwithstanding, being spoiled of his hereditarie dignity, was forced to wander as a vagabond, a banished man and left to all distresse. Concluding finally with humble intercessions, hee requested, that the administration of the Iewish principality might be restored to him, and *Antipater* dismissed.

The allegations inferred against Antipater by Antigonus.

Whereunto *Antipater* answering, began to accuse *Aristobulus* and his sonnes before *Cæsar*, because (contrary to all right and equity) he had violently rent the kingdome from *Hyrcanus* his eldest brother, and alwayes beene disloyall and an enemy to the *Romaines*: wherein, his sons had well followed his example, filling *Iudea* and *Syria* with tumults and blood: that being the maine reason, why *Aristobulus* was so long detained prisoner, and *Alexander* had his head smitten from his shoulders, for the cruelties he vsed to the *Romaines*. Afterward, hee procured faithfull witnesses, how modestly he had carried himselfe in gouerning, and what fauors he had euer extended to the *Romane* Captaines. *Cæsar* beeing thereto mooued by these iust causes, licenced *Antigonus* to depart, and confirmed the High-priesthoode to *Hyrcanus*; and ennobling *Antipater* with new titles of Dignity, he constituted him Tutor of all *Iudea*.

Antipater accuseth Aristobulus and his sons before Cæsar.

Antigonus much displeased with this refusall, returned to his kinseman the king of *Chalcis*, where he contayned himselfe almost foure yeares space, vntill *Iulius Cæsar* was murdered by the Conspiratours. For then, when all the world was vp in mutinie, and that *Cassius* (who was forraging in *Syria*, impeaching the warre against *Marke Anthony*) had retired the *Romaine* Armies out of *Syria*: *Antigonus*, assisted by his kinsman *Ptolomy*, and other

Antigonus dismissed from Cæsar without any successe.

Antigonus inuaded Iudea agayne with freſh forces.

neighbouring kings, inuaded *Iudea* with his Army againe; where *Herode* (his father *Antipater* being dead) being very powerfull and ſtrong, repelled and gaue him ſharpe repulſe, after the fighting of a battell with him.

Some yeares after, when *Anthony* one of the three Monarchs, had encreaſed the power of *Herode*, hauing ordayned him (with his brother *Phaſelus*) Tetrarches of all *Iudea*: *Antigonus* enraged with anger, thought it not tollerable, that the kingdome of *Iudea* ſhould bee deuolued vnto ſtrangers in this manner. Wherefore, to leuy a new Armie, hee had found out a yong man of a fiery temper, named *Lyſanias*, his kinſman and hoſte; into whoſe hand the kingdome of *Chalcis* was fallen, by the death of his father *Ptolomy*, vnto whom (as hath afore beene ſayd) *Alexandra*, the Siſter of *Antigonus*, was giuen in marriage. As they were working vpon theſe concluſions, another occaſion (very apt and opportune) offered it ſelfe, becauſe (as then) the *Parthians* inſulted ouer the Prouince of *Syria*, vnder the conduct of *Pacorus* and *Barzaphernes*. *Lyſanias* hauing ſent great preſents to them, and a thouſand Talents promiſed by *Antigonus*, as alſo fiue hundred women, excelling in nobility and beauty; they were heereby incited, to reſeate *Antigonus* in poſſeſſion of his fathers kingdome.

An office for gouerning the fourth part of the Realme.

New deuiſes and machinations of Antigonus to compaſſe his intent.

What cannot gold and women procure?

Before, in the life of *Hyrcanus*, we haue expreſſed the ſtratagem of the barbarous people, to ſurprize *Hyrcanus* and *Phaſelus* (being Ambaſſadours) captiues, and how wickedly *Antigonus* did cut off his vnckles eares, ſending him alſo captiue into *Parthia*, to the end, that hee might the more ſafely enioy the High-prieſthood and the Kingdome. But this authoritie, gotten by ſuch wicked cunning and practiſes, could not keepe firme, or laſt any long while. For ſoone after, *Herode* going to *Rome*, declared there to *Marke Anthony*, his flight and calamitie, complaining on the outrages and diſloyaltie of *Antigonus*. In briefe, hee ſped ſo well in his purpoſe, that inſtead of Tetrarch, he was proclaimed King of all *Iudea*, by conſent of *Auguſtus*, *Anthony* and the Senate, and *Antigonus* adiudged enemy to the people of *Rome*. And although ſome *Romane* Captaines, being ſent with Legions into *Syria*, had charge to expulſe *Antigonus*, and put *Herod* in poſſeſſion of the Iewiſh kingdome: yet notwithſtanding, by bribes and gifts, *Antigonus* kept them off from coming into *Iudea*.

Authoritie gotten by vniuſt meanes muſt needes inioy the leſſe continuance.

Antigonus bribes the Romaine Captaines.

At length, *Anthony* vndertaking warre againſt the *Parthians*, *Soſius* was ſent into *Iudea* with a potent Army, to replant *Herode*; wherefore he and *Herode*, their forces being ioyned together, beſieged ſome few moneths the Cittie of *Ieruſalem*. Finally, they tooke it by force, the ſeuenth yeare after the death of *Cæſar*, or of the Empire of *Octauius Auguſtus*, and the ſelfe ſame day that *Pompey* (ſeauen yeares before) had taken it.

Soſius ſent with an armie to reſeate *Herode* as King of Iudea.

At that time, as the Souldiers (indifferently on either ſide) ſlew and murdered one another, without ſparing eyther age or ſexe: *Antigonus*, not able to endure the ſight of ſuch a ſlaughter among the Cittizens, came willingly forth of the munitions of the Temple, and fell before the feete of *Soſius* the *Romane* Captaine, craning pardon for his offences, and deſiring (aboue all elſe) that hee would remit the common people, who were no warriours, and to ſpare the Temple. But the prowd Conquerour, making a mockerie of the ſuppliant King, called him oftentimes (in deriſion) *Antigonas*, and after ſent him captiue into *Syria* to *Anthony*, who was returned from the warre of the *Parthians*.

Antigonus yeeldeth himſelfe to Soſius who ſent him captiue into Syria.

Herode being poſſeſſed of the whole Kingdome, was aduertiſed, that *Anthony* purpoſed to leade *Antigonus* with him in triumph to *Rome*. And fearing withall, that in due conſideration of his nobilitie, or in compaſſion of his miſerie, *Auguſtus* and the Senate would free him from impriſonment, and ſend him backe agayne into *Iudea*: with much ado, he obtaind of *Anthony*, by many reaſons alleadged, and great gifts beſtowed, that *Antigonus* was ſlaine.

Herode ſuſpicious of the re-aduancement of Antigonus, worketh his death

The principal argument that made *Anthony* yeelde thereto, beyond all other, was, that *Iudea* would neuer be peaceable, ſo long as *Antigonus* liued. Conſidering, that many *Iewes* were ſo diſpleaſed by being ſubiects to him; as it was not poſſible, by horrible and extreameſt torments, to force them acknowledge him the name of King. And therefore hee conceiued, that there would neuer want companions in ſeditions and mutinies, where ſuch a Commaunder as *Antigonus* ſhould beare rule,

The reaſons that procured the death of Antigonus.

rule, againſt the liking of the people.

And thus *Antigonus* the laſt King of the *Aſmoneans*, was ſlaine by the *Romains* in *Antioche*, after that *Herode* had expulſed him, and led away his vnckle *Hyrcanus* hauing obtayned about fiue yeares the kingdome of *Iudea*, by helpe of the *Parthians:* twelue yeares after the death of his father *Ariſtobulus*, and of his brother *Alexander*; thirty foure yeares alſo before the Natiuitie of Ieſus Chriſt our Sauior.

Antigonus was the laſt king of the Aſmoneans.

Afterward, the Principalitie of the Iewiſh people, taken from the Sacerdotall Familie of the *Aſmoneans*, and eſpecially, from the nation of the *Iewes:* fell into the hand of *Herode* the ſonne of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, and of his ſonnes, and ſonnes ſonnes. So that from the firſt yeare of *Iudas Macchabeus*, whom his Father *Mattathias* (dying) appoynted Duke of the warlike troupes, vntill this yeare that *Herode* beganne to reigne, after the taking in of *Ieruſalem*, and death of *Antigonus*, was an hundred and thirty yeares. *Antigonus* left not any heire maſle, but only one daughter, who afterward was wife to *Antipater*, the ſonne of *Herode*. But his brother *Alexander*, by *Alexandra*, the daughter to *Hyrcanus*, had theſe children.

The Sacerdotall Familie of the Aſmoneans ended.

Obſerue the computation of the yeares.

{ *Ariſtobulus* the third
{ *Mariana.*

Ariſtobulus attaineth to enioy the hie-prieſthood.

This *Ariſtobulus*, was but foure yeares olde, when his father *Alexander* was beheaded at *Antioche* by the *Romaines*. Afterward, coming to the age of 17. yeares: hee obtained at the beginning of *Neroes* reigne, the hie-prieſthood by this occaſiō.

Herode beeing fully confirmed in the kingdome, would not eſtabliſh in the hie-prieſthood, his brother in law *Hyrcanus*, reuoked from his baniſhment in *Babylon:* as fearing to contrary the Lawe of God, that denyed imperfect or diſmembered people, to miniſter in the holy Temple, and ſuch a one was the eare-leſſe *Hyrcanus*; but exalted to the dignitie of Soueraigne Sacrificer, another Iew of meane condition, named *Ananelus*, who was lately come from *Babylon*. *Alexandra* daughter to *Hyrcanus*, taking it to heart, that *Herode* made none account of her father, nor of her ſonne *Ariſtobulus*, but had conferred the high-prieſthood vpon a ſtrange man; laboured by letters and gifts, to incite *Cleopatra*, that by the means of *Marke Anthony*, the High-prieſthood might be conferred vpon her ſonne *Ariſtobulus*.

Ananelus a Iew made Soueraigne Sacrificer.

Herode hauing intelligence heereof, & receiuing letters from *Anthony*, whereby he was charged to ſend him *Ariſtobulus*; fearing leſt *Anthony* (beeing a wicked minded man) wold be inueigled with the beautie of the youth, and iudge him, not onely worthy of the Prieſthoode, but likewiſe of ſome portion in the kingdom; made a modeſt denyall to *Anthony*, vnder colour, that if *Ariſtobulus* ſhould be ſent out of *Iudea*, it would be the occaſion of many mutinies to ariſe in the kingdome, as in hope to enioy a new King: Neuertheleſſe, to pacifie *Alexandra* and *Mariana*, who he ſawe trauelled ſo earneſtly on the behalfe of *Ariſtobulus*, and to the end, they ſhould compaſſe no more contriuings, with working new caſes to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra:* of his owne goodwill, hee depoſed *Ananelus* from the High-prieſthood, and inueſted therein *Ariſtobulus:* Notwithſtanding, being highly offended againſt his mother *Alexandra*, for working ſuch cloſe and vnder-hand practiſes: he gaue order, that ſhee ſhould be arreſted, and more warily attended within the Pallace, becauſe (hereafter) ſhe ſhould not attempt any thing in the like maner.

Herodes cunning denyall to Matke Anthony, for not ſending Ariſtobulus to him.

Alexandra kept with watch and warde.

Shee beeing a Lady of great reſolue, ſcorned this ſuſpition and diſtruſt in the King', holding it moſt diſhonourable in him, to be ſo watchfully kept and obſerued: by a faythfull and ſecret Meſſenger, ſignified all her misfortunes to *Cleopatra*; who againe commaunded, that *Alexandra*, accompanied with her ſonne *Ariſtobulus*, ſhould be ſent to her in *Egypt*.

To compaſſe her intent the more cunningly, *Alexandra* had cauſed two Coffins and Beeres to bee prepared, ſuch as the dead are vſed to bee carried vppon to buriall: wherein ſhee and her ſonne ſhould bee carried to the Sea ſide; and there a Shippe attended ready for them, for tranſporting them thence to *Cleopatra*.

The ſubtile deuice of Alexandra, to eſcape from the cuſtodie of Herode.

Alexandra imparted this deuice of her owne wit, to a certayne Courtier, named *Sabbion*, whome ſhee knew to bee farre out of fauour with *Herode:* becauſe hee ſtoode ſuſpected as one conſenting to the death of *Antipater*, father to *Herode*, who formerly had beene poyſoned; and therefore ſhee made no doubt, but

The practiſes of Alexandra to exalt her ſonne.

Sabbion proued falſe, and betrayed Alexandra to Herode.

Sabbion would bee the more ſure and ſecret, in furthering of her eſcape from thence.

But hee conſidering, that now hee had an apt occaſion thruſt euen into his hand, whereby to treade downe the conceiued ſuſpition of poyſoning, and make good proofe of his loyaltie to the King; declared the whole intent and purpoſe vnto him, and how it was to be perfourmed.

Eſpeciall Spies and Guardes were appoynted, to take knowledge of anie appearing accident, but moſt of all, when the Coffins and Beeres, ſhould be tranſported away, and in ſuch artificiall order euery thing was carried: that *Alexandra* and her Sonne were both ſurprized, euen in the very bearing thence in the Beeres. Sharpe and ſeuere threatnings were vttered by the King, to the no ſmall affliction of *Alexandra* and *Ariſtobulus*, to be ſo treacherouſly preuented in the verie height of all their hopes: yet pretending pittie and commiſeration, hee promiſed his free and gracious pardon for this offence, prouided, that (afterward) they ſhould not practiſe any ſuch attempt againe.

No miſerie more, then to finde treaſon where truſt is faithfully repoſed.

This clemencie hee then vſed, fearing leſt if he ſhould haue inflicted any other execution on them: hee might thereby runne into the diſpleaſure of *Cleopatra*, who was conſenting to the manner of their eſcape. And yet hee would gladly haue puniſhed this feminine boldneſſe in her, but (aboue all) faine he would haue *Ariſtobulus* diſpatched out of the way: becauſe hee was the High-prieſt, and highly affected of the people, in regard of his Royall diſcent, and many ſinguler graces in him.

Ariſtobulus highly pleaſeth the people in the feaſt of Tabernacls by euerything that he did or ſaid.

In the proiecting of theſe his wicked deuices, it chaunced to be the Feaſt of Tabernacles, when *Ariſtobulus*, beeing richly adorned in his Prieſtly garments, performed the office of ſoueraigne Sacrificer, with ſuch extraordinarie grauitie and decencie: that both in reſpect of his age, ſtature, and beautie of body, he appeared wonderfully pleaſing in euery eie, ſo that the people ſtanding about him, ſhowted out aloude with ioy, applauding euery geſture, and any thing that hee did or ſaid, with clapping their hands, expreſſing the fauour and inclination of all the people to *Ariſtobulus*, and what deſire they had, to enioy a King of their owne Nation, in regard that their hatred to the preſent eſtate of the Kingdome, therein plainely appeared.

Herode conſpireth the death of Ariſtobulus.

Herode ill digeſting this loue to his enemy, which he imagined would increaſe daily more and more; began to ſeeke into all contriuings, whereby he might (forthwith) compaſſe the death of *Ariſtobulus*. And it came to paſſe, that the Feaſt being ended, *Alexandra* feaſted him in the citie of *Iericho*, as hoping to qualifie all diſpleaſure in the King. *Herod* there ſhewed him ſelfe ſo chearefull and gracious to the women, as poſſibly might be, and (aboue all) to the youthfull Lord,) ſo that the whole day was ſpent in ſports and delights of diuers kindes. At euening, *Ariſtobulus* walked with his company in the Kings Garden, where (after he had ſomewhat extraordinarily heated himſelfe with running and leaping) the Guard of *Herode*, thereto appoynted by the King; prouoked *Ariſtobulus*, to coole his ſweating by ſwimming in a fiſh-pond neare adioyning.

Outward ſhewes are not at all times to be, truſted for honeſt meaning.

Such was his gentle & flexible nature, and no way ſuſpitious of anie intended treacherie, as hee was thereto ſoone perſwaded. And as he came ſwimming neere to the banckes ſide: they threw water on him in ieaſting manner, holding his head diuers times vnder water, vntill at laſt he was quite ſtifled thereby, while *Herode* (walking by himſelfe alone) ſeemed not to thinke on any ſuch matter. But when one of the guard came, and informed him thereof, and in what maner it happened, without any mallice intended towardes him: one while he grieued, another while raged, threatning the guard with death, for being ſo ouer-bold with him. Before the Mother and Siſter of *Ariſtobulus*, he preſented himſelfe in moſt wofull maner, wringing his hands, and tearing the haire from his head, as if he had truly mourned for the Princes death; preparing a moſt magnificent funerall for him, and whereat there wanted no coſt and pompe. By this helliſh fraude in *Herode*, was *Ariſtobulus* the third innocently murdered, aged 18. yeares; and after hee had one yeare enioyed the High-prieſthood, which *Herod* reſtored *Ananelus* againe vnto, *Hyrcanus* the ſecond, yet liuing, who remayned the onely maſle of the *Aſmonean* race, and was

Herodes cunning trechery in procuring the vnſuſpected death of Ariſtobulus.

Pompe and coſt do many times couer monſtrous & horride actions.

The laſt maſle childe of the Aſmonean race.

was not fit to administer the Priesthoode, as hath alredy beene declared.

Mariana.

Mariana wife to King Herode, and his other wife Doris put away.

Sister to this *Aristobulus*, daughter to the second *Alexander*, the youngest sonne of the second *Hyrcanus*, was most excellent both for beauty and chastity. *Herode* espoused her, after he was declared King by the *Romanes*, a little before the surprizing of *Ierusalem*, and the death of *Antigonus*: hee hauing repudiated his wife *Doris* of *Idumea*, by whome hee had a sonne named *Antipater*. This diuorce was the cause, that *Mariana* was continually in the dislike of *Cipris*, mother to the King, of his sister *Salome*, and of some other women beside. Herselfe also (afterward) encreased this hatred, because she, standing vpon the Nobilitie of her race, being issued and descended from Kings: despised the Mother and Sister to the King, they being strangers, and deriued but from meane condition.

Reasons alledged why Mariana did not affect king Herode, nor his mother and sister

It may be, that shee grew the lesse familiar with the King, acquainting herselfe but seldome in his company; because hee had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea* from her father *Alexander*, and put to death her vnckle *Antigonus*, and had also (by treason) murthered her brother *Aristobulus* the third, a worthy innocent yoong Prince: Adding withall, that he had executed her grandfather *Hyrcanus*, a good olde man, imposing vppon him, that hee affected the Kingdome. It was no great matter of maruell then, if this noble and high spirited woman, disdained amiable conuersation with him, who had giuen her so many occasions of extreame affliction; considering also, that the eares of this yoong Lady were daily pestered, with shamefull iniuries and complaints, which her Mother *Alexandra* continually made against the house of *Antipater*.

Mariana molested with many complaints.

Finally, she grew to be suspected by the King, for matter of adultery (as I shall heereafter more at large relate in the life of *Herod.*) And *Salome* the Kings sister, confederated with other Ladies of the Court (abounding in hatred more and more against her) maintayned strongly the suspition; adding moreouer, an intent of impoysoning him. Wherein she

Mariana suspected by Herode, and accused of adultery.

taking no care to cleare herselfe, relying vpon *Herodes* intimate loue vnto her, and her owne innocencie: shee was accused by *Herode* before his friends, and slayne by the sentence of them. Shee left fiue children liuing, which shee had by *Herode*, three sonnes, and two daughters, of whom afterward came the two *Agrippaes*, to whom the Royall power in *Iudea* remayned, vntill the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

The death of Mariana.

All the other race of *Herode*, which he had by nine other wiues, and in great number, fayled, as shall be declared in their due places.

Herodes issue by nine wiues vtterly failed.

Almost all the whole family of the *Asmoneans*, beeing thus expressed, there remaineth now for me, that I should write of the posteritie of *Antipater*: but *Alexandra* yet resteth of the *Asmoneans*, who was daughter to the second *Hyrcanus*, and wife to the second *Alexander*. And although we haue already sayd somewhat of her, and are yet to speake of the actions of *Herode*: yet notwithstanding, I haue thought good to descipher heere summarily, the wofull misaduentures of this Ladie: for, amongst all other miserable women that we reade of, she seemeth to me the most vnfortunate, as well by accident, as thorow her owne defects. And that they may be the better vnderstood, I haue in order here inserted her parentage.

Alexandra remained of the race of the Asmoneans, and most vnfortunate.

Iannes.

Hyrcanus 2. *Aristobulus.*

Alexandra. *Alexander* 2. *Antigonus.*

Aristobulus 3. *Mariana.*

FIrst of all, this *Alexandra* beeing but a young maid, saw, after the death of *Alexandra* her grandmother (who reigned but nine yeares after the deceasse of her husband) the hereditarie Kingdome and High-priesthood, taken perforce from her father *Hyrcanus*, by his brother *Aristobulus*, who had long time besieged him in the munition of the Temple.

The kingdom and High-priesthood taken from her father.

Afterward, being very young, she was married to his cosin *Alexander*; and the Cittie of *Ierusalem* beeing surprized by *Pompey*: she saw the pitifull fortune of her father, most vnhappily performed, to the

The diuers aduersities & calamities happening to Alexandra.

great harme of the country and her selfe, being accomplished with horrible massacres, foule prophanation of the Temple, slaughter of infinite Citizens, beside robberies of their goods. Moreouer, the destruction of the Cittie walles, insupportable exactions, with a perpetuall yoake of most seuere dominion of the *Romaines:* beside the captiuity and transport of her vnckle *Aristobulus*, her husband *Alexander*, and her cosin *Antigonus*, to be led villainously (in derision) through the Citie of *Rome*, to grace *Pompeys* triumph. No doubt but these mighty misfortunes, were causes of no meane griefe to *Alexandra*.

A second subiection of Alexander to the slauerie of the Romaines

Shee likewise beheld the escape of her husband *Alexander* by the way, who came to make new tumults in *Iudea:* but being ouerthrowne in many encounters, and beside despoyled of all enabling forces: she sawe him againe sent captiue to *Rome* by *Gabinius*, with his father *Aristobulus*, and his brother *Antigonus*.

His expulsion out of Iudea like a poore exile, and shamefull execution.

Againe, shee sawe him sent into *Iudea*, where growing as tempestuous and troublesome as before: he was agayne chased out of the Countries limits, wandering from thence as a poore vagabond and banished man. At length, she heard that (by the commaund of *Pompey*) he was shamefully executed at *Antioche*, and that (but a little before) his father *Aristobulus*, after a long detention of his person, being (with great difficulty) deliuered from imprisonment, was poysoned.

Hard and wofull extremities for a Ladie to suffer and endure.

Next, shee saw the Cittie of *Ierusalem* taken by the *Parthians* treacherie, and her father *Hyrcanus* (by fraude and deceite in *Aristobulus*) apprehended, his ears cut off, and led away into the enemies land. She, in this perillous surprisall of *Ierusalem*, got forth by night with her Mother, the wife, the sister of *Herode*, and many other Ladies, hauing her son with her, aged a dosen yeares, and her daughter little more then he: but both exposed to infinite iniuries, as well of Souldiers violence, as of great wrongs to their tender yeares, the barbarous people spoyling and rauishing all wheresoeuer they came.

Her imprisonment with other Ladies in Indumea.

From thence she was sent (with the other Ladies) to a strong fortresse in the Citty of *Massada* in *Idumea*, in great feare and danger of *Antigonus*, then reigning: where shee remayned about two yeares, vntill such time as *Herode* (hauing obtained the title of King by the *Romaines*) returned into *Iudea*; and finding there his power to be strongest, deliuered her and the rest from imprisonment.

Ierusalem surprized a third time.

A third time also she saw the Citty of *Ierusalem* taken, ransacked, and filled with murders, by the Souldiors of *Herode* and *Sosius:* her cosin *Antigonus* led prisoner to *Marke Anthony*, and afterward put to execution.

The gifts of fortune shold haue some vse made of them

Alexandra sawe and felt all these extremities, before the Kingdome of *Herode* could be confirmed: which beeing once effected, she likewise beganne to breathe, seeming fully acquitted from all calamities. Nay, which is more, she might haue setled hir estate in the height of happines, if shee could haue made vse of Fortunes fauours, as they showred themselues in plentifull manner vpon her.

The great fauours and honour done to Alexandra in the Court.

For *Herode* being King, had diuorced his first wife *Doris*, and defeated his sonne *Antipater*, from all hope of succeeding after him; hauing married *Mariana*, the daughter of *Alexandra*, whom hee most singularly affected, as wel for her beautie, as many other graces of spirit wherewith she was plentifully endowed. Hereupon ensued, that her Mother *Alexandra*, being called to the Court, was worthily respected, and had great credite with the King and all other. Her Father *Hyrcanus* also (already returned from exile) was reuoked home into his countrey: to him *Herode*, and the rest (by the Kings example) yeelded great honour, as vnto their Father.

Alexandra ouerthrew all her faire fortunes, & caused her owne vntimely death.

But *Alexandra* ouerthrew all this happines, by her vehement ambition, fiercenesse and impatience; so that (at length) she became to be enueloped with mighty calamities, and was the cause of her owne death. For, taking in high displeasure, that *Ananelus* was authorized with the High-priesthood, without any regard of her sonne *Aristobulus*, to whom it appertained by hereditarie right: she grew to machinate many dangerous matters, to exalt her sonne to that dignitie of the Priesthood, procuring (by the meanes of *Cleopatra*) to incense *Marke Anthonie* against *Herode*. Which being discouered, she yet attayned the felicitie, that her son was made soueraigne Sacrificer: but her selfe was not in so noble estate as before, becaus shee was heedefully guarded, as

Aristobulus aduanced to the hie-priesthoode.

one

one dangerously enclined, and much suspected by the king.

Her secret practise of flight to Cleopatra, and discouerie.

She, not able to endure this intollerable rigor of the King, being shut vp from the vse of her libertie; practised secretly to escape to *Cleopatra*, as hath already bin said, and being taken with her sonne in the very act, wel vnderstood, that she was then runne into the vnrecouerable hatred of *Herode*. Shortly after, the extreame sorrow she suffered, to see her sonne *Aristobulus* so treacherously murthered, might well haue admonished her: that it much better auayled, to conquer Iniurie by Patience, then roughly to wrastle with a Kings courage, naturally addicted to wickednesse.

She accused Herod before Marke Anthonie for hir sons murder.

Then againe, bringing *Herode* into danger, by accusing him before *Anthony*, for the murdering of her sonne: she won nothing thereby, but much more contempt and hatred in the King. Insomuch, that her daughter (otherwise choicely cherished by the King) found his affection to wexe coole; but not without cause and suspition, in regarde of her Mothers cunning contriuings. Adding withall, that her father *Hyrcanus* was not so much honoured, neither respected by the king, as he was wont to be. Whereby *Alexandra* tooke occasion, to incite her father against *Herode*, aduising him to flie to *Malichus*, King of the *Arabians*, euen then, when (after the battaile of *Actium*) the King was in great danger, standing then in no meane feare, because *Augustus* was Conquerour. For the wily woman did thinke, that if she could procure displeasure in *Augustus* against *Herode*, for his friendship to *Marke Anthonie*; the Scepter would be taken from the *Idumean*, and restored to the true heires of the house of the *Asmoneans*.

She councelled her father to flight from Herode.

Augustus conqueror in the day at Actium

Hyrcanus put to death, being aged. 80 yeares.

This vnhappy councell being discouered, by the meanes of intercepted letters; was the cause of putting to death the good olde *Hyrcanus*, aged foure score yeares, and bringing *Alexandra* into the very depth of sorrowes. Neuertheless, her stomak stroken with so many wounds; and, euen hardned (as it were) against all grieuances whatsoeuer, was scarcely sensible of any of these oppressions; after the losse of so many neare kinred, dispatched by diuers kindes of strange and vnworthy deaths. Among whom, her husband *Alexander*, and *Antigonus* his brother were beheaded. Her vnckle *Aristobulus*, who was likewise her father in law, was poisoned: her onely sonne *Aristobulus* trayterously drowned, by the procurement of *Herode*. Her father *Hyrcanus* (so neare to his graue) dispatched by an ignominious infliction.

The kinred of Alexandra put to death in diuers maners.

Her onely daughter *Mariana* remayned, who beeing married to the King, might somewhat comfort her in these extremities. But this violent woman, swelling in hatred against the King, declared herselfe most strangely troublesome vnto her husband, by continuall reproaching the *Idumean* house, and complayning of the Kings horrible cruelties: So that, after she became to be suspected of adulterie; and a false crime imposed on her, that she practised to poison her husband: *Herode* was the easier wonne to her death, albeit he loued her intirely, and she had borne him fiue children.

Mariana most iniurious against the king her husband.

Now, notwithstanding so great calamitie, in the miserable & vnworthie death of her daughter; *Alexandra* could not yet be conquered, neyther vnderstand, how many incumbrances her attempts turned by misfortunes to her and hers; yea, to many other that truely pittied her indiscretion. Nor could she be admonished, moderately to beare precedent and present mishaps (whereof continually shee gaue the occasion) but rather prouoked nouell extreamities, by her impatience and peeuish folly: for, after the execution of *Mariana*, *Doris*, mother to *Antipater*, and formerly diuorced: six yeares after was recalled to the Court, and her wonted lodging in the Kings Chamber, and it appeared, that her sonne *Antipater* was now become accepted, and entertained by the King, in hope of succeeding after him, and the sonnes of *Mariana* excluded quite.

A woman of an vndaunted and vnconquerable courage.

Alexandra perceiuing, that she onely remayned of the *Asmonean* royall family, and that she was to take care of hir daughters children: affected rather to runne into extreamity, then after such frequent causes of griefe, to liue in the despite and contempt of *Doris*, *Salome* and *Antipater*, who was to reigne after his father, and to see the same *Antipater*, borne of *Doris* the *Idumean*, and not noble (euen when *Herode* liued but in priuate condition) to be preferred

Herode recalled home to Court his former diuorced wife Doris.

Such yrkesom and offensiue fights as Alexandra was not able to indure

preferred the sons of *Mariana*, who was a Queene, and they borne in the time of *Herodes* reigning. Hereupon, she began to consider on some apt opportunitie, to exploit a certaine desseigne, which shee imagined to be diuinely instructed to hir soule; in regard that the King (being very greatly perplexed in mind, grieued extraordinarily for his wifes execution) was sicke; euen to death, in the citty of *Samaria*: which made her (by faire promises) sollicite the Kings Garrisons to reuolt from him, whereof there were two, one in the Cittie, the other in the Temple, and these beeing reduced to partake with her, it would be a very easie way for her to enioy the Kingdome.

She laboured the kings garrisons to reuolt from him

Alexandra exhorted those warrelike bands by faithful messengers (considering the incertitude of the Kings life, or rather the assurance of his death:) to possesse themselues of the Pallace, before that *Antipater*, or any other should inuade the kingdome, and to preserue the succession thereof, for the sonnes of *Herode* by his Queene *Mariana*, till they came to lawfull age, because they were the legittimate heires, and the Kingdome (by right) belonged to them. But the Souldiors, hauing duely considered on the matter among themselues: concluded, not to follow the perillous and ill-aduised councell of this audacious woman, whom they knew to be most maliciously enclined to the King. For (indeede) they greatly feared the Kings dangerous nature, most couetous of reigning and commanding, and accustomed to reuenge (very seuerely) any attempts, in such as hee held the least suspition of, beeing any way affected to the kingdome: as he witnessed most euidently, in the punishments inflicted vpon his owne children.

Her endeuors for aduancing her daughters children to the kingdome.

Herode verie iealous of any that affected his kingdome

One of the Souldiers thinking, that by reuealing the aduice of this woman, hee should winne great grace and fauour of the King: poasted to *Samaria*, and there disclosed to the sicke King, all the machination of his mother in law: which grew the more tedious to *Herode*, in regarde of very impatiently enduring the anguish of his disease: and therefore (wholly ouercome with rage and choller) hee sent instant commaund to *Ierusalem*, forthwith to put his mother in law *Alexandra* to death, as a trayterous conspitator against his life; and it was accordingly performed.

Th'enterprise of Alexandra was discloſed to the King, and she put to death.

Thus after infinite calamities, *Alexandra* ended her dayes in this tragicall maner; for, being neuer contented with any present fortune, she daily begate nouell miseries, one still in the necke of another, only through distasting any instant condition. Otherwise, she was a woman graue, discreet and ingenious, but ouer violently giuen vp to ambition, hatred and anger (very vile and bad councellers) more then needed. She had out-gone the compasse of three score yeares, when she was thus put to death; and so became the family of the *Asmoneans* quite extinct: but onely what remained in the heires of *Mariana*, deriued from an *Idumean* father.

The follies & errours too much ruling in Alexandra, which shortned her daies

Let this Discourse suffice, concerning the noble house of the *Asmoneans*, which from a small beginning (in the defence of a most honest and good cause) became exalted to soueraigne glory and dignity, by their owne industry, but (more especially) the helpe of heauen. Afterward, hauing left the principall cause, they began to seeke after power and riches, according to the fashion of Pagan Kings, and to stirre in many vnnecessarie matters: partly trusting to their owne might, and partly relying on the assistance of strangers. Whereon ensued, that, being first distracted by domesticke discordes, and next, admitting entrance to strange enemies: they beganne (by little and little) to diminish; and finally, to leaue the whole possession of the *Iewish* kingdome, to the dominion of strangers. Euen after they had held the principality of the people, from *Iudas Macchabeus*, vnto the beginning of *Herodes* kingdome, for an hundred and thirty yeares, and had kept the High-priesthoode an hundred and seuenteene yeares.

Concerning the noble Familie of the Asmoneans.

The whole possession of the Iewish kingdome giuen ouer to strangers.

CHAP. XI.

A briefe entrance into the description of the posteritie of Antipater, holding the principalitie of Iudea, but not the High-priesthoode.

NOw wee should come to describe the third Family, that cõtained the posterity of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, who (indifferent-

differently) held the principalitie of *Iudea*, but not the soueraigne Sacrificers Office (for it was not lawfull, that so sacred a charge should bee administred by strangers) vntill the destruction of the Cittie, and the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

The High-priesthood not to be administred by strangers.

For the High-priesthoode was in the hands of others, who indeed were *Iewes*; but yet of diuers and obscure Families, enstalled by *Herode* and the *Romaines*, eyther by fauour or rewards.

The High-priesthoode graunted by fauour or rewards.

It is no easie matter to describe their succession, neither doe I hold it any way necessary for this discourse: considering that afterward, the soueraigne Sacrificers were neuer potent or powerfull; and beside, the soueraigne gouernement remained in the hands of Romaine Captaynes and Princes.

A taxation laid vpon Iosephus the historiã, for not iustly nũbring the soueraign Sacrificers.

Iosephus also was not very carefull, curiously to number the soueraigne Sacrificers; but rather satisfieth himselfe, with declaring, that in the kingdom of *Herode*, accounting from his reigne, vntill the destruction of the Iewish nation; there had beene nine and twentie High-priests, which space of time continued litle more then an hundred yeares. For, from the beginning of *Herodes* reigne, vnto the second yeare of the Empire of *Vespasian*, I finde by computation, an hundred and sixe yeares.

The first family of Iesus the sonne of Iosedech, and how lõg they held the High-priesthood.

But in the first Familie of *Iesus*, which held the High-priesthoode, after their returne from *Babylon*, vntill the time of *Antiochus* the Noble; there are accounted fifteene soueraigne Sacrificers onely, although the time was thrice as long as the latter. For, as we haue already elsewhere related, that from the first yeare of *Cyrus*, vntill that of *Alcimus*; are found three hundred eightie and sixe yeares, or thereabout. The cause of this multiplicitie of High-priests, grew by so often and frequent changes, one still defeating and ouerthrowing another: one while by the power of money, fauour, or both; another while by might, and assistance of enemies.

The reason for such a multitude of High-priests.

The third Family.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Posteritie of Antipater the Idumean of Ascalon, transferring the High-priesthoode (at their pleasure) to strangers: hauing violently got it from the Asmoneans, and held the principalitie of the Iewish people, vntill the destruction of Ierusalem, vnder the reigne of Vespasian.

A description of the scituation of Idumea.

Idumea is the vtmost part of the Land of *Canaan*, confining *Egypt* and *Arabia*, and closing vp the coast of *Iudea* towardes the South, holding on that part, which the Tribe of *Iuda* had by lot in their inheritance. In elder times, it was inhabited by the posteritie of *Esau*, (brother to *Iaacob*) who was also named *Edom*, that is to say, *Red-hayred*. Of him they came to be called *Idumeans*, and hauing lost the true doctrine, and holy seruices commaunded them by God: they fell to the worshipping of Idolles, with their neighbouring nations.

The Idumeans descended of Esau brother to Iaacob.

Dauid first made the Idumeans tributarie.

King *Dauid* first of all brought them into subiection, and made them tributarie to the Kings of *Iuda*.

Diuers reuolts and rebellions of the Idumeans.

About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, they reuolted agayne vnder *Ioram* King of *Iuda*, sonne to *Iehosaphat*, and rebelled against the *Iewes*, diuided into two kingdomes. And although the succeeding Kings compelled them diuers times, to vnder-goe againe their former seruilitie: yet notwithstanding, they defended their libertie by armes, vntill such time as *Iudas* was led captiue into *Babylon*. And then, they tooke many Citties from the *Iewes*; which afterward (by the Edict of King *Darius*) they were enforced to restore vnto them agayne, when they were returned from *Babylon*.

The Idumeans vanquished by Iohn Hyrcanus.

Not long after, *Iohn Hyrcanus*, sonne to *Simon* the *Asmonean*, hauing ouercome them in a very difficult warre: constrayned them, to make profession of the same doctrine and religion with him, causing them

them to vndergoe Circumcision. Heerehence it ensued, that they trafficked the more freely with the *Iewes*; so that they were called to their warres, and to the Courts of the Iewish kings.

Antipater father to King Herode.

Antipater came of this *Idumean* nation, whose sonne, named *Herode*, hauing afterward obtained the Iewish kingdome, and fearing to vse himselfe with them as a stranger: would be esteemed a Iew, because (as hath bene said) the *Idumeans* had receiued Circumcision vnder *Iohn Hyrcanus*. *Iosephus* thus recordeth this family.

Antipas the Father

The issue of Antipater the father.

Cephalion slaine in warre by Aristobulus 2.	Antipater the familiar of Hyrcanus Tutour of all Iudea.	Cypris an Idumean woman.

These children came of Antipater.

Antipaters issue.

Phaselus gouernour of Ierusalem.	Herode King of Iudea.	Iosippus gouernor of Idumea.	Pheroras Tetrarch.	Salome a daughter.

Antipater gouernour of Idumea.

Antipas the *Ascalonite*, father to *Antipater*, was appointed Gouernour of his Countrey of *Idumea*, by *Alexander Iamnes*, and beside afterward enioying it still (sometime) vnder the Queene *Alexandra*; he gathered great store of wealth, and obtained the principall authority in that Region.

Antipater.

The reason why Antipater laboured to keepe himselfe in fauour with Hyrcanus

Succeeded in the gouernment of *Idumea*, after his deceassed father, during which time, he not only wonne the hearts of his owne nation, augmenting and confirming his wealth, by aliance with neighboring Kings, and Cities; but also strongly insinuated himselfe into good grace with *Hyrcanus* the second, by many acceptable seruices. For he being instituted Soueraigne Sacrificer by his mother, who then ruled the kingdome. *Antipater* had great hope, that the fauour of *Hyrcanus* would (in time) aduaunce him to higher degree. Now, he perswaded himselfe, that the mother being dead, hee should come to inioy the kingdom by hereditary right. Wherefore, *Antipater* was very diligent towards him in all kindes of courtesies, making no account at all of the yoonger brother: which made him wonderfully hated by *Aristobulus*, as it fell out after in open apparance. For, their mother being dead, *Aristobulus* hauing fought with his brother *Hyrcanus* in a field of battell, & afterward held besieged in the temple: he was at length constrained, to dismisse himselfe, both of the kingdome and high-Priesthood. And then (by slowe and politike degrees) he deposed *Antipater* from the gouernement of *Idumea*, for his so many good seruices to *Hyrcanus* in war.

Antipater deposed from the gouernement of Idumea.

This iniurie more and more enflamed the hatred of *Antipater* against *Aristobulus*, and because hee could not reuenge himselfe by power: hee incited the greatest Lords of the Iewes against King *Aristobulus* by secret accusations. Aboue all, he handled *Hyrcanus* in diuers kindes (hee beeing of his owne nature, modest and temperate) one while terrifying him with strange feares, another while chearing his hopes, with vndoubted comming to his Crowne againe. He told him that his brother *Aristobulus*, (a man meerely vile by complexion) sought all occasions, either by close contriuings, or open violence, to preuaile against his life: for his more secure enioying of the kingdome, whereto hee had aspired by such wickedneesse. Hee auouched, to haue certayne knowledge, of diuers enterprises in *Aristobulus* by euident signes: either because they were truely so indeede, or for the more prouoking *Hyrcanus* against his brother. Moreouer, he shewed the meanes and wayes, whereby *Hyrcanus* might regayne the Kingdome belonging to him, to wit, if they both fled thence to *Aretas*, king of *Arabia*, with whom he had ancient amitie and alliance, and who (he doubted not) would satisfie their desires.

The cunning dealing of Antipater with deiected Hyrcanus.

Incitation for flight to Aretas king of Arabia.

Hyrcanus was at last wonne by these speeches, being formerly wounded with the wrongs which his brother had offred him; so that accompanied with *Antipater*, and some other, who not a little despised the dominion of *Aristobulus*; he secretly went to *Aretas* in the city of *Petra*. There humbling himselfe before the King, hee desired assistance of him against his wicked and cruell brother, who not only had depriued him of the High-priesthoode, (contrary to all right and equitie) which hee had peaceably enioyed nine yeares in his mothers life time; and not onely also bereft him of the kingdome, which by the lawe

Hyrcanus goeth with Antipater in secret manner to Aretas, and maketh his complaint to him.

law of Nations belonged to him, as being the eldest sonne: but (beside) layed daily trappes and traines for his life. Whereupon he promised, that if hee should be restored to his Kingdome; he would surrender to him ten Citties, which his father *Alexander Iannes* had taken from the Realme of *Arabia*, and other honourable recompences beside.

King Aretas inuaded Iudea with fiftie thousand men

Aretas, more moued by the perswasions of *Antipater*, then all the praiers and promises of *Hyrcanus*, inuaded *Iudea* with fiftie thousand men. *Aristobulus* encountring with him, was vanquished, chiefly by the valiancie of *Antipater:* and beeing abandoned of his souldiers, the most part yeelded themselues to *Hyrcanus*. *Aristobulus* got closely into the Citie, and there (with some of the Sacrificers and Cittizens) kept within the fortresse of the temple, being prouided of all things necessarie to endure besieging. But yet before this extremitie, he had sent an ambassage (in great haste) to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant, abiding then in *Syria*, intreating succour of him against the *Arabes:* promising him foure hundred Talents, that is, two hundred and fortie thousand crownes of the Sunne.

Aristobulus required succour of Scaurus against the Arabes.

Aretas pursuing *Aristobulus* with his Armie, entred into the Cittie, to lay his siege before the Temple; the Cittizens yeelding themselues to *Hyrcanus*, and the Cittie also. But some Iewes foreseeing, that this debate betweene the brethren, about possession of the kingdome, would cause the ruine of the whole country; left there their goods, and fledde into *Egypt*. Other of the Cittizens ioyned with the *Arabes*, besieging the munition, and prest sed the inclosed Sacrificers very narrowly; yea, much more nearely then the enemie, vsing deceits and subtilties with their crueltie. For they drew out of the secret Sanctuarie (where this ciuile warre was most vnciuilly maintained) a holy man, named *Onias*, who in an extreme drought and dread of sterilitie, made his prayers to God, desiring raine in that needefull season: and would haue compelled him, to curse and damne the besieged to the diuell, because they would not yeelde themselues. But hee (on the contrary) made his prayers aloude to God, that he would neyther heare the Sacrificers, or Priests besieged against the people, nor the people besieging against the Priests, for which cause the Iewes stoned him.

Diuers Iewes forsooke their goods, & fled into Egypt.

Onias a holie man, extremely wronged by the Iewes and stoned.

And when the feast of Easter was come, when there was neede of many beasts for Sacrifices; the Priests required, that such store might be deliuered them, as was necessarily to be vsed in such solemne Sacrifices, agreeing to paya thousand drachmes for each beast; that is to say, an hundred crownes of the Sunne. But after that the Iewes had receiued so great a summe from the Priests: they descended from the walles, and would not performe a iote of that which they had promised, but mocked the sacrificing Priests, who were ouer credulous in beleeuing them.

False and fraudfull dealing in the Iews with the sacrificing Priests.

But the Lord God being offended with this wickednes, and taking vengeance for their foule transgressions; sent a sharpe winde on the Corne then almost ripe, which being vtterly spoyled, the famine was so great, that a bushell of wheate was solde eleuen times more deare, then vsually it was wont to be; to wit, at eleauen drachmaes, whereas before (in euerie yeare) it was sold for a drachma, and lesse.

The iustice of heauen on the Iews for their wickednes.

The besieged beginning to feele the want of foode, and that nothing hindred them from yeelding, but onely to heare an answer from *Scaurus* (vnder the hope whereof, *Aristobulus* encouraged the Priests, to endure all difficulties of the siege:) it fortuned (very successefully for them) that *Scaurus* sent Ambassadours to King *Aretas*, that he should withdraw his Army out of *Iudea*, except hee meant to proone the displeasure of the *Romaine* people. *Aretas* obeyed this commaund, and so much the rather, because his army was in great distresse for foode. By which meanes, (without doing any thing else) *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater* returned backe to *Arabia* with the King.

Ambassadors sent frō Scaurus to King Aretas.

Soone after, *Pompey* came out of *Armenia* into *Syria*, whereupon, *Antipater* procured many of the most potent Iewes, to accuse *Aristobulus* before him. Himselfe likewise, as an Ambassador sent from *Hyrcanus*, went to *Pompey*, and pleaded the cause of *Hyrcanus* against *Aristobulus*, and entred into such respect with *Pompey*; that after the surprizing of the Cittie, *Hyrcanus* was restored to the High-priesthood, but not to the Kingdome. And from thence forward, *Antipater* beganne to grow great, gouerning (well neare) all occasi-

Antipater procured Aristobulus to be accused before Pompey

occasions whatsoeuer, because *Hyrcanus*, (being a louer of quietnesse) left all to his rule. And so gracious was he with the *Romaine* Captaines, in all such seruices as possibly he could do for them: that he insinuated farre into their friendship, causing *Hyrcanus* daily to bestow magnificēt gifts, and himselfe receiued all the thanks and profite for them.

The cunning insinuations of Antipater with the Roman captains.

First, he was very diligent, to furnish *Scaurus* with all kinde of munition, when he was left in *Iudea* with two legions, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*. Next, being sent in embassage by the same *Scaurus* to the king *Aretas*: hee procured peace, in regarde of his auncient amitie with the King, and perswaded *Scaurus* to bring his Army out of *Arabia*, after he had receiued of the King three hundred Talents, as much to say, as an hundred and fourescore thousand crowns of the Sunne. Afterward, he assisted *Gabinius* against *Alexander*, sonne to *Aristobulus*, but especially in the restitution of King *Ptolomey* the Fleutster: where he made passage for *Gabinius*, to goe from *Iudea* into *Egipt* by *Idumea*.

Antipater procured peace betwixt Scaurus and Aretas, king of the Arabians.

By the like subtile and cunning means, he qualified rich *Crassus*, and his General *Cassius*, being remoued from the *Parthian* warre; fearing lest any thing should bee attempted, that might be hurtfull to *Hyrcanus*, who (from time to time) was accused to the *Romaine* Captaines, as well by the sonnes of *Aristobulus*, as by diuerse powerfull Iewes, that were of the same faction.

Rich Crassus, and his generall Cassius.

But, for the more sure establishing of his power, hee ayded *Iulius Cæsar* more then all the rest, to whom he performed faithfull seruice in the *Alexandrian* warre, in bringing him three thousand Iewes, & procuring the *Arabes*, *Idumeans*, and *Iews* dwelling in *Egipt*, to be his companions in that warre. And when *Mithridates* of *Pergamum* (who went with a great Armie of *Cilicia* and *Syria* against *Cæsar*) was repulsed in *Egipt*: *Antipater* (*Damieta* being subdued) brought helpe to *Cæsar*, and saued him by the way; when he was compelled (in an encounter) to giue place to the enemy, his men being ready prepared for flight.

The actions of Antipater in Egypt, and his faithfull seruice to Iulius Cæsar.

For these deserts (the *Alexandrian* war being ended) *Iulius Cæsar* confirmed the High priesthood vnto *Hyrcanus*, permitting him to builde vp the Citty walles agayne: Moreouer, he appoynted *Antipater* to be Tutour of all *Iudea*, and sent him into *Iudea*, honoured with the title of a *Romaine* Bourgesse, and perpetuall immunities beside.

Antipater made a Romaine Bourgesse by *Iulius Cæsar*.

Antipater seeing himselfe exalted to such dignitie, deuised also how to aduāce his sonnes. Whereupon, *Phaselus* (being the eldest) he appointed him to be gouernour of *Ierusalem*, and the neighbouring places about it: in regarde of the negligence and carelesnesse of *Hyrcanus* in the gouernement. Next to him was *Herode*, and he as yet but yoong: yet he gaue the charge of *Galilee* to him. Both of them very commendably performd their seuerall offices, which caused their father to bee much more esteemed generally, and wun the fauour of many powerfull persons, by both his owne, and his sonnes liberalitie.

Antipater exalteth his sons to seuerall dignities.

Hereupon it hapned, that some Iews grew iealous and suspitious of *Antipater*, seeing him (purposly) to maintaine the remissenesse of *Hyrcanus*, onely for the exaltation of his owne sonnes: abusing also his riches and reuenues, to bestow great fauors and gifts vpon the *Romains*. In this respect, some of the best aduised Iewes, and of the better sort, feared not to reprehend *Hyrcanus* publiquely, for his neglect and slouthfulnesse, in referring the totall administration of all things, onely to *Antipater* and his sonnes, who were scarcely started out of childhood. Hauing already gathered such heaps of wealth and cheuisance, onely to curry fauour with the *Romaines*, that they were become dreadfull to the whole nation. They bad him to be well aduised, whereto tended this power in the *Idumeans*, shewing him withall, that he dealt vniustly and indiscreetly, hauing so many Iewes, excelling in valour and expertnesse of armes: to reiect them from managing publike affaires, reposing his whole trust in the defence of a stranger, who intended no profit to the Iewish nation, but only how to leaue the kingdome of *Iudea* to his owne sonnes.

Diuers Iewes began to be suspitious of Antipater.

Now, albeit these speeches did a little moue *Hyrcanus*, himselfe also fearing the power of *Antipater*: yet notwithstanding, he could not forget, what benefits he had receiued by him, and what loyalty he had declared towards him, hauing alwayes kept him in extreame dangers. Beside, he feared

Hyrcanus reprehended by some of the best Iewes for his great negligence.

Hyrcanus fearefull of Aristobulus and his sons.

feared *Aristobulus*, and his sonnes, against whom he thought he stood in need of a powerfull defender, which made him answere; that he could not dismisse *Antipater* from gouerning the generall affaires, in regard he had receiued his authoritie from the *Romaines*; who he might by no meanes offend, without both hazarding himselfe, and the whole Country to vnauoidable dangers.

Conspiracie how to compasse the death of Antipater, by Malichus a rich Iew.

When the accusers of *Antipater* perceiued, they could worke nothing on the slow and neglect nature of *Hyrcanus*, they began to cõsider on some subtile means, whereby they might put *Antipater* to death. And one of them being named *Malichus*, excelling all the rest in wealth, wisedome, and corage, sought how to intrap *Antipater*, by secret plots and ambushes prepared. But *Antipater* getting intelligence thereof, withdrew himselfe beyond *Iordane*, where he leuied an Army, by aide from King *Aretas* his deare frend, with full deliberation to reuenge this iniury. Neuertheless, he was appeased by *Hyrcanus*, because *Malichus* purged himselfe by oath, that he neuer intended any treason against him.

The horrible rapines of Cassius in Iudea, to possesse himselfe of money.

This hapned immediatly after that the Conspirators had slayne *Iulius Cæsar* in the Senate house, when *Cassius* (Author and chiefe in the coniuration) was come into *Syria*, and from thence into *Iudea*: where he villainously ransacked the Cities and Townes, onely to get money, so that he sold the Magistrates of some places, with their whole families, and pillaged foure great citties in *Iudea*, selling all the Citizens for slaues: because they had made refusall, to giue such a large summe as this insatiable beast demanded. As he asked of the Iews seuen hundred talents, (which summe amounted to foure tunnes of gold of our coyne, and twenty thousand Crownes of the Sunne:) *Antipater* gaue charge to leuy this money, partly of his Sons, and partly of the most powerfull *Iewes*; so that the whole summe being suddenly payd in: *Antipaters* sonnes were the better welcomed among the *Romans*. And so farre it proceeded, that *Cassius* (euen then) made promise of the kingdom of *Iudea* to *Herode*, who ouer & aboue the summe whereto the taxation mounted, carryed store of gold to the campe in *Syria*) when he had ended the war against *Marke Anthony* and *Octauius*. But for the present he commanded the Prouince of *Syria* to *Herode*, and the Army by Sea.

The readines of Antipater to please the Romaines.

Malichus well obseruing, that the power of *Antipater* so mightily encreasing, was not (by any patient meanes) to be indured; practised & dealt with the Taster or Cup-bearer to *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, by great gifts and summes of mony: so that one night, as *Antipater* was at Supper with *Hyrcanus*, the Taster poysoned him; albeit the sayd Taster had twise bin deliuered from death by *Antipater*, & held his life of him. Thus was *Antipater* murdred, in the yere following the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, he being (vndoubtedly) a man very excellent, wise, and prouident. Some imagined, that *Hyrcanus* was not ignorant of the deed doing, or (at least) it was not doone in any despight of him: although *Antipater* by the means of *Pompey*, got him restored to the Soueraigne Priesthood, and afterward (for the space of 22. yeares) alwayes kept and defended him against the violence of his enemies.

Antipater being at supper with Hyrcanus the High-priest, was poysoned by his Taster.

Some reasons whereby Hyrcanus might be offended with Antipater.

Perhaps one way he had offended *Hyrcanus*, that (to satisfie the couetous desires of *Cassius*, and to forestall perills incident to himselfe) he was somewhat ouer-rude in vrging money from him, he being an old man, sparing by nature, and the more gripple in holding, in regarde of his age. For which fault, *Hyrcanus* declared no great distaste in the murdering of his Benefactor. Because many times it comes to passe, that some men, hauing receiued good benefites for a large length of time, and yet growing (at length) to be displeased: they forget all good deseruings past, and resting not so contented, proceed to diuers dangerous practises against them. Of such ingrateful men, *Philip Melancton*, my worthy master, & good father, wrote certaine Verses to this effect:

Philip Melancthons verses on ingratitude.

> Some men there are, if thou transport their states
> With pompe to *Rome*, and plant'st them in the gates;
> Such fauour they require not with due grace,
> But (like ingratefull wretches) all deface.

Hyrcanus payd dearely for his ingratitude to Antipater.

Not long after, *Hyrcanus* payd dearly for this his fooliish ingratitude, because (the yeare following) *Antigonus* compassed the meanes to bring the *Parthians* into *Iudea*; when *Hyrcanus* being taken, & led into a strange land by the enemy: well found (but ouer-late) what defence he had lost by the death of *Antipater*, and then in

vaine lamented his owne folly, in listning to *Malichus*, and other *Boute-feux*, against so deare a friend as *Antipater* had alwayes bin to him.

CHAP. XIII.

A further entrance into *discourse, concerning the race* and Posteritie of Antipater, for *the better clearing of some obscure* doubts in diuers Authors, and *full satisfaction of the Reader.*

Of the Sonnes of Antipater.

Phaselus the eldest.

The worthie performance of Phaselus in his charge.

HEe being constituted by his Father, to be Gouernor of *Ierusalem*, and the round neighbouring places, to assist *Hyrcanus* (careless, and very vnapt for administration) in regard of his age; discharged his Commission most commendably for sixe yeares space, during the life time of his father. He being dead, hee appeased (by his vertue) a great trouble arising in *Ierusalem*, in regard that a certayne man, named *Fœlix*, driuen by *Cassius* into *Ierusalem* with Soldiours, being corrupted with mony from diuerse *Iewes*; laboured to ouerthrow it. But this *Fœlix* was vanquished by *Phaselus*, and for a while kept in prison; but afterward released vpon certayne conditions.

Fœlix laboured to confound Ierusalem.

Next, it was no little ioy to him, to see *Malichus* (the murderer of his father *Antipater*) punished for his wickednesse: who labouring to inuade the Principality of *Iudea*, was slayne by the Souldiours of *Cassius*, and by the industrious meanes of *Herode*.

The death of seditious Malichus.

Cassius being conquerd, *Marke Anthony* came into *Syria*, and made *Phaselus* & *Herode* Tetrarches of *Iudea*: notwithstanding all the criminall accusations, alleadged by the *Iewes* against them. But *Phaselus* enioyed not that dignity any long while; for the yeare following the death of his father, the Citty beeing surprised by the *Parthians* and *Antigonus*: he was (by subtilty) taken with *Hyrcanus*, and slew himselfe remayning prisoner, as I haue already related in the life of the second *Hyrcanus*.

Phaselus and Herod made Tetrarchs of Iudea by Marke Anthony.

Phaselus left a sonne named — *Herode* King. — *Mariana* the *Asmonean*.

Phaselus, to whom *Salome*, daughter to *Herode* and *Mariana* was married, by whom he had these children.

Antipater, of whom we reade nothing. — *Herode* and *Alexander*, both dying young children. — *Alexandra*, married to a *Iew* of *Cyprus*, beeing barren. — *Cypris*, afterward marryed to king *Agryppa*.

Iosippus the third Sonne of *Antipater*.

Concerning the brethren of Phaselus.

Herode commeth next after *Phaselus*, in respect of his age. But I holde it more conuenient to speak first of his brethren, whose actions were of lesse fame and esteeme.

Iosippus (called by some *Gisippus*) the third sonne of *Antipater*, was appointed Gouernour of *Idumea* by his father, who had obtained the Principalitie of *Iudea*. After his fathers death, he valiantly defended the family and affaires of his brother *Herode*, they being driuen into exile by *Antigonus* and the *Parthians*: withdrawing them into the City of *Massada*, against the sayd King *Antigonus*, enduring there a very difficult siege, vntill that his brother

Iosippus defended his brothers cause and all his friends.

brother *Herode* (being returned out of *Italie*) deliuered him and them, and was afterward proclaymed King by *Octauius Augustus*, and by *Marke Anthony*.

Iosippus take & beheaded through his owne wilful negligence.

Within a while after, when his brother *Herode* went to *Marke Anthony*, who besieged the Citty of *Samosata*, neare vnto *Euphrates*; the charge of the Army was giuen to him. But going inconsiderately forraging for Corne, with sixe silly bands of Souldiers: he was taken in the Straits of the mountaines neare to *Iericho*, and there slain with all his men by *Antigonus*, about foure yeares after the death of his father.

Pheroras bought his brothers head of Antigonus.

His head being smitten off, was carried vp and downe in a mockery, and finally bought of *Antigonus*, by his brother *Pheroras*, for fifty Talents, that is, 30000 Crownes of the Sunne. He had a sonne named *Iosippus* also, to whom his vnckle *Herode* gaue in marriage, *Olimpia*, the Sister of *Archelaus*, of whom he begat *Mariana*, afterwards marryed to *Herode* the lesse, King of *Chalcis*.

Antipater

Iosippus President of *Idumea*.	*Herode* King of *Iudea*.	*Marthaca* a *Samaritane* his wife.

Iosippus, his wife *Olympia*.

Of them was borne *Mariana*, wife to *Herode*, son to *Aristobulus*, King of *Chalcis*.

Pheroras assisted his brother in warre against Antigonus.

Pheroras, the yongest sonne to *Antipater*, when his brother *Iosippus* was slain; being as yet but young, he continued alone, yet ayded his brother *Herode* valiantly, managing dangerous warres (on his behalfe) against *Antigonus*. At the request of *Herode*, *Augustus Cæsar* made him Tetrarche, and vsed him very honorably; yet returning but bad recompence therefore to his brother. For, hauing procured him, to put his wife *Mariana* to death, and his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*: he at the length compacted with *Antipater*, to compasse the death of his brother also. But being preuented by sudden death, hee escaped punishment. He dyed some few yeares before his brother *Herod*, and left two sonnes, to whom *Augustus* marryed two daughters of deceassed *Herode*, *Roxana* and *Salome*, endowing each with fiue and twentie thousand Crownes of the Sunne. Hee had a daughter also, marryed to the sonne of *Antipater*, yongest sonne of King *Herode*.

He sought the death of his brother Herode.

Salome, daughter of Antipater, Sister to Herode King of Iudea.

Her first husband slaine by Herodes commaund.

IN her first marriage, shee was giuen to one named *Iosippus*, who being constituted guardian of *Mariana*, wife to *Herod*; was slaine by the Kings commaund, because hee would not reueale some matters of secrecie. Afterward she was married to *Costabarus*, Gouernor of *Idumea*, from whom she seperated her selfe by diuorce, contrary to the Lawe of *Moses*: which permiited Husbands to leaue their Wiues for some cause of importance; but not Wiues to leaue their Husbands. Neuertheless, *Salome* vsed this licence, confiding in the power of her brother: and afterward was the cause, that the sayd *Costabarus* dyed miserably. Finally, in despight of her selfe-will, *Herode* made her marry one *Alexas*: although she was almost madde in loue with a potent *Arabe*, named *Syleus*, an vtter enemy to *Herode*, and one that would not be circumcised.

Salome seperated hirselfe from her husband.

Salome thwarted in her third mariage

This *Salome* was a meere Fury in the Court of her brother, and a flaming firebrand of domesticke discordes, whereon many murders ensued. For, being wholly ouercome with hatred against *Mariana* the *Asmonean* (who despised her, because she was not nobly borne) she ceassed not to enflame the spleene of her brother: contriuing false crimes of adultery and poysoning against her, vntill *Herode* had put his dearely affected wife to death. Which being done, and *Salome* fearing some reuenge to be inflicted on her: beganne to prouoke the father against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, the sonne of *Mariana*, seruing her turne heerein with *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*, who stood in feare, that these two yong men should be aduanced and preferred before him to the kingdome.

Salome a fire brand of confusion in the Court of king Herode her brother.

She preuayled so well by her cunning plots and practises, that they both standing accused, for affecting the Kingdome, and preparing of poysons, they were condemned; and, notwithstanding all their excellent partes and perfections, they

Alexander & Aristobulus both executed.

were strangled by their fathers commaund.

Antipater disgraced by her meanes, and brought to his death

Moreouer, by her secret and subtile reports, she wrung *Antipater* into his fathers ill opinion and disgrace, although hee had beene her companion in all her wickednesse; plotting and preparing all the treasons against his father, whereof he had falsly accused his most innocent brethren, the sonnes of *Mariana*, vntill himselfe was caught in the same snare, and (by his fathers commaund) dispatched also.

The bountie of Herode to his sister at his death.

Shee, the minister of so many monstrous cruelties, did suruiue her brother *Herode*; who left her (by his last will and testament) three most opulent Cities, to wit, *Iamnia*, *Azot* and *Phaselis*; beside two millions and an halfe of siluer coine, which amounts to fifty thousand crowns of the Sunne.

The royall castle of Ascalon giuen to Salome.

Moreouer, she being familiar (by Letters) with *Liuia*, wife to *Augustus* (whom *Iosephus* continually calleth *Iulia*) the said *Augustus* gaue her the Castle royall in the Citty of *Ascalon*. And she receiued annually out of the fore-named Citties, three score Talents, which arise to thirtie sixe thousand crownes of the Sunne.

The death of Salome, and what issue she left.

Hauing liued twelue yeares after the death of her brother *Herode*; shee dyed a yeare before the departure of *Augustus* out of this life, and left (by her testament) to *Liuia*, wife to *Augustus*, those Citties which she formerly held. She left a sonne named *Antipater*, and a daughter singularly beautifull, called *Berenice*, of whom came these children following.

Castabarus President of Idumea.

Salome sister to King Herode.

Cypris daughter to king Herode by Mariana the Asmonean.

Antipater espoused her, albeit she was his cousine.

Berinice married to her cousine Aristobulus.

Aristobulus Son to king Herod by the Asmonean.

Cypris. | *Alexas son in law to Salome, sister to Herod, by the 3. husband.*

Agrippa King of Iudea.

Herode King of Chalcis.

Aristobulus.

Herodias mentiond in the gospell.

Mariana.

Cypris. | *Agrippa*

The second, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, after his Vnckle *Herode*.

Herode, the second sonne of *Antipater*, whom some doe call the Great, was the first King of *Iudea*, being of a contrary Nation.

Herode being as yet but young, was ordayned President of *Galilee*, by his father *Antipater*, soone after *Iulius Cæsar* had finished the warres in *Egypt*. He gaue immediate probation of his industry and valour, hauing destroyed and slaine *Ezechias* the *Iew*, and a troop of theeues that wasted *Syria*: for the which being highly commended by the *Syrians*, hee found great grace and fauor with *Sextus Cæsar*, who then gouerned the Prouince of *Syria*. It fortuned, that by the instigation of them that enuyed *Antipater*, *Hyrcanus* the

Ezechias the Iew and his complices vanquished & slayne by Herode in his yong dayes.

Soueraigne Sacrificer (contrary to his will) gaue personall summons to *Herode*, in regarde of the *Iewes* by him taken and slayne in *Syria*: without listening to the sentence of soueraign Iudgement, which then was tearmed *Sanhedrin*, of the *Greek* word *Synedrion*, as I conceiue, and consisted of seauenty and two Iudges, who were called the seuentie Ancients. *Philo* writeth, that before the kingdome of *Herode*, the Iudges of that Councell were chosen out of the posteritie of *Dauid* only. *Herode* hauing aduertisement (by Letters)

Herode sommoned to personall appearance by Hyrcanus.

ters from his father, appeared at *Ierusalem* on the day of Assignation, accompanied with a reasonable guard, and recommended by *Sextus Cæsar*.

The kindnes of Hyrcanus, in shielding him from the Iudges sentence.

Hyrcanus perceiuing, that the Iudges were heauily incensed by the aduersaries of *Antipater*, and that they would not faile to giue sentence in sharpe manner: desiring to gratifie his friend *Antipater*, he secretly admonished *Herode*, to withdraw himselfe out of the citty, before he were condemned by the *Iewes* sentence; and thereupon conuaied to punishment. The yong man returned backe into *Syria*, very impatiently bearing the iniurie, which he conceiued to be doone him by the Iudges, declaring to *Sextus Cæsar* the treacherie of the Cittizens, and hauing receiued from him part of the *Romaine* Army, and the regiment of the lower *Syria:* hee resolued to reuenge the wrong which the Councell had offred him: So, going vp to *Ierusalem* with a maine Army, hee could hardly be with-held by his father, and his brother *Phaselus*; who met him by the way, and made him to retreate his army into *Syria*. But yet he could not remooue his mallice, which still he continued against the Consistorie: and which he vtterly quailed and ouerthrew, after his coming to the Crowne.

Herod goeth with an army against Ierusalem, but is reuersed by his father & brother.

Not long after the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, by a close ambush, and ayde of *Cassius* his Souldiours; he procured *Malichus* to be slaine, beeing the murtherer of his father *Antipater*. Which beeing done, once more hee expelled out of *Iudea Antigonus*, the sonne of *Aristobulus*, whom he ouercame in warre, albeit he had recouered part of *Iudea*.

Herod reuenged the death of his father.

After that *Cassius* and *Brutus* were vanquished neare to *Philippi*, when *Marke Anthony* was come into *Syria*; Ambassadours went from the *Iewes* to meete him at *Bithynia*, accusing there *Phaselus* and *Herode* to him, because the lawfull heires of the kingdome were expulsed, and they (by force) holde the whole gouernement of *Iudea*. *Herod* also met them there, wel furnished with rich and sumptuous gifts, to bestow on *Marke Anthony*: of whom he was entertained most benignely, for the loue he had borne to his father *Antipater*, when being Lieutenant to *Gabinius*, hee was still in warre, during the peace of *Syria* and *Iudea*. Wherefore,

Brutus and Cassius foiled at Philippi. Herode bribeth Anthony against the Ambassadors.

howsoeuer he listened to the *Iewes* accusations; yet he ordained *Phaselus* and his brother *Herode* Tetrarchs of *Iudea*. And because the *Iews* ceassed not to send Embassie vpon Embassie, and continually in great number, amounting to a thousand men in the end. *Marke Anthony* punished them with imprisonment. And because they neuer would giue ouer, but daily intreated, that (by no meanes) they might be subiected to *Herode*; hee caused some of them to be put to death.

Anthony, imprisoned and put to death the Iews Ambassadours.

Hyrcanus descended to *Anthony* in *Syria* (already conioyned with *Herode* in affinitie, to whom hee had giuen his younger sister *Mariana*, daughter of *Alexander* and *Alexandra:*) who was honourably entertained by *Anthony*, and confirmed in the possession of the High-priesthood: and obtained those cities and persons (reduced by *Cassius* into seruitude) to be deliuered and enfranchised; and that the rapined goodes should be restored to their first owners.

Hyrcanus goeth to Anthony in Syria, & is kindly welcomed of him.

The yeare following, *Pacorus* hauing subdued *Syria* (attracted by great promises) brought *Antigonus* backe againe to *Ierusalem*, as hath formerly beene sayde. Where *Herode* (hearing that his brother *Phaselus* and *Hyrcanus* the soueraigne Sacrificer were detained prisoners, contrary to the lawes of Nations, knowing also, that the *Iewes* were affected to *Antigonus*, fearing both his enemies and the Cittizens) he departed foorth secretly in the dead time of the night, with his Mother *Cypris*, his wife *Doris*, his sister *Salome*, his affianced *Mariana*, his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and eight hundred other women, beside a great company of friends, and (with much adoe) got not safelie into *Idumea*. For his mother was sore wounded by the way, by reason of the Waggons ouerthrow vpon her: so that *Herode* (as halfe desperate) thought to haue slaine himselfe, because he was ouer-closely pursued by the barbarous people, whom (neuertheless) hee valiantly droue backe, and quite ouercame.

Herod saueth himselfe by flight in the night, and a great company with him.

There he left al his company, and such goodes as they carried with them, in a strong Cittie named *Massada*, vnder the charge and protection of his brother *Iosippus*: and went very secretly (attended but with a few Souldiours) to king *Aretas*, relying vpon the loue and friendship

Herode leaueth his company in Massada, and goeth secretly to King Aretas in Arabia.

which was betweene him and his father *Antipater*. But being hindered from entring into *Arabia*, hee passed (with great difficultie) into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, who furnishing him with needfull things: hee tooke shipping in the worst season of all the yeare, and shaped his course directly for *Rome*; where being arriued, he acquainted *Mark Anthony* with the fraud of *Antigonus*, his owne slight, and perill of the people hee had in charge; humbly entreating him, that hee would not suffer him to be thus trampled on by his enemies, to whom he had expressed kindnesse, and oftentimes exalted them.

The arriuall of Herode at Rome with Marke Anthony.

Anthony reported the complaint and request of *Herode*, to his companion *Augustus* in the Empire, and both they together commended their suppliant friend to the Senate: remembring the perpetual deuotion & loyaltie of his father *Antipater*, towards the Captaines and Souldiours of *Rome*, and especially to *Iulius Cæsar*. In briefe, they preuailed so farre, that (by common voice) *Antigonus* was iudged enemy to the people of *Rome*: and the kingdome of *Iudea* conferred on *Herode*, the seauenth day after his coming to *Rome*. He was conducted to the Senate house, going in the middle betweene *Augustus* and *Anthony*; *Domitius Caluinius*, and *Asinius Pollio*, Consulles, going before him, accompanied with other Magistrates and Senatours, euen all the way thence to the Capitole, where the Sacrifices were perfourmed. And this beeing the first day of his reigne, hee was magnificently feasted by *Marke Anthonie*: foure yeares after the death of *Iulius Cæsar*; two yeares after them of *Cicero*, and thirty seuen before the birth of our Sauiour Christ.

The grace & fauour that Herod found with the Romane Senate.

Antigonus declared enimy to Rome, and Herod proclaimed King of Iudea.

Herode being returned into *Indea*, had a very difficult warre against King *Antigonus*, which continued the space of foure yeares: because that the *Romaine* Captaines (as *Ventidius*, *Silo* and some other, who had the charge of placing *Herode* in ful possession of the kingdome) were corrupted by gold sent from *Antigonus*, desiring nothing more then deferring, and neuer earnestly assisted *Herode*. Besides, many *Iewes* (ill affected to the house of *Antipater*) moued many troubles against him.

The Romain captains corrupted by golde from Antigonus, still hindered Herode.

The beginning then of *Herodes* reigne was wonderfully difficile, and yet (notwithstanding) by his industrie, diligence and vertue, and softly, steppe by steppe; he ouercame all hinderances, and possessed himselfe of *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and the very greatest part of *Iudea*.

Herod ouercame all his hinderances whatsoeuer.

Afterward, *Ventidius* sent some bands to succour him, conducted by one named *Macheras*; but *Herode* perceiuing him to be dull and slowe, and that hee went but coldly about the businesse, as expecting, that *Antigonus* should still furnish him with fresh handfulls; without expecting any further ayde from such Captains, he vndertook great iournies, to encounter with *Antigonus*, who besieged *Samosata*. And (by the way) sped very successefully, against diuers theeues that hindered his passages.

Herode goeth against Antigonus besieging Samosata.

As thus he drew nearer to his enemie, *Marke Anthony* came to meete him, and did him such honour as became a King, with the greater part of his Armie. After hee had heard his complaints, concerning the disloyaltie of some Captaines, who (corrupted by the gifts of *Antigonus*) had executed no part of the commaund from *Augustus* and the Senate: hee sent two legions of olde Souldiours into *Iudea*, and commaunded *Sosius* (one of his faithfull Captaines) to follow them with an other Armie, so soone as the Citty of *Samosata* was surrendred.

Marke Anthony meets with Herode, and vsed him very honorably.

In the absence of *Herode*, his brother *Iosippus*, fighting to his owne disaduantage; was slaine with his Armie, by the Souldiers of *Antigonus*, neare to *Iericho*. Also, the *Galileans* reuolted, and many rebelled in *Iudea*: wherefore *Herode* returned with those olde bands, and hardly appeased them of *Galilee*. Afterwards, by many encounters, wherein hee had one while the best, and another while the worst, he so weakened the forces of *Antigonus*: as (at length) hee withdrew into the fortresse of *Ierusalem*.

Herodes brother Iosippus slaine, and Galilee reuolted from him.

Herode brought his Armie against the Cittie, and after he had raised his munitions, and builded diuerse engines needfull for batterie: hee left the Armie vnder certaine Captaines and iournied into *Samaria*, to espouse *Mariana* the *Asmonean*, who (as I haue formerly tolde you) was daughter to *Alexander*, the yongest sonne of *Hyrcanus* the second, who (foure yeares before) was affianced to *Herode*, that

Herode goes to Samaria to marry with Mariana.

that is to say, before that the *Parthians* had inuaded the Countrey.

In the meane while, *Sosius* being sent from *Anthony* with his Souldiers, marched on diligently, and ioyned his armie with the other belonging to *Herod*; whose nuptialls being ended, and he returned to *Ierusalem*: the two Captaines beganne to assaile the Cittie manfully in diuers places. The besieged *Iewes* had great want of principall munitions, and yet notwithstanding, hauing embraced an imaginary hope, they thought, that they should be diuinely deliuered. For they continually vsed to say, that they fought for freedome of the people for their lawfull king against strangers, for the Temple and Religion against Pagans; sustaining (for some length of time) a very sharpe besieging, and much molesting the enemy by their sallies. But finally, the City was surprized in the moneth of Maie, the very same day as (seuen and twenty yeares before) *Pompey* had conquered it, as hath beene said, *M. Agrippa* and *Cauidius Gallus* being then Consulls.

Sosius ioynes his forces with Herods army.

A foolish hope and perswasion in the Iews for their deliuerance.

Ierusalem conquered by Herode and Sosius.

The *Romaine* Souldiers being much displeased at so long a siege, and losse of many of their people; made pittilesse slaughter, not onely of the armed *Iewes*, but also of such as had no defence at all. King *Antigonus*, throwing himselfe at the feete of *Sosius*, humbly desired pardon: but he was iniuriously reiected, and being strongly bound, sent to *Marke Anthonie* at *Antioche*, where, at the request of *Herod*, he was slaine.

Antigonus sent to Antioche, & there slaine by Herodes instigation.

In this Militarie furie and combustion, *Herod* had worke enough to do, to hinder the *Romaines*, from entring into the most secret place of the Temple, to robbe and carry thence the sacred treasures. Moreouer, hee was glad to promise an infinite summe of mony, to obtaine such fauour, that the goods of the Citizens might not bee imbezeled, and borne away by the Souldiours. And in this troublesome tempest, we will giue conclusion to this Chapter; because we enter now into the reigne of *Herode*, and are to speake of matters concerning those times.

The furie of Souldiers is very easily induced to robberie and sacrilege.

CHAP. XIIII.

How Herode, after all these tumultuous troubles and molestations, attained to the sole Gouernement of the Kingdome of Iudea.

AFter that the Cittie was taken in this manner, and *Antigonus* (the last King of the *Asmoneans*) slaine: *Herode* enioyed the Kingdome of *Iudea*, three and thirtie yeares before the Natiuity of Christ. Hauing taken order for the Realmes affaires, hee cruelly murdered all those great Lords, that had ioyned themselues with *Antigonus* against him. And seeing that hee had consumed and wasted all his goods, as also those of his kinred and friends, in gifts and charges of the warre; by an especiall Edict, he compelled the Citizens, to bring all their Iewells of gold and siluer to the kings castell, and all such money as they had beside. He appoynted likewise Guardes at the gates, to search all such as passed in or out: yea, such as carried the dead to buriall, fearing lest (in any manner) they should conuey thence coine, or any precious thing whatsoeuer.

At what time the reigne of King Herode beganne.

Herods cruell exaction for money vpon the people.

At this time happened a famine, in regarde of the seuenth yeare of rest, wherein it was not lawfull to sowe the grounds. And in the former yeares past, the fields remayned (in many places) vntilled, by reason of the continuall ciuile warres. So that the estate of the Cittie was very miserable, being fallen into woful seruitude; whereof the better sort of people, as *Simeon*, *Zachary*, *Ioseph* and some such other tooke part: who neuertheless, in these sad spectacles and miserable calamities, cheared vp their drouping spirites, by hope of the *Messias* his comming, who should saue them. And they perceiued it to draw neare, because they obserued, that the Scepter was now wholly taken from the house of *Iuda*.

A great famine among the people.

Hope of the comming of the Messias, a great consolation to the faithfull.

Herode standing in feare of the displeased people, by his horrible rapines and cruelties: to appease and quiet them, repealed

Hyrcanus recalled from banishment by Herode,& highly honored.

repealed(by his letters) from banishment *Hyrcanus* the second, who liued then in *Babylon*, because he had maried the daughter of his daughter, and sent presents to the king of *Parthia*, for the ransome of his captiuitie. When he was come to *Ierusalem*; hee did not make him soueraigne Sacrificer, because hee was mutilate or imperfect: but in recompence thereof, bestowed great honours vpon him, so that in publique assemblies, he caused him to sit in the highest roome. At the same time he substituted (in stead of *Antigonus* in the High-priesthood) another *Iew* come from *Babylon*, named *Ananelus*, a matter greatly offensiue to him and the people. Which *Herode* perceiuing, hee deposed *Ananelus*, and placed in his stead *Aristobulus*, brother to his wife *Mariana*: whom hee caused to die by detestable fraude a yeare after, rendering the High-priest-hoode to the sayd *Ananelus* againe. Whereupon, *Alexandra* accused him of this crime to *Cleopatra*, and he being appealed by *Anthony* to *Laodicea*, to render an account for this imputation; rather pacified him by golden gifres, then any vaine and vnaudible excuses.

Ananelus deposed, and Aristobulus made high-priest.

The warre at * *Actium* being now on foote, as *Augustus* and *Anthony* prepared themselues, to contend who should remaine the master: *Herode* conueyed himselfe to *Anthony*, and voluntarily made him offer, of whatsoeuer he could doe against *Augustus*, hauing forces in readines for him. But *Anthony* made him answere, that he had not any neede of such succour; giuing him charge (by the perswasion of *Cleopatra*) to make warre on the *Arabes*, who would not pay the annuall pension of two hundred Talents, whereof, he had made promise to *Cleopatra*. At the very entrance into this war, he ouerthrew the *Arabes* in one day: but Fortune afterward changing her fauour, hee lost (well-neare) all his armie, and was taken likewise in the field.

* Towne and Promontorie of Epire, where Augustus, after hee had conquered Anthony and Cleopatra built the citie Nicopolis.

Fortune both fauourable and aduerse to Herode.

Beside this calamity of the *Iewes*, a sudden Earthquake happened, which slew aboue ten thousand persons in *Iudea*: euen when the Armies by Sea of *Augustus* and *Anthony*, encountred together at *Actium*, in the seuenth yeare of *Herods* reigne. Hee hauing (so well as he could) vnited his forces together againe; repulsed the *Arabes*, and compelled them to returne home into their countrey: which otherwise had conuerted to the *Iewes* heauier calamitie, because they (encouraged by their wofull miseries) put all to fire and sword throughout *Iudea*. And this earthquake, as also the inrodes of the enemie were followed by a dreadfull pestilence: which made lamentable spoyle and hauocke, both in the fields and cities, and likewise in the Kings campe.

An earthquake, which killed many people in Iudea.

One miserie following in the necke of another.

After these apparent and publique calamities, meeting together in such grieuous manner; *Herode* fell into a great personall danger. For, after the day at *Actium*, wherein *Anthony* (the chiefest friend to *Herode*) was foyled, and dying thereupon: *Herode* was in no meane dismay, for feare of *Augustus* the Conquerour; and the people well perceiued his feare, because hee knew not how to determine of himselfe. Whereupon, some of the people (vnable to endure this dominion of a stranger) beganne to exalt their spirits, vnder hope of some sudden nouelty, and ioyed at the danger wherein *Herode* was. Aboue all the rest, his mother in law *Alexandra* (imagining the time to be now come, wherein shee might reuenge the death of her sonne, and retreate the kingdome againe to her own family) solicited very strong and firmely her father *Hyrcanus* (now very aged and decrepite, and one that alwayes affected quietnesse) in regarde of his many iniuries; to flie into *Arabia*, to the end, that if *Herode* were ill entreated by *Augustus*; he might the easier inuade the kingdome, beeing assisted by the *Arabes*.

Herode lost Mark Anthony his best friend.

Herode in great feare of Augustus.

The proceeding of Alexandra against her sonne in law Herode.

Dositheus, a most disloyall seruant, deliuered the Letters (intended for this purpose, and sent by him to the King of *Arabia*) to King *Herode*: who desiring to bee more fully informed in the fact, sent *Dositheus* into *Arabia* with the Letters, and after hee had receyued answere from the King, concerning the Letters sent vnto him: he caused *Hyrcanus* to be condemned, by the sentence of Iustice as a traytour, and so put to death. Some others write, that *Herod*, fearing the peril wherein hee sawe himselfe to be fallen, and the multitude of the *Iewes* (of whom he was deadly hated) might easily be moued by such an occasion, to transferre the Kingdome to *Hyrcanus*, who onely remayned of the *Asmoneans* race: impose a false crime

All her hope frustrated by Dositheus an vnfaithfull seruant.

Hyrcanus condemned and executed as a traytour, by the cunning treacherie of Herod.

crime vpon him, and preuayled so well by counterfeited letters, that the good olde man was condemned to death.

This being done, hee sent his mother, his sister, their other kinred, and all their attendants, as also his brother *Pheroras*, to a strong munited Cittie in *Idumea*, called *Massada*. But withdrew his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and his wife *Mariana* (who hee thought could not well agree with the other women) to another Fort, named *Alexandrion*; giuing the charge of them to *Iosippus*, Generall for the finances of the kingdome, and to *Soemus* his most certaine and singular friends. And this trust also he imposed on them, that if *Augustus* offered any ill to him: they should kill the two women instantly, and conserue (so much as in them possibly lay) the kingdome for his sonnes, vntill they were come to age, by the assistance of his brother *Pheroras*.

Alexandra and Mariana sent to the fort Alexandrion, and his intent for the

These matters being thus ordered and appoynted, he trauelled on to *Augustus*, who then heard all Ambassadours in the Isle of *Rhodes*, where, leauing off his diademe and kingly roabes, keeping all the rest of royall liberty, as trusting in his cause and the Emperours clemencie; he confessed, that hee had beene a friend to *Marke Anthony*, and would haue sent him succour, if he had required it; but that he was diuinely withdrawne from his company (in how miserable condition soeuer) by the warre which hee then made vpon the *Arabes*. Wherein he had sustained so many losses and misfortunes, that he was sufficiently punished for his friendship to *Anthony*, and for the seruices he had done vnto him. But if now it pleased *Augustus* to experiment his faithfulnesse; hee would make it apparent vnto him, by as true seruices.

The coming of Herode to Augustus, and the voluntary confession he made before him.

Augustus tooke such delight in the magnanimous confession of *Herode*, that hee embraced him amiably, restoring him to his Crowne, and assuring him, to expect as many kinde beneuolences from him, as euer hee had receiued by *Marke Anthony*.

In what gracious and honorable manner Augustus vsed Herode.

Herode finding *Augustus* so gracious, tooke courage from the former despayre wherein hee was, assuring now the possession of his Kingdome the more firmely to him. Wherefore hee exceeded his abilitie in gifts to *Augustus*, as also to his friends and the Army. Hee bare the Emperour company beside, at his sayling into *Egypt*; and when he came into *Syria*: hee receyued him with entertainement more then royall, hauing borrowed all necessarie prouision, throughout all the parts of *Iudea*.

Herods bountie to Augustus, farre beyond his power & ability.

Augustus finding so many great respects, meerely flowing from *Herode*; restored that part of *Iudea* to him, which *Anthonie* had giuen to *Cleopatra*: adding thereto likewise *Samaria*, and other Citties on the Sea coastes, whereby the wealth of his kingdome was greatly augmented.

Augustus enlarged the power and authoritie of Herode.

Herode hauing mette with all this happinesse and felicitie abroad, at his returne home into *Iudea*, found all things there very bitter and troublesome, by priuate and domesticke hatreds. For, his wife *Mariana* had already gotten intelligence (two seuerall times) by the Guardes, that they had charge to kill her and her mother; if eyther *Anthony* before hand, or *Augustus* now in this doubtfull time, disposed otherwise then well of him. Wherupon, at their meeting, *Mariana* by no meanes would come neare him, notwithstanding all the flatteries or signes of ardent loue hee shewed to her: reproouing him for such cruell commaunds, and plainely telling him, that they were no testimonies of a true husband. *Herode* entred into suspition, that it was not possible for him to be disclosed, or his secrets knowne to the Guardes: but eyther it must be by *Iosippus*, or lastly, by *Soemus*, wherefore he grew very chollericke, and studied how to taxe and punish her for adultery. And yet such was the power of his loue, that he could not credite all that he suspected, neyther exercise any crueltie against so faire a woman, of great Nobilitie, endowed with all graces belonging to a body of such singularitie.

Mariana informed of Herodes intention by the Guardes.

Herodes suspition of his secrets disclosing, and practising against his wife.

At length, his sister *Salome* remooued all these hinderances in him, and prouoked him on to an execrable execution; for, finding apt occasion to reuenge her owne contempt, she kindled a fierce fire in him of suspition, namely, in the matter of adulterie, adding withall, an intent of poyson prepared for him, which shee approoued to the King, by testimonie of his owne Taster or Cup bearer, whome she had wonne thereto by liberall gifts of money.

Deadly is the malice of one woman to an other.

Mariana the wife of King Herod wrongfully executed, for which he repented heauily afterward.

money. Heereupon, the King grew outragiously incensed against her; and hauing caused her to be condemned by the sentence of his friends; commaunded her to be immediatly executed, although she had beene the mother to him of fiue children. But soone after hee repented his vnaduised rashnesse, and so extreamely desired his wifes company agayne; that he fell into an extraordinary languishing, shunning all societie whatsoeuer. And, vnder colour of riding on hunting, hee would secretly steale into Caues and Dennes in the forrest, as hoping there to finde some asswaging of his sorrow; and being vnable to withstand the extremitie of melancholie, hee fell into a deadly disease.

A grieuous pestilence in Iudea, King Herode himselfe lying deadly sicke in Samaria.

At the same time, there was a great plague or pestilence in *Iudea*, whereby multitudes of people were consumed: so that many men were perswaded verily, that God had sent this punishment for the Kings cruelties. And as the King himselfe lay extreamly sick in *Samaria*, where euery one was in mightie despaire of his life: *Alexandra* (his mother in law) stroue by large promises, to winne the Guardes of the Temple and Cittie to partake with her. But the conspiracie being reuealed, *Herode* gaue order for her sudden execution. The King then seemed outwardly to be somewhat recouered, but yet carryed himselfe most cruelly against those friends, that were of greatest familiaritie with him; because his sickenesse (howeuer shaddowed) encreased daily impatience, which made him the more inclined to all vilenesse and tyrannie.

The death of Alexandra.

Herode cruel to his familiar friends.

When he perceiued, that there remained not any one of the *Asmoneans* Family, or of any other side, to interrupt him in his power, onely the multitude excepted; hee grew to such assurance of himselfe, that he did many things repugnant to the lawes of God, and the customes receiued by the *Iewes*. For, in the Citie of *Ierusalem* it selfe, he builded a Theater and an Amphitheater, wherein were performed foule and dissolute playes, huntings, and combates of Fencers, according to the maner of the Pagans. He instituted also (at euery fiue yeares end) a Ioust and Tournament, in the honour of *Augustus*, proposing there publiquely the *Cæsars* Images, and the Victories obtayned by them. But vnderstanding, that the people were greatly offended with these vn-vsuall things, prohibited by the Lawes of God, and prouoking many to practise his killing, as also conspiring meanes whereby to effect it: he fortified diuers places very respectiuely, against all ambushes and seditions; as *Alexandrion*, *Herodion*, *Hyrcanion*, and others, and planted strong garrisons in the most commodious places.

Theaters erected in Ierusalem for lewd and dissolute sportes.

Fortifications of Herode, standing in feare of his life.

He builded also newly (or else magnificently repayred) diuerse Citties and Townes, which he stiled by the names of Emperours, or of his friends: the principall whereof was the Tower of *Straton* on the Sea side, which hee called *Cæsarea*: and *Samaria*, distant a dayes iorney from *Ierusalem*, which he called *Sebasta*, that is to say, *Augustus*, according to the Emperours name. Also, he repayred *Athedon*, which he called *Agrippion*, of *Agrippa*, the kinseman to *Cæsar*. Hee builded *Antipatrida*, by the name of his father, in the field of *Capharsalania*. Also *Phaselida*, by the name of his brother, neare to *Iericho*: and *Herodion*, by his owne name, on the Marches of *Arabia*.

Citties and towns newly builded or repaired by Herode.

In the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, there happened a great dearth throughout the Land, by reason of an extraordinary drought; which was the cause, that a great famine did accompany the preceeding mortalitie of men and beasts: during which time, *Herod* caused diligent search for corne, & brought great quantities out of *Egypt*, and other neighbouring Regions beside, which he distributed (by the poule) to the people. But, because money grew short for such a distribution, in regarde that the royall treasure had bene wasted, about those sumptuous and excessiue buildings; hee employed all his vessells of golde and siluer, and all his Iewells besides, in the buying of corne. By which bounteous liberality, hee not onely redeemed the losse of his credite, by the offences done to his people, but also drew great fauour and affection from them.

A wonderfull famine, together with the pestilence of men & beasts

Herode spent all his Plate and Iewells for buying corne to feed the people.

In the seuenteenth yeare of his reigne, *Augustus* comming into *Syria*, gaue the Kingdome of *Chalcis* to *Herode*; adding also thereto **Drachonitis*, and **Batanea*. Moreouer, he gaue him power, in this his long sickenesse, to appoynt and leaue which

* A region of Syria betwixt Libanus and and the Lake Tiberias.

* A place neare to Euphrates.

which of his ſonnes he pleaſed, to be his heire and ſucceſſour. In recompence of which large bountie, *Herode* dedicated a goodly Temple to *Auguſtus*, which hee builded in *Paneada*, neare to the ſourſes that feede the riuer *Iordane*. Which Pagan flattery of his, eſtranged agayne the multitude of the *Iewes* from him; and therefore to pleaſe them, hee quitted the third part of their taxations. Notwithſtanding, as he could not containe ſome of them, crying out inceſſantly, that it was intolerable, to erect temples to mortall men in *Iudea*, and there to reuerence them as Gods: ſo hee ſought to reſtraine other by violent torments, ſending Spies and Picke-thankes into publique and priuate Aſſemblies, who reported vnto the King whatſoeuer was ſpoken of him. It is further reported of him, that himſelfe (ſickely as hee was) in a common habite or diſguiſe, would often walke abroade in the night time, liſtening in ſuch companies as conferred together, to know what they ſaid, concerning the preſent eſtate of the kingdome.

A Temple dedicated to Auguſtus.

Spies and Intelligencers appoynted to ſift the people what ſpeeches were vſed of him.

At length, finding neither loue nor fidelitie in the people, hee ſtroue to binde them faſt to him by oath; wherein hee preuayled, attracting ſome by large and goodly promiſes, to giue him their oath of Allegeance and Loyaltie: others hee conſtrained by feare of torments, putting ſome to death in diuers kindes, that peremptorily refuſed to ſweare. Onelie the *Phariſes* ſtoode excepted, whom hee pardoned, in loue to a few aged men, that hee reuerenced for their ſanctitie of life, and which made them deare to the people. Neuertheleſſe, he condemned them in great fines and amercements, which were payed by the wife of *Pheroras*, to binde that Sect in loue to her. He quitted alſo the *Eſſeans* from taking the Oath, holding them in no meane admiration: as following a manner of liuing moſt holily, and farre exceeding humane nature; beeing ſingular in fore-telling things to come.

The oath of obedience & fidelitie exacted by Herode of his ſubiects.

The Phariſe excepted frꝭ the Oath.

The Eſſeans alſo diſcharged of the oathe.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, beeing deſirous to vnite his ſubiects to him by farre greater benefites, and to aboliſh the remembrance of his precedent exceſſes: hee vndertooke to builde the Temple of *Ieruſalem* moſt magnificently, the former building (if heerein wee may beleeue *Ioſephus*) beeing vtterly beaten downe, which building had continued fiue hundred yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*. This worke, admirable in greatneſſe, ſumptuouſneſſe and cunning, was finiſhed in eight yeares, and dedicated with great ſolemnitie: wherein hee gaue three hundred Oxen for the Sacrifices, ſeauen yeares before the Natiuitie of Chriſt.

The Temple of Ieruſalem newly buildedby King Herode.

Afterward, the Diſciples declared the magnificence of the building. And, as Chriſt fore-tolde, after that the Temple had continued about foure-ſcore yeares; it was vtterly ruined by the *Romanes*, from the top to the bottome.

Matth. 24. 1. Marke 13. 1 Luke 21. 5.

The building of the Temple being ended, he would needs be carried to *Rome*, to ſalute the Emperour *Auguſtus*: From thence hee brought with him his ſonnes *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, whom he had by his murdered *Mariana*, and had ſent them tenne yeares before to *Rome*, to be brought vp in the houſe of *Aſinius Pollio*. And the reaſon of his bringing them thence into *Iudea*, was, to quicken and cheare their hopes; that they were to ſucceede him in the kingdome. And firſt of all, he beſtowed wiues on them; giuing to *Alexander*, *Glaphira*, daughter to *Archalaus*, King of *Cappadocia*; and to *Ariſtobulus*, *Berenice*, daughter to his ſiſter *Salome*.

Herode is caried to Rome to ſee the emperour.

Aſinius Pollio a noble Romaine.

The matiages of Herodes two ſonnes.

Theſe yoong Lords and Ladies, were very gracefull both in minde and bodie, which made them the more choicely affected of the people. But *Salome*, and ſome other (who had induced *Herode* to murder his wife, fearing if they ſhould come to the Crowne, they would reuenge the death of their mother) laboured, by little and little, to kindle hatred in *Herode* againſt them, deliuering aſperſions abroade; that they diſdayned their fathers company, bicauſe he had put their mother to death.

They that haue once dealt in blod, are alwayes ſuſpitious of themſelues.

Herode growing into health, by weake degrees, and theſe wicked deuices proceeding on; newes came, that *Agrippa* (neare kinſeman to *Auguſtus*) was arriued in *Aſia*, and *Herode* iourneying to meete him, quickely perſwaded him to viſite *Iudea*. Hauing giuen him there moſt honourable entertainement, and ſhewne him the munitions and other buildings; he returned to his Campe, making

Agrippa kinſman to Auguſtus came into Aſia.

king great haſte in going thither. The winter being ouer-paſt, *Herode* followed him, when he croſſed to *Pontus* his armie by ſea, and kept him company during the time of that expedition. Returning ſoon after to his owne home, hee found all in diſorder, by domeſticke hatreds purpoſely prepared. For his ſiſter *Salome*, and his brother *Pheroras*, immediately accuſed *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* (beeing the ſonnes of *Mariana*) affirming, that they had openly complayned on the vniuſt death of their mother, and threatened to be reuenged for it. Heereto they added, that winning the Vulgars fauour without any diſſimulation; they had prepared a traine for their auncient father: truſting to the power of *Archelaus*, father in lawe to one of them, and to the friendſhip of the *Romaines* on the other ſide, which they had long both wrought to this intent, with the very mightieſt in the Court of *Auguſtus*.

False accuſations impoſed on Alexander and Ariſtobulus, by Salome and Pheroras.

Herode layes traines to entrap his innocent ſonnes vpon the treacherous ſpeeches of his brother and ſiſter.

Herod enduring continually any thing, much rather then the leaſt ſuſpition of vndermining his kingdome; became amazed mightily at theſe allegations, appoynted ſome of his intimate friends, to be preſent at banquets, and other familiar conferences with his ſonnes, to be the better aſſured of their words & attempts: When (perchaunce) the yoong Lords (neither proiecting or ſuſpecting any ill) might vtter ſome one word more liberally then other (being thereto prouoked by croſſe language in the vrgers) purpoſly deliuered forth, to draw ſomewhat from them, in extolling the nobilitie and vertue of their Mother, which is the bounden duty of any childe to doe. But this ſerued the turne ſufficiently, for *Herode* to credite, that whatſoeuer his ſiſter had reported, was true. Firſt of all therefore, he reprehended them very ſeuerely; next, to induce their better modeſty and reuerence to their father, by feare and iealouſie; he beganne to countenance, and carefully reſpect his ſonne *Antipater*, (who was borne of *Doris*, when ſhe liued a perſon of priuate condition) that they might thereby gather his intention, for making him to bee his ſucceſſour in the kingdome.

A man willing to credit lies is ſoone perſwaded of their truth in any thing to his owne aduantage.

This did more vehemently diſtaſte the yoong Lords, and made them now to complaine more bitterly of their father, as alſo of their owne vnhappineſſe and ill vſage; all which behauiour in them, was imparted to their father by the afore-ſayd intelligencing ſpies. Beſide, *Salome* compelled her daughter *Berenice* (by frequent iniuries incited betweene her and her huſband) to diſcloſe what ſecrets paſſed betweene the two brothers, and what priuate conferences they had together. All which ſhe made in much greater manner to the King, then they were indeed, onely by hir vile additions, and falſifications, incenſing him ſtill ſo extreamely againſt them, that he tooke them both with him to *Rome*, and accuſed them of treaſon before *Auguſtus*.

A mother worketh a daughter againſt the life of her owne husband.

There, after the infortunate Gentlemen had made ſatisfaction to *Auguſtus* and ſome other Iudges, by euident purgations, teares and intreaties, they were reconciled again into their fathers grace, and returned home with him to *Iudea*: where the Multitude beeing met together, he declared before them the cauſe of his iourney, and to what happie ſucceſſe it had ſorted. Adding withall, that (by the liking of *Auguſtus*) *Antipater* was next to ſucceede after his death, as being his eldeſt ſonne; and then afterward, *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* ſhould enioy their right, in reigning each after other; all which hee reported to the people in a long diſcourſe, which we haue formerly related in our Militarie Orations.

Auguſtus reconciled the ſons to their father.

From this time forward, *Antipater* inſiſted the more audaciouſly, in whetting the fathers ſpleene againſt his brethren, by falſe, forged and crafty calumniations; beſide diuers other reports of nouelties, meerely deuiſed for the purpoſe. He being highly diſpleaſed, that they ſhould haue any title or claime at all to the kingdome: as fretting extreamely, that their credite held more ſpecially with the people then theirs did, for the mothers ſake of whome they came. In briefe, he neuer ceaſſed, till (by the helpe of *Pheroras* and *Salome*) till he had perſwaded his father, that his two ſonnes *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus*, were growne prowde vpon their reconciliation, and practiſed (inſtantly) to poſſeſſe themſelues of the Kingdome.

Antipater ſtil worketh maliciouſly againſt his 2. brethren, as hating that they ſhould liue.

Herode beeing further informed of thoſe accuſations, by ſuch as were employed for the purpoſe; by racking, torturing and other cruelties, put to death many of his

Herod putteth to death many friends of his owne. and of his ſonnes vpon falſe reports.

his owne friends, and of his Sonnes. And yet no other harme could bee approoued againſt them, but onely youthfull and vnaduiſed complaints, of exceſſiue cruelty in their father; and his ouereaſie. facilitie, in lending eare to falſe reports, only through the deteſtable impietie of their brother *Antipater*, and them of his linage.

The two brethren accuſed againe by letters to Auguſtus.

Herode impatient at ſo many ſuſpitions, and fiered hourely with the diuells of his houſe, *Salome*, *Antipater* and their complices: once more, by his letters ſent to *Auguſtus*, he flatly accuſed *Alexander* and *Ariſtobulus* of treaſon. Now, becauſe *Auguſtus* had giuen him permiſſion, to puniſh his ſonnes according to the exigence of their crimes: hee accuſed them before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, Gouernours of *Syria*, and other *Romaine* Cittizens his friends there preſent, whom he had cauſed to come from *Iudea* to *Beritha*, a Cittie of *Syria*. After that they were condemned by pluralitie of voyces, he ſent them to be ſtrangled in *Sebaſta*: where likewiſe were executed three hundred perſons more, who were ſaid to giue conſent, to an imaginarie flight impoſed vpon the two innocent Princes. *Ariſtobulus* at his death left three ſonnes and twoo daughters, which hee had by his wife *Berenice*; and *Alexander* two ſonnes by *Glaphyra*, beſides ſome daughters, whereof we will ſpeake in their due place and time.

Herode murdered his two ſonnes & 300 perſons beſide.

The iſſue of Alexander and Ariſtobulus.

From this time forward, *Herode* beganne to be very vnfortunate, becauſe all his Court was troubled with bitter hatreds, diſdaines, ſuſpitions and treaſons: ſo that *Antipater* (compacting with *Pheroras* and ſome other Courtiers) determined to kill the King his father. And as hee was plotting priuily, how he might be called to *Rome* by *Auguſtus*, for better ſtrengthening himſelfe with the Emperours power, and winning friends in his Court by gifts: it came to paſſe that *Pheroras* dyed, whoſe wife was accuſed before *Herode* by ſome of her owne friends, to haue poyſoned her husband. *Herode* making inquiſition after this offence by tortures, chaunced (by little and little) to come to the knowledge of farre greater crimes, and the treaſons of his ſonne *Antipater* plainely appeared.

Antipater conſpired the death of his father.

Pheroras poiſoned by his wife.

Heereupon, the King being extreamly enraged, ſpared not any of his Court from torturing cruelly; no not ſo much as the women and their daughters, very neare in loue and kinred to him, if hee could ſuſpect them in the very leaſt manner. And as hee ſtroue to informe himſelfe, by all his beſt and diligent meanes, ſo much the more hee grew to be hated of all his followers, ſo that (conſequently) he became worſe then miſerable.

Herod torturerh his courtiers cruelly.

Onely his Siſter *Salome*, was faithfull to him, who compaſſed the meanes by craftie Spies, to finde out the plots of all the Conſpiratours, which ſhee ſtill reuealing to her brother, enflamed his fury extraordinarily: making him to diſtruſt them that were moſt familiar with him, by forged tales and faithleſſe ſuſpitions. So that *Herode* accuſed *Antipater* (who was taken with the poyſon readily prepared for his father) before *Quintilius Varus* (who was ſlayne by *Arminius Cheruſchus* in *Germanie*, twelue yeres after with Legions) and beeing conuicted of the ſinne of parricide, and condemned; hee commaunded him to bee kept priſoner, vntill by Letters and Ambaſſadours, hee vnderſtoode the will and pleaſure of *Auguſtus*, concerning his puniſhment.

Salome only conſtant to her brother Herode.

Antipater taken with poyſon prepared for his father.

In the meane while, hee executed many, both men and women, as beeing conſenting to *Antipaters* attempts: amongſt whome were diuerſe innocents, wrongfully accuſed by malicious enemies, and meerely ſwallowed vp in *Herodes* furie, as in the roaring billowes of the Sea.

Mallice will hardly want matter to worke on.

Soone after, beeing about the age of ſeauentie yeares, quaſht and confounded with domeſticke calamities: his former ſickneſſe grew now to farre greater violence vpon him, which made him ten times more cruell towards his ſubiects. For now hee was verily perſwaded, that the Iewes reioyced as much at his homebred miſeries, as they did at the extreamitie of his diſeaſe. Wherefore hee deuiſed very cruell puniſhments, for matters of ſilly or ſmall offence: for hee burned aliue fortie yoong Schollers, of the very chiefeſt houſes in *Iudea*, with two Maiſters that were excellent men: becauſe (being mooued with iuſt griefe, to ſee the Temple of God prophaned) they had ouerthrowne (ſomewhat violently) an Eagle of golde, placed in the Portall of

Herods ſickneſſe encreaſed vpon him.

The cruel tyranny of Herod in his laſt ſickneſſe.

Forty ſcholers and their maiſters burned aliue.

the Temple, and in the honor of *Cæſar*; a thing very coſtly and magnificent, but contrary to the cuſtomes of the Iewiſh nation. The monſtrous crueltie inflicted vpon theſe yoong men, was the cauſe of great troubles in the Cittie, after *Herodes* death.

Hee exerciſed alſo other great cruelties, amongſt which, *Philo* the Iew recordeth, that in the thirtieth yeare of his tyrannicall reigne, he ſlew the *Sanhedrin*: to wit, the ordinary Iudges of the houſe of *Dauid*, and ſubſtituted other (newly conuerted to Iudaiſme, or skilfull in the Lawe) in their ſtead. Moreouer, he ſlew the husband of his ſiſter *Salome*, who was of the Tribe or Linage of *Iuda*, and a Sonne, which hee himſelfe begate of a woman of the ſame Tribe; becauſe hee had ſayd, that Chriſt our Sauiour was already borne, who was promiſed in the Lawe, and by the Prophets, to be of the houſe of *Dauid*.

Sanhedrin the auncient Iudges of Iudea ſlayne.

The husband of Salome ſlaine.

Alſo Saint *Matthew* the Euangeliſt, in the ſecond chapter and ſixeteenth verſe, maketh mention of an other notable example of his crueltie, where he writeth, that being aduertiſed by the wiſe men of *Perſia*, that the *Meſſias* was horne; hee gaue ſtrict commaund, that all the maſle Children ſhould bee murdered, in the Towne of *Bethlehem*, and all the villages round about.

The murdering of the yoong infants in Bethlehem and other places.

Macrobius is a witneſſe of this moſt inhumane act, who recounteth (among the witty conceits of *Auguſtus*) that hearing report of the Infants ſlaughter, from two yeares olde and vnder, cauſed by *Herode* to be done in *Syria*, and his owne ſonne, being alſo ſlayne among them, hee ſayd: *That he had much rather be Herodes Hogge, then his Sonne.*

A witty ſaying of Auguſtus.

Moreouer, feeling his entrailes to rot and putrifie, his bloud and fleſh boyling, and vermine creeping all ouer his bodie, deſpayring of liuing any longer: by Edict, he aſſembled the chiefeſt of the *Iews*, ſuch as excelled the reſt in wiſedome, wealth and authoritie; cauſing them to come from all parts of the Kingdome to *Iericho*.

A moſt horrible intention in King Herode.

Beeing there arriued vpon his commaund, they were ſhut vppe in the place appointed for Triumphs, as if hee purpoſed to conferre with them before his death, of ſome important matter concerning the State of the Kingdome. But hee gaue charge to his ſiſter *Salome*, and to her husband *Alexas*, that ſo ſoone as hee had giuen vp the Ghoſt: they ſhould diſpatch the liues of the mightieſt Iewes by the Archers of his Guarde, coueting by this meanes, to make a wofull lamentation amongeſt the Iewes, who elſe would reioyce at theyr Kings miſerable end.

A commaund more then barbarous, & ill beſeeming the houre of death.

Beſides, that they ſhould thus keepe (without any manner of impeachment) the poſſeſſion of the Kingdome for his ſonnes, when they of greateſt power were dead and gone.

Now, albeit *Salome*, and her husband made promiſe to the King, for the execution of his bloudy will: yet after his death, and before they made any declaration thereof, they let looſe all the Iewes, without offering them the leaſt iniury, accounting it to be neyther ſafe for them, nor the children of *Herod*, to obey ſuch a barbarous and inhumane iunction.

The Iewes releaſed without any harm done to them

A little before his death, the Ambaſſadours which returned from *Italy*, did bring him Letters from *Auguſtus*, whereby hee gaue him power ouer his Sonne *Antipater*, eyther for life or death. But the rage of the Father was now ſomewhat cooler, wherefore hee commaunded, that his Sonne ſhould be brought to *Iericho*; but yet to keepe him ſtill in bands.

Herode receiued letters from Auguſtus before his death.

It fortuned, that *Herod* (liuing in ſuch horrible and extreame torments, with ſtincking putrifaction of his body:) ſodainely caught a knife, and ſought for the fitteſt place to ridde himſelfe out of thoſe paines.

Herod intended deſperatly to kill himſelfe.

But *Archelaus*, one of his kinſemen, and other ſeruants (beeing by) hindered his violent intent of murdering himſelfe: whereuppon, a great tumult and out-cry ranne throughout the whole Pallace; euen as if the King had beene dead. *Antipater* being priſoner, and vnderſtanding, why theſe cries came thus from euery place: beganne to be very iocund and mirthfull, euen as if his father were dead indeede, and would haue induced the Guardes to let him haue liberty, vpon very liberall promiſes he made to them.

Antipater ſeeketh to corrupt his keepers.

But he that had the eſpeciall charge of him, fearing the crueltie of the King, went to

to see whether he was dead or no: reporting to him his sonnes merry disposition, and the matter which he had so earnestly mooued him vnto.

Antipater secretly slaine in prison.

Herode mightily offended at these tydings, commaunded, that (without any delay) his son *Antipater* should be slayne in prison. Which beeing done, himselfe liued but fiue dayes after his sonne. So that, what with the violence of his sickenesse, encreasing the torments of his soule, he died: hauing reigned foure and thirtie yeares after the surprizall of *Ierusalem*; and seauen and thirtie yeares after the *Romaines* had proclaimed him King. A man equally cuell to all men: from base and lowe degree, exalted to eminent place of honour, by industrie, bountie and friendship: very happy abroade, vnfortunate amongst his owne, and hated (both of his subiects and domesticks) for his crueltie.

The shamefull and ignominious death of Herode.

Three special aduersaries with whom hee had to deale principally.

All the time of his gouernement, hee had contention and quarrell principally with three aduersaries. First of all, against the Family of the *Asmoneans*, which hee stroue vtterly to extirpate by all his pollicies. Secondly, against the Iewish people, who could not endure the dominion of a stranger: and although they kicked continually against him, yet finally they were charged with a hard yoake of seruitude. The third aduersarie, more troublesome and difficult then both the rest, was his owne housholde people. For, as hee slew one part of them (beeing no way guilty or offensiue towardes him) by listening to false reportes of the enuious, and according to his owne suspitions, still to support his greedie desire of rule: so did he punish others taken in the fact, who indeede conspired against him, vntill such time, as beeing more broken and battered by his domesticke encumbrances, then by extreamitie of age; he payed the tribute due to Nature. *Philo* the Iew writeth, that hee reigned sixe yeares lawfully, and one and thirty yeares tyrannically.

A Tyrant is alwayes suspitious, & hardly trusteth any man but himselfe.

The natiuitie of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ in Bethlehem

In the three and thirtie yeare of his reigne (as it is auouched by *Epiphanius*) vnder the first description of the World: *Iesus Christ*, our blessed Sauiour and Redeemer, was borne in *Bethlehem* of the Virgine *Mary*. At the age of two yeares, by the Angelles admonition, hee was with-drawne from the crueltie of this wretch, by his father and mother, who fled with him into *Egypt*. Afterwardes, hee was brought backe againe into *Iudea*, at the beginning of the Primacie of *Archelaus*.

The testamēt of Herode changed by himself three seueral times.

Herode altered his Will three seuerall times: The first chaunge was, after hee had put to death his two sonnes by *Mariana* the *Asmonean*, and then hee sent it by the hands of *Antipater* (hee going to *Rome*) to *Augustus*. That Will confirmed as his heire in the Kingdome, *Antipater*, his eldest sonne by *Doris*: but yet with this condition, that if he dyed before the time, his sonne *Herode*, whome hee had by the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, should succeede him. To whom (vpon this occasion) according to the opinion of *Iosephus*, hee had giuen in marriage *Herodias*, the daughter to *Aristobulus*, sonne of *Mariana* the *Asmonean*.

Iosph in Ant. Iud. li. 4. ca. 10

Antipater & Herod razed out of their fathers testament, & their mothers excluded the Court.

After the death of *Pheroras*, brother to *Herode*, the treasons began to be discouered, and the King beeing informed, that the Mother of *Herode*, his destinated successour (and daughter to the Soueraigne Sacrificer) had consented in wicked councell with *Antipater*: hee razed the names both of *Antipater* and *Herode* out of his Will, frustrating them from all hope of euer comming to the Crowne.

Beside, he expulsed the two mothers, *Doris* and *Mariana*, out of the Pallace, despoyling also his father in lawe *Simon*, of the High-priesthoode.

The second alteration of his Wil.

In his second Testament, hee left the Kingdome to his last sonne, named *Herode Antipas*, and hee to succeede after his death, beeing borne of *Marthaca* a *Samaritane*. Therein hee made no mention at all of *Archelaus*, nor of *Phillip*, who were elder in yeares then hee: because, by the suggestion of *Antipater*, some of of his friends had falsely accused them by Letters, in the time of their studying at *Rome*.

A thousand talents giuen by Herode to Augustus.

By the same Testament, he left a thousand Talents to *Augustus*, which amounteth to three score tunnes of Golde. To *Liuia* the wife of *Augustus*, and to the children and enfranchised friends of *Augustus*, hee gaue fiue hundred Talents, that is to say, thirtie tunnes of golde.

Last of all, after that (a little before

The third and last alteration of his testament.

his death) hee had caused *Antipater* to bee slayne, for diuerse conspiracies against his father and brethren: he grew into good liking of his two elder sonnes, which was the reason of altering his will the third time, leauing the Kingdome of *Iudea* to *Archelaus*; prouided also, that it might bee as pleasing to *Augustus*.

Herode Antipas and Phillip made both Tetrarches.

In stead of King, hee made *Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Perea*, that is to say, of the Region scituate beyond *Iordane*.

In like manner, hee appoynted *Phillip* Tetrarch of *Gallonitida*, *Traconitis*, *Batanea* and *Paneada*. To his Sister *Salome* (who amongst all his kinred) he had onely found faithfull to him, and helpefull in all his aduersities, hee left three wealthy Citties, *Iamnia*, *Azot* and *Phaselida*, with fiftie thousand Crownes besides.

Herods bountie in his legacies to Augustus and other.

Hee assigned great reuenews to his other sonnes, and to their children, whom hee left in priuate condition, and augmented the Legacies which he had sent to *Augustus* and other at *Rome*. But *Augustus* (afterwards) distributed all the money to him appoynted to *Herodes* kinred; retayning nothing to himselfe, but onely certayne costly vessells, as a token of remembrance for the dead.

CHAP. XV.

A briefe Collection, concerning the children of Herode the Great, which hee had by his tenne wiues, as also the order of their seuerall successions.

Iosephus varieth from the Euangelicall historie.

THought it verie necessarie, heere to set downe the order and succession of *Herodes* children; because it doth giue great light to the Euangelicall Historie, in regarde that the Description made by *Iosephus*, is somewhat dissenting. Especially in *Herodias*, whom *Iosephus* sayth, to be sometime married, not to *Phillip* the Tetrarch, as the Euangelist Saint *Mark*, in the sixteenth chapter and seauenteenth verse of his Gospell auoucheth, but to *Herod*, sonne to the daughter of *Simon* the High-priest, who soone after was aduaunced, and ioyned with *Herode Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee*, that slew Saint *Iohn Baptist*.

The genealogie of Herod very great

He sayth besides, that the dauncing daughter of *Herodias*, was married to *Phillip*: But the authoritie of the Euangelists ought to be of greater weight with vs, then to that of *Iosephus*, who in this Genealogie of *Herode*, speaketh things very contrary, which is not much to bee maruelled at, in a Familie of so great extendure. For King *Herode*, according to the auncient manner of the Kings of *Iudea*, had many wiues together, in all being tenne, two whereof were barren.

Doris his first wife.

Antipater the sonne of Doris the first wife of Herod

Her he married in priuate condition, taking her from a place of slender repute, her father beeing as then liuing. Of her hee begate *Antipater*, whom hee dis-inherited, his mother *Doris* beeing diuorced, after he was married to *Mariana* the *Asmonean*: nor would hee permit her to be present in *Ierusalem*, but onely at three famous solemnities.

Doris receiued into grace againe and her sonne repealed.

But after that *Mariana* was put to death, hee receiued *Doris* agayne into his Court, and gaue her admittance to his bedde, re-calling home the sonne also: beeing fully resolued, to haue left him heyre to the Kingdome, if hee had not beene the cause of his owne ruine and death, by wicked machinations, contriued against his father and brethren; beside, hee brought his owne mother into the dislike of his father.

Antipater had a sonne named Antipater also.

Antipater tooke to wife the daughter of *Antigonus*, the last King of the *Asmoneans*, by whom hee had also *Antipater*, to whom was married the daughter of *Pheroras* his great vnckle. Afterward hee married *Mariana*, daughter vnto his brother *Aristobulus*, whom he caused to be murdered.

By

The issue to Herode by Mariana, and their matches in marriage.

By his second wife *Mariana* the *Asmonean*, he had many heires, thus following in order.

Mariana,

Glaphyra, daughter to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*; *Alexander*, slaine by his father.

Herode,

Aristobulus, slaine by his father, left fiue children by *Berenice*, as followeth after.

The third dyed immediately.

Salome was married to *Phaselus*, sonne of *Phaselus*, brother to *Herode*, of whose children we haue spoken before.

Cypris was married to *Antipater*, the sonne of *Salome*, sister to the King.

Alexander,

Tygranes, who was sent by *Nero* King into *Armenia*.

Tygranes was King of *Armenia*, and afterward accused at *Rome*, dyed without issue.

The names of Aristobulus his children, by Berenice.

The issue of Aristobulus, and his wife Berenice.

Aristobulus, strangled by the command of his father *Herode*.

Berenice his wife, daughter of *Salome*, sister to King *Herode*.

Agrippa the first King of *Iudea*.

Herode the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

Aristobulus, to whom was espoused *Iotapata*, daughter to the king of the *Emesians*, by whom hee had *Iotapata*, a deafe daughter.

Herodias, who left her husband, and had a daughter *Salome*; who for the reward of her goodly dauncing, required, and had the head of Saint *Iohn Baptist*.

Mariana, affianced first to *Antipater* the sonne of *Antipater*: but afterward *Antipater*, sonne of great *Herode*, tooke her to wife.

The issue by the third wife to king Herode.

Mariana daughter to *Simeon* the soueraigne Sacrificer, the third wife to *Herode*, of whom came.

Herode the second, who had a daughter named *Salome*, married sometime to his vnckle *Phillip* the Tetrarch; and afterward to *Aristobulus*, sonne to *Herode* king of *Chalcis*.

Herodias his wife, yoongest daughter of *Great Herode*, and also the daughter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father.

Mariana the daughter to Simeon, aduanced to the High priesthoode.

Herode affecting this *Mariana* for her rare beauty, who was the daughter to a silly sacrificing Priest, he perceiuing that he could no otherwise enioy her, but by lawfull marriage; made her father *Simeon* (sonne to *Boethus*) High-priest, by deposing *Iesus*, the successour to *Ananelus*.

Herod the second depriued from succeeding in the kingdom.

Of her hee begate *Herode* the second, whom he had instituted (in his first Will) second heire after *Antipater* his eldest sonne. But growing offended (afterward) for some fault in his mother: hee altered his Will, and depriued him of all hope of succeeding.

Iosephus reproued in his Genealogie.

Iosephus writeth, that this *Herode* the second (who alwayes afterward liued priuately) tooke to wife *Herodias*, the daughter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father; who afterward was exalted by his brother *Herod Antipas*, contrary to all right and reason. But (as I haue already said) this Genealogie of *Iosephus* agreeth not with Saint *Marke*, who ruleth it in this maner.

The Genealogie according to the description of Saint Marke.

Herode the second, borne of the High-priests daughter, liued without publique charge.

His wife *Herodias* that left him, married with the brother to her husband.

Herode Antipas, Tetrarch of *Galilee*.

Phillip the Tetrarch, who died without children.

The daughter *Salome* was married to both, each after other, and engendred by the last;

Herode, *Agrippa*, *Aristobulus*; of whom I finde nothing at all recorded.

The issue of Herode by his fourth wife.

The fourth wife of *Herode* was *Marthaca*, or *Malthaca*, a Samaritane; of whom were borne,

Archelaus, who by the last Testament of his father, was ordayned to be his successour. But by *Augustus* he was instituted to be * *Ethnarche*.

Herode the third, called also *Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*; the rauisher of *Herodias*, and murderer of Saint *Iohn Baptist*: he was called also, the *Fox for Christ*.

Olympia, married to *Iosippus*, sonne of *Iosippus* the brother to King *Herode*: Of whom came this Posteritie following:

Mariana, espoused to *Herod* the fourth, King of *Chalcis*, and had a sonne named *Aristobulus*, who (by *Nero*) was instituted Gouernor of *Armenia* the lesser. He had to wife *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, as formerly hath bene declared.

The fift wife of *Herode* was *Cleopatra* of *Ierusalem*, whose children were

Phillip, who (by the last Testament of his father) was appoynted Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*.

Herode, of whom I finde nothing recorded in any Historie.

Ioseph. in Antiquit. Iud. libr. 17 cap. 10.

But, considering that *Iosephus* saith, that this *Phillip* was brother to the father and mother of *Archelaus*; I make some doubt of diuers other places before mentioned by him, where (perhaps by want of memory) he wrongeth himselfe in the numbring of *Herodes* children; as in the second Chapter of the same Booke. And that of the same mother *Marthaca*, were borne *Archelaus*, *Phillip* and *Olympia*: And that of this *Cleopatra*, issued only *Herode*, called *Antipas*. From whence it proceeded (as I thinke) that *Iosephus* attributeth two sonnes vnto this *Cleopatra*, *Phillip* and *Herode*: of whom (neuertheless) he maketh not any mention in his Historie.

Iosephus foūd contradictory to himselfe.

I thinke then, that *Antipas* should bee placed for *Phillip* vnder *Cleopatra*; for, because he nameth *Herode* also: some (not very skilfull) haue attributed two sonnes to *Cleopatra*: euen as if I should say, that *Iulius* and *Cæsar* had beene two Consulls. Assuredly, this coniecture seemeth to be confirmed, because *Archelaus* (being vpon his departure to *Rome*, after the death of his father) left all the care and managing of the kingdomes affaires to *Phillip*, as to his nearest and deareste brother; and not to *Antipas*, whom he ought to haue preferred before *Phillip*, if hee had beene his germaine brother by the same mother. But this shewes it selfe much more euidently, in regard that *Iosephus*, in the thirteenth and foureteenth Chapters of the same seuenteenth Booke, saith: That *Archelaus* iourneying to *Rome*, tooke along with him his mother *Marthaca*, who dyed there, before the suite (concerning the succession) was descided; and that (soone after) *Antipas* followed him, who likewise was accompanied with his mother. It must needes follow then necessarily, that they had diuersitie of mothers. Wherefore it somewhat amazeth mee, that *Iosephus* repeateth in the Historie of the Iewes warres, to haue spoken ill in his Antiquities: to wit, that *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brethren by one mother.

The iourney of Archelaus to Rome, after the King his fathers death, and his mother with him.

Antipas and his mother went also to Rome.

The sixt wife of *Herode*, was *Pallas*, who had a sonne named *Phaselus*, of whom *Iosephus* writeth nothing.

Pallas, Phædra and Elpis with their issue by Herod

The seauenth wife was *Phædra*, who had by *Herod* (being then ancient) a daughter named *Roxana*.

The eight wife of *Herode*, was *Elpis*, by whom hee had a daughter named *Salome*.

Afterward, *Augustus* married the two sonnes of *Pheroras*, to these two sisters, *Roxana* and *Salome*, beeing but yoong when their father died. To whome (beside the Legacies of their father) hee added (of his owne) in their dowrie, two hundred thousand peeces of siluer mony: which summe, if *Iosephus* doe vnderstand *Drachmaes* thereby, as I imagine, it amounteth to fiue and twentie thousand crownes of the Sunne.

The bountie of Augustus to the marriages of Roxana and Salome.

The ninth wife, was the daughter of his brother, whom *Iosephus* nameth not.

The tenth, was his Cousine germane, vnnamed also.

By these two wiues *Herode* had not any children.

A great race vtterly expiring in a smal compasse of yeares.

All this so great linage of *Herode*, failed (well-neare vtterly) within the space of seuenty yeares, the most part of them liuing in priuate manner. Such as attained to gouernement of affaires, and succeeded in some small portions of their fathers dignitie; were only three sonnes of *Herode*, to wit, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch, *Phillip* and *Antipas*, Tetrarches, and two yonger sonnes; the first *Agrippa*, King of *Iudea*, and *Herod* the fourth King of *Chalcis*; *Agrippa* the last, in whose reigne was the Iewish warre, and the destruction of *Ierusalem*. I will speake briefly of them all in order.

Of them that succeeded in gouernmeut.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Ethnarchie of Archelaus; and the plea of him and his Brother Antipas before Augustus, for the right of Gouernment.

A commotion or mutiny, rising in the citie.

BY the last Testament of the Father (as I haue already sayd) *Archelaus* was appointed successor with royall power; prouided, that *Augustus* would be so pleased. But scarsly was the fathers body interred, when a great mutiny arose in the Citty, and he lost his peoples affection by cruelty. For some of the kindred & parents of the yong scholers that wer burned aliue, about beating down the golden Eagle, returning to the Feast at Easter, moouing the people by their teares and complaints to challenge reuenge of certaine slanderous persons, and deposition of the Soueraigne Sacrificer, whom *Herode* had established in the ending of his dayes: *Archelaus* sent his Light horsemen against the people, and made a bloody slaughter, to the number of three thousand, beside diuers put to flight. After that, the tumult was for a time appeased, hee left the charge of his kingdomes affayres to his brother *Phillip*, and tooke his iourney to *Rome*, accompanied with his mother *Marthaca*, and some other friends, to require of *Augustus* the full establishment of his Fathers VVill.

A bloodie slaughter of the people made by Archelaus.

Herode Antipas goeth after his brother Archelaus to Rome, to pleade his Title to the crowne.

By the suggestion of their Aunt *Salome*, *Herode Antipas* followed after his Brother, to contend with him for succession in the kingdome before *Augustus*. There hee accused him of cruelty, approouing, that the Crowne should rather bee his, then any due to *Archelaus*; because by the second testament, he was onely ordained heyre to the Royall dignity; when his father *Herode* was sound both in bodie and memory. And such a Will so made, ought to bee of farre greater respect and weight, then the last so neere his death; when both body and mind were vncapeable of sense and reason.

Soone after, fifty Ambassadours were sent from the people of *Iudea* to *Rome*, to entreate, that they might no longer bee gouerned by a King: but rather that *Iudea* (being reduced to the form of a Prouince) might be vnder command of the Romane Captaines (as afterward it was, but to the Iewes no great aduantage.) But if needes they must haue a King, and of *Herodes* posterity: they openly confessed, that they much rather affected *Herode Antipas*, then *Archelaus*, who (at his very entrance) gaue them sufficient vnderstanding, what mildnesse and moderation they should afterwardes expect in him.

A request made by the Iewes, to bee no longer gouerned by a King.

While this sute was thus in hearing, and *Augustus* consulted thereon, vvith some of his most intimate friends; greeuous tumults chanced to be moued; first, by *Sabinus*, Procurator for *Cæsar* in *Ierusalem*, and afterward in diuers other places of *Iudea*. For some people (of no worth) emboldned by the Kings absence; hauing gathered together certaine companies of Theeues; durst attribute vnto themselues, both the Royall dignity and Ornaments, During which time, *Iudea* was wonderfully wasted in manie places with fire and sword; vntill (by the vertue of *Quintillius Varus*, who scattered the armies of the Theeues, and hanged vppe aboue two thousand, such as were cheefe Leaders in the sedition) the danger was well ouer-blowne.

Seditions and tumults happning in Ierusalem, and other places of Iudea.

These troubles being certified by Letters to *Rome* by *Varus*, caused *Augustus* (hauing ended the sute concerning the succession) to send backe the Sonnes of *Herode* to *Iudea* againe. But he had diuided the whole kingdome of *Herode* into two partitions: one whereof hee gaue to *Archelaus*, whom he named Ethnarche, which dignity he affoorded to be greater then that of Tetrarche, & yet much lesse then Royall power. Promising (neuertheless) that he would make him King, after he had made triall of his industry & moderation in this gouernment. Moreouer, hee diuided the other part into two Tetrarchies, which he gaue to the two Brethren to *Herode Antipas*, *Galilee* and *Perea*; the reuennewes whereof amounted to two hundred Talents, that is sixe score thousand Crownes of the Sun. But the Ethnarchie of *Archelaus*, which containd *Idumæa*, *Iudea*, and *Samaria*, valewed sixe hundred Talents in reuennewes.

Herodes sons sent backe to Iudea againe, and the kingdome diuided into partitions.

The diuision of the two Tetrarchies.

Arche-

The cruel behauior of Archelaus to his subiects after his returne among them.

Archelaus being come backe into *Iudea*, enflamed with hatred against his subiects (by whose accusation, hee had not only lost his Kingly authority, but almost the halfe part of his gouernment) began to carry himselfe cruelly towardes them, and (for small or no causes at all) did put to death such persons, as hee imagined had desired the alteration of the State. Moreouer, he highly soyled his reputation, with marriage prohibited by the laws of God. For, at his returne from *Rome*, as he passed thorow *Cappadocia*, to visite his kinsman king *Archelaus*; hee found there *Glaphyra* (widdowed the second time) who had bene first married to *Alexander* that was put to death by his Father *Herod* with his brother *Aristobulus*. After his death, her Father in law *Herode*, sent her (with her dowry) vnto her owne father, where she was remarried to *Iuba* King of the *Numidians*; who being likewise dead, she came and liued with hir father again. *Archelaus* (inueigled with her beautie) tooke her to wife, notwithstanding shee had bene married to his brother *Alexander*, diuorcing his owne wife, named *Mariana*. This *Glaphyra* died a little before *Archelaus* was sent into exile, beeing affrighted with a dreame; wherein she seemed to see the ghost of her first husband, reproouing her for this wicked marriage with his brother.

Archelaus fell in loue with his brothers wife Glaphyra, & married her, contrarie to the Lawe of God.

The death of Glephyra, affrighted by a fearful dream

Finally, as he ceased not from committing extraordinary cruelties, so he chanced to be accused at *Rome*, by some of the principall Iewes: after he had nine yeares held the principality, from the death of his Father *Herode*. Whereupon, *Augustus* summoned him to his appearance; & after he had bene conuinced by sufficient Witnesses, hee was sent into *Daulphine*, where he died, without leauing any children that were knowne. His goods were confiscated to the Romaine Emperour, and the Countries of his Ethnarchie were (for a time) ruled by the Romaine Gouernors: as by *Coponius*, *Marcus*, and *Annius Rufus*, who gouerned the Countreyes (each of them) two years, euen vntill the death of *Augustus*, whose successor *Tiberias*, sent *Valerius Gratus* into *Iudea*. Eleuen yeares after, he sent *Pontius Pilate* also, who behaued himselfe cruelly in *Iudea*: and (amongst other notorious matters) he condemned our Lord & Sauiour Iesus Christ to be hanged vpon a Crosse, in the seauenth yeare of his Gouernment, and the eighteenth of the Emperor *Tyberius*.

Archelaus sent for to Rome, his cõuiction and death.

Pontius Pilat sent gouernor into Iudea.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Phillip, sonne to Herod the Great, & how he gouerned in his Tetrarchie.

KIng *Herod*, by his last Wil and Testament, lefte his sonne *Phillip* Tetrarche of *Traconitis*, & of the neighbouring Regions beyond *Iordane*; euen from the Sea of *Tyberias* or *Genezareth*, to the springs of *Iordane*, and the foot of Mount *Libanus*. He gouerned this his Tetrarchy the space of seuen and thirty yeeres (with great commendation for iustice and modesty) which hee also beautified with many goodly Buildinges: For in *Paneada*, neere to the sourses of *Iordane* (where sometime his Father *Herod* had erected and dedicated a Temple to *Augustus*) he builded a Cittie, which he called *Cesarea* of *Philippi*: and another vpon the lake of *Genezareth*, named *Bethsaida*, which encreasing and growing into great wealth, he called it *Iuliada*, after the name of the wife to *Augustus*.

The large extendure of Philips Tetrarchie.

The building of Cæsarea of Philippi and Bethsaida by Philip Iuliada.

Iosephus writeth, that this *Phillip* tooke in marriage *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, whereas Saint *Marke* the Euangelist, in his sixt chapter and the seauenteenth verse writeth, That the Mother *Herodias* was espoused vnto *Phillip*: and afterward being carried away, was conioyned with his Brother.

He dyed without any heyre, in the 20. yeare of *Tyberius* the Emperor, that is to say, two yeeres after Christ was crucified, rose from the dead againe, and the Gospell was spread abroad by the Apostles, from forth *Iudea* to Neighbouring Nations. His Tetrarchie was annexed (by *Tyberius*) to the Prouince of *Syria*.

At what time Philip the Tetrarch died.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the life and death of Herod Antipas, brother to Phillip, and Tetrarche of Samaria and Perea, &c.

THis *Herode Antipas*, by the second Will was instituted succeſſor to his Father. But the Teſtament being altred, he was ordained Tetrarche, and had (for his partage) *Samaria* and *Perea*, which is a moſt fertile Region beyond *Iordane*, betweene the Lakes of *Tyberias* and *Aſphaltida*. Neuertheleſſe, being not contented with his Fathers gift, and truſting to the precedent Will; hee contended at *Rome* with his Brother before *Auguſtus*, touching the poſſeſſion of the kingdome. All which notwithſtanding, hee obtained nothing elſe but the Tetrarchie left him by his fathet, & then againe confirmed to him. He took firſt to wife the daughter of *Aretas*, King of *Arabia*, liuing with him more then fifteene yeares. But afterward, being called to *Rome*, paſſing along by *Phillip* the Tetrarche, or (as *Ioſephus* writeth) by *Herode* the ſecond, borne of the daughter to the high Prieſt: beeing enamoured on *Herodias*, daughter to his brother *Ariſtobulus*, hee contracted marriage with her, promiſing to repudiate his Arabian wife.

Samaria and Perea a moſt plentiful countrey.

The firſt wife of Herod Antipas.

Antipas falles in loue with Herodias, & cõtracted mariage with hir.

Being returned from *Italy*, he tooke away from his Brother, *Herodias* and her daughter *Salome*; whereat the daughter of *Aretas* finding her ſelfe offended (ſecretly diſguiſed) fled to her father in *Arabia*; whereupon enſued a lamentable war. For *Aretas*, purpoſing toreuenge this vniuſt diuorce of his daughter, ſent a potent Army againſt *Herode*; which did vtterly ouerthrow all his Forces, notwithſtanding their ſtrength and multitude in number.

Herodias and her daughter carried away by Antipas.

This *Herode Antipas*, detained S. *Iohn Baptiſt* ſometime priſoner in the ſtrong-defenced City of *Macheron* (ſituated on the Marches of *Perea* and *Arabia*, neere to the lake *Aſphaltida*:) becauſe he hadde boldly reproued him for this inceſtuous marriage; where the Adultereſſe found the meanes (afterward) to haue his head ſmitten off. The ſame *Herode* laboured ſubtilty to entrap Chriſt, as he was teaching in *Galilee*; and afterward, when *Pilate* ſent him priſoner to him, hee ſent him backe againe opprobriouſly, becauſe (at his requeſt) Chriſt would not worke any miracle before him.

S Iohn Baptiſt kept in priſon by Antepas, for reprouing his inceſtuous marriage, and there beheaded.

He likewiſe embelliſhed his Tetrarchy with faire buildinges; for (to his great charges) he builded *Sephorim*, a Cittie of *Galilee*, which he cauſed to bee called *Antocratorida*. He called another *Iuliada*, by the name of *Auguſtus* wife, which before was named *Betharanta*. After the death of *Auguſtus*, becauſe he had beene a kinde friend to *Tyberius*; he builded a new City in honour of him, neere to the Lake of *Genazereeh*, which he commanded to be called *Tyberias*. But becauſe the place was prophaned by great heapes of dead bodies there buried, ſo that (by *Moyſes* Lawe) it was not lawfull to dwell there, he allured ſome (by diuers commodities and immunities) to builde there, making habitations for poore people; compelling the rich and mighty, to inhabit (with their families) in this new City.

Cities that were builded by Antipas in his Tetrarchy

The new citie of Tiberias.

In the ſecond yeare of the Empire of *Caius Caligula*, when *Agrippa* the Brother of *Herodias* returned from *Rome* into *Iudea*, adorned (againſt all attempters) with the royall dignity: *Herode*, by the continuall iniuries of his wife, was enforced to vndertake a iourny to *Rome*, to entreate the royall dignity of the Emperour. For this woman (burning with ambition) ſaid it was vnſufferable, that her Brother *Agrippa* (being but a while before poore & beggerly, and ſo farre indebted, that hee was made ſeruile to his Creditors) ſhold now triumph with a Kingly Crowne; ſurmounting his Vnckle in power and dignity, he hauing beene to him as a nurſing Father, and adiudged (by the ſecond teſtament) worthy of the kingdome.

Agrippa the Brother of Herodias, highly reſpected by the Emperor, and allowed royal dignity.

Antipas, prouoked by the inceſſant inſtigations of this arrogant woman, went vnto *Rome* with her; deſiring of the Emperor *Caius*, to enioy the name and dignity Royall: beſide, by manie greeuous accuſations, he practiſed to make *Agrippa* hatefull to the Emperor. But *Agrippa* (aduertiſed of his Vnckles voyage and intent) preuented him, and ſent letters before him by an intimate friend: wherein he

Antipas accuſed his Wiues Brother Agrippa befote the Emperour Caius Caligula.

he informed *Caius*, that *Herode Antipas* was consenting in the conspiracie of *Seianus*, against *Tiberius*, and that now (hauing close intelligence with the King of the *Parthians*) there was some noueltie intended against *Caius*. A matter easily to be coniectured, by the great preparation for Armes which *Antipas* made: whereby, in an instant, he could be suddenly furnished with an Army of threescore and tenne thousand able fighting men.

Agrippa preuented his brothers accusations to the Emperor.

Caligula, incensed by this report from his friends, demaunded of *Herode*, what prouision hee had in a readinesse for his Tetrarchie; Whereto hee aunswered: That he had all things fitting for a King. Whereupon *Caius* instantly commaunded, that hee should be carried prisoner to *Lions* in *France*, and there kept in perpetuall exile. Moreouer, by his Letters, hee gaue all his goods, with the Tetrarchie of *Galilee* and *Perea*, to *Agrippa*: except what appertained in proprietie to his sister *Herodias*, whom he reputed innocent, and for her hee would haue all to be intirely reserued, if she would returne into *Iudea* againe. But *Herodias*, thanking *Caius* for his liberalitie, replied: That presently she could not make any vse of this great fauour, because she held it vnreasonable, to leaue her husband in this calamitie, whom she had alwayes accompanied in his flowring prosperity, and tasted thereof very royally.

Herod intrapped in his own answere, and sent into perpetuall banishment at Lions in Fraunce.

The subtile answer of Herodias to the Emperour.

Thus spake this subtile woman, as hoping thereby, that the Emperour would alter his rigorous sentence, concerning the condemnation of *Herode*, and that shee should not vndergoe the selfe-same censure, considering his suppoſall of her innocencie. But *Caius* (being highly displeased at her haughtie stomacke) commaunded, that being despoyled of all her goods, shee should walke with her husband in the same nature of exile. Thus *Herode* was the instrument of his owne harme, by listening (ouer-lightly) to the perswasions of this ambitious woman: for, if he could haue contented himselfe with his estate, hee had longer time enioyed peaceably his dignitie of Tetrarch. But they both deserued iustly this heauie penaltie; because, beeing ioyned together by incestuous marriage, and charitably admonished in the greatnesse of their sinne: they did put to death the most innocent man Saint *Iohn Baptist*, vnder colour of a rash oath, pretending conscience.

The punishment inflicted on Herod and his wife Herodias.

The innocent death S. Iohn Baptist iustly reuenged.

This great downe-fall happened vnto them, about tenne yeares after the beheading of Saint *Iohn*; eight yeares after *Herode* had hunted *Iesus Christ*, and sent him bound (clothed like a foole in white) as vnwilling to endure his presence. There is not any thing recorded of his Posteritie, but that the Principalitie of *Iudea* went from the sonnes of Great *Herode*, to a yonger sonne of another sonne *Aristobulus* and *Mariana* an *Asmonean*, to wit, to *Agrippa* and *Herode*, of whom I haue heere set downe the Ancestors and Posteritie.

Translation of the principality of Iudea.

Mariana, an *Asmonean*.

Cypris, daughter of *Salomæ*, sister to *Aristobulus*.

Agrippa the second, King of *Chalcis*.

Drusus dyed in his youth.

The line frō whence the discent came, failing in the sonnes of Herod the great.

Herode the Great.

Salome his sister.

Berenice his wife

Aristobulus. *Herodias*. *Mariana*.

Aristobulus slayne by his father.

Agrippa the first King of all *Iudea*.

Herod, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

Berenice, married to his vnckle *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*, who being dead, she remayned with *Polemon* king of *Sicily*.

Mariana ioyned with *Archelaus Helchias*, and begate *Berenice*. Leauing him, she wedded *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*, by whō she had *Agrippina*,

Drusilla most faire, being but yoong, sixe yeares olde, was affianced by her father to *Epiphanes*, sonne of *Antiochus*, king of *Comagena. But he making refusall to be circumcised, her brother *Agrippa* gaue her to *Haziazeus*, King of the *Emesians*. Afterward *Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, Gouernour of *Iudea* (by power of Promises) made hir to leaue hir husband, and tooke her to wife. By whom she had a sonne, named *Agrippa*, who dyed with his wife. at the burning of the Mountaine *Vesevus*: which made an inestimable spoyle and waste in *Terra di Lauoro*, otherwise called the *Great Campania*.

* Comagena is part of Syria, aboue Cilicia westward. Emesians.

*Mount di Somma in Campania, neere Nola, out of the top whereof issues fire & smoake

Saint

Saint *Paul* maketh mention of this *Druſilla*, in the foure and twentieth chapter of the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, and the foure and twentieth verſe, affirming her to be wife to *Felix*.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *The life of Agrippa, the firſt man of that name, coming to be King of Iudea.*

He is alſo called Herod, in Acts 12.1.

ALitle before the death of his grand-father *Herode*, being as then but eight yeares olde, this *Agrippa* was ſent to *Rome*, and there nouriſhed with *Druſus*, the ſonne of *Tyberius*. Hee was greatly affected by *Anthonia* mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius* the Emperour, in regarde of his mother *Berenice*; whom ſhe loued as if ſhe had beene her ſiſter.

Agrippa was educated at Rome with the empetors ſonne.

Being come to age, he retired into *Iudea*, after the death of *Druſus*: becauſe *Tyberius* expelled from his court, al them that had beene friends to his deceaſſed ſonne; as fearing leſt the ſight of them, ſhould bee the renewing of his ſorrow.

The great pouertie and diſtreſſe of Agrippa & his wife Cypris.

But *Agrippa* became charged with great doubts, whereinto he had entred at *Rome*, after the expence of all his owne meanes. Wherfore he wandred abroad for (ſome times) with his wife *Cypris*, beggerly, poore, and vtterly abandoned of his friends; ſo that at length, ſhame and pinching pouertie would haue prouoked him to ſhorten his life. But his wife *Cypris* making humble ſupplications to *Herodias*, the ſiſter of her husband: ſhe preuailed ſo farre, that *Herode Antipas* the Tetrarche, builded a houſe for him in the citty of *Tiberias*, and aſsigned him there a yearely reuenew. Not long had *Agrippa* enioyed this benefite by his brother in law, but *Herode* growing offended at his table, for ſome wordes ſpoken by *Agrippa*, ouer-boldely reproued him angerly, terming him a begger, and a vagabond, and that he liued by his bounty.

Herodias is a meanes to relieue their miſery.

Agrippa forſakes Herod, to take his fortune elſewhere.

Agrippa grieuing at this reproach, forſooke this fauour afforded by *Herode:* and borrowing ſome ſmall ſtore of money, of one that reſpected him, but at extreame intereſt; once more hee intended to viſite *Rome*, and there againe to make triall of his fortune. Hee went to ſalute *Tyberius* in the Iſle of *Capreæ*, where he found gracious entertainement for a few dayes: vntill ſome Agent for the Emperour, wrote backe from *Iudea*, that *Agrippa* did owe thirtie thouſand Crownes of the Sunne, to the Receiuers of the Emperor. Beſide, that he had formerly made many eſcapes, euen when the dayes for repayment came, vſing nothing but ſubtile and coſening ſhifts.

Miſerie ſooner meeteth with enemies then friends.

Tyberius much offended at theſe tydings, commaunded *Agrippa* to auoyde his Court, vntill hee had made full ſatiſfaction: which hee did (with great difficulty) by the means of Madame *Antonia*. Wherewith *Tyberius* was ſo well pleaſed, that hee appoynted him the guardian of his twinne ſonne *Tyberius*. But a little before the death of *Tyberius*, once againe he fell into his diſfauour. For, beeing at ſupper one night, with *Caius*, the yoong adopted ſonne of *Tyberius*, among other ſpeeches paſſing at the Table; *Agrippa* wiſhed, that olde *Tyberius* might quickly die, to the end that *Caius* ſhould enioy the Empire.

The ſtrange and variable condition of Agrippaes fortune.

This wiſh comming to the eares of *Tyberius*, *Agrippa* (by the Emperours commaund) was clapt vp in cloſe priſon, and there ſo kept, vntill ſuch time as *Tyberius* deceaſſed. *Caius*, well aſſiſted by his warlike troupes, and by his father *Germanicus*, came to enioy the Empire, and hauing releaſed *Agrippa* out of priſon; adorned him with the habits beſeeming a King, ſubiecting alſo thoſe countries to him, which *Phillip* the Tetrarch, and *Lyſanias* formerly had commaunded. Moreouer, he gaue him a chaine of gold, of equalitie in weight to the yron chaine, wherewith he was bound lying in priſon. Hee remained a yeare with the Emperor *Caius* at *Rome*; and then tooke leaue of him for his returne to *Iudea*, to take poſſeſſion of his kingdome.

The coming of Caius to the Empire, and readuancement of Agrippa.

The returne of Agrippa to poſſeſſe his kingdome.

Thus you ſee, that hee who (before) was not onely deſpiſed, in regard of his neceſſitie and great debts, but alſo durſt not abide in any place, for the importunitie of his creditors; was (to the admiration of all ſuch as ſawe him in that wofull miſerie) raiſed to the magnificence royall; which

which caused some to tremble, that denied and refused to aide him, or had iniuriously repulsed him, while he liued in priuate estate and extreame pouerty. Soone after, *Caius Caligula* gaue him *Galilee* and *Berea*; with all the cheuisance of *Herode Antipas* his emulatour, and of his sister *Herodias*, as in our last Chapter we haue related: wherfore, after he dad taken order for his kingdomes affaires, hee tooke his iourney towards *Rome*, with gifts and presents, to declare (on his owne behalfe) what seruices and acknowledgement hee made, for so many gracious fauors done to him by *Caius*.

Honors heaped more and more vppon Agrippa by the Emperor.

Agrippa maketh a iourny to Rome.

During the time that *Agrippa* was at *Rome*, there happened a strife betweene the Cittizens of *Alexandria*, and the *Iews* dwelling in the same Cittie: so that (by lottes) Ambassadours were sent on eyther part to the Emperour. Amongest whom was *Philo* the Iew, whose testimony we haue diuers times made vse of, in the course of this present Historie. There the Iewes were sharpely accused by a *Greeke* named *Appian*, for many faults, and especially, for obstinate contempt of the Imperiall dignitie: because in all parts of those Cities where the Iewes dwelt, they would not suffer any Statues or Images of the Emperour *Caius* to be erected; but if any were set vppe, immediately they would throw them downe very opprobriously.

Philo the Iew sent Ambassadour for the Iewes.

A great complaint made to Caius against the Iewes.

Caligula being very furiously mooued with this complaint, repulsed the Iewish Ambassadours, somewhat rudely, and wrote to *Petronius*, (who from the beginning of his Empire, he had sent Gouernour into *Iudea*) that with all the haste he could possibly vse, hee should erect the Emperors Statue, in the most holy place of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, if not by consent of the Iewes, yet in despight of them, and (by force of Armes) whether they would or no.

A commaund to erect the Emperors statue in the holiest place of the Temple.

Petronius, willing to obey this cõmand, yet knowing the execution would not be easie; called the Legions from all parts, & being prouided of sufficient succor, went from *Syria* to *Ptolomais*, carrying a braue army along with him. But first he made knowne to the Iewes (by Ambassadours and Letters,) wherefore he came in such dreadfull manner, as grounded vpon the Emperors commaund; desiring the people, that he might rather perfourme it by their good liking, then by the course of force & violence. The Iews, not a litle affrighted at these news, came from a great number of Townes and Citties, into the fields before *Ptolomais*, bringing no arms or weapons with them: but entreating *Petronius*, not to fulfill so wicked a commaund, protesting, that they would rather endure a thousand deaths, then suffer the Temple to be prophaned with the Statue of a man.

Petronius goeth with a powerfull army to Ptolomais, to execut the Emperours command.

What imparlance passed betweene the Iewes and Petronius.

Contrariwise, *Petronus* admonished them to take heede, lest this their stiffenecked opiniõ, should procure the countries deuastation by fire and sword; alledging stil vnto them, the sterne commands of the Emperour, how gracious hee had beene towards him, and (being angerly mooued) would admit no mercy, to such as disobeyed him in the least manner, approouing his speeches by examples, of diuers tormented in strange kinds. He further desired them to pardon him, in not denying to execute the Emperors charge imposed on him: because they knew well enough themselues, that neuer any refused to fulfill his command, but was extreamely punished for it. Wherefore, hee rather intended to aduenture his life, in fighting against their whole Nation: then to bee held remisse or negligent, in what the Emperour had enioyned him.

Petronius perswaded the people to stand in feare of the Emperours strict commands.

Heereupon the multitude resolued to insist, entreating him to pardon their religion and iust constancie, if (more fearing God, the Creatour of heauen and earth, and hauing often experimented his heauy wrath, by their transgressing his commandements) they did now oppose themselues against the Emperours will, beeing full of impietie. Considering also, that *Petronius* himselfe confessed, that he stoode in such feare of a mortall man (whose life was vncertaine) that he held it no safetie for his person, to transgresse the least of his commaunds.

Arguments alleaged to Petronius by the Iewish multitude.

Petronius, amased at this obstinacie in the people, and (after that the assembly was dispersed) finding himselfe in great perplexitie, what hee should doe in this dangerous case; pused a while vpon it. For, hee had beene particularly admonished by *Aristobulus*, brother to King *Agrippa*, and some other Princes of *Iudea*, with earnest imprecatious, not to soyle himselfe

himselfe, with the innocent bloud of so great a multitude, by the wicked commaund of the Emperours; because in so doing, hee should brand the Romaine Empire, with so infamous a note of cruelty, as the like was neuer heard of before, destroying a whole Nation, for refusing to suffer the Image of a sinfull man, to be aduaunced in their most holie Temple. Which diuine honour, no man (of vnderstanding or good iudgement) did euer couet before: but contrariewise, many, to whom such an offer had beene made, did holde it in no meane detestation.

The Iewes held in high esteeme their auncient ceremonies and traditions.

They further aduised him, that hee would write to the Emperour, and let him vnderstand the peremptorie resolution of the people, in defence of the doctrine and ceremonies giuen them by Almighty God, calming his displeasure so well as hee could, from proceeding in so cruell a sentence. But if it should so come to passe, that the humour of the Gouernour might not bee altered: yet then hee had enough to goe on in, and (when hee did please) to proceede in Armes.

The conference betweene Petronius and the Iewes at Tyberias.

Petronius desiring to consider in these matters more maturely, and to trie the peoples inclination yet a little further: went with his Army to *Tyberias*, where an infinite number of Iewes met him, incessantly entreating him, that their sacred Temple might not bee prophaned. Why? answered *Petronius*, Dare you warre with the Emperour? Feare you not the power of the Romaine Empire, knowing how weake your strength is, to contend against so mighty a Monarch? Wee resist not by Armes so great a power (cryed out the Iewes) but humbly lay downe our liues at *Cæsars* foote: rather then, against the Lawe of our God, we will see the Statue of the Emperour, to bee erected in the holiest place of our Temple. Which words were no sooner spoken, but they all fell flat vpon their faces, prostrating their neckes to any that would smite them.

The constancy of the Iewes against Petronius.

Petronius perceiuing them so resolued and inuincible, that they rather would die, then suffer their Temple to be violated; considering also, that already (for the space of fortie dayes) they had not toucht the earth with any labor, although it was the onely apt time to sowe their seede: after he had consulted with some of his friends, hee coucluded, that hee would write to the Emperour. Yet, before he would make any publication therof, he meant to presse those people somwhat further. So, causing a mighty multitude of the vnarmed Iewes to meete at *Tiberias*, and to feare them in most dreadfull manner; he engirt them on all sides with warrelike troupes, and his horsse-men ready prepared to ouer-runne them. Once more hee declared to them, the rigorous commaund of the Romaine Emperour, the obedience of all the people in the like case; the daunger wherein he and al his were, if they did not effect what hee had commaunded. Wherefore hee exhorted them, that the Emperours anger might be endured: because such fayled not to reuenge cruelly, the breach of any thing commaunded by him.

A further trial vrged by Petronius vpon the people in warlike manner.

But when the Iewes cryed out all with one voyce, that hee ought to make more account of Gods commaund, then of any mortall mans whatsoeuer, to trample them vnder his horses feete, or slice them in peeces with their Swords, that so all the Iewes being extirpated, he might vse the Temple at his owne pleasure: *Petronius*, entirely mooued to mercy, his heart throbbing, and his eyes ouer-flowing with teares, commaunding silence by a Trumpet, thus he spake.

The answer of the people to Petronius.

¶ *The Oration made by Petronius, to the Iewes assembled at Tyberias.*

The honourable disposition & great piety in Petronius.

SEeing you are so resolute, that you desire rather to die, then violate the Law giuen you by God, I am not the man, that (by a wicked kinde of obedience) will soyle your Temple; for which I see you endeuour so much. Nor will I doe seruice to the Emperour my Maister, in a matter so monstrous and inhumane: but rather will be a partaker in your perill, then purchase my life, by the innocent bloud of so great a multitude. Be comforted then in this your Religion, and returne to your labour, which (for so many dayes) you haue omitted. For mine owne part, I will labour by my friends and mine owne Letters, to alter this opinion in the Emperour. If hee commaund me to Rome, and condemne mee

A noble resolution in so powerfull a Commander.

to death, I will gladly endure it : knowing, that by my death, a people liuing in great daunger, may yet preſerue their Religion to themſelues. For your part, pray to God, that what I enterpriſe for your ſafetie, may haue a good iſſue for vs all.

When the Iewes had heard this Oration; as people extraordinarily ioyfull, they beganne (with loude voyces) to extoll the pietie of *Petronius*, wiſhing to him all felicitie. And ſodainely, vpon the Aſſemblies ſeperation, there fell a mightie ſhowre of raine (all the day before, and the whole moneth fore-going, the Heauens were ſo cleare and bright, that the earth was burnt by extremity of heat) and this the Iewes interpreted to bee a ſigne of their happineſſe.

The Iewes interpretation concerning a ſhowre of raine.

While matters proceeded thus In *Iudea*, King *Agrippa* being at *Rome*, vnderſtoode the troubles in his kingdome, and the occaſion from whence they proceeded. Whereupon, he made a magnificent feaſt for the Emperour, conſiſting of all the delicates that poſſibly could be deuiſed. *Caius* wel knew, that *Agrippa* would not launch out in ſuch liberall expences, but that hee intended ſome eſpeciall ſuite to him: wherefore, with a gracious countenance and franke ſpirit, hee bade him boldly ask what he would, proteſting, that he ſhould not be denied. In a long & well prepared Oration, *Agrippa* reſolued the Emperour, that he deſired not any enriching of his kingdome; but humbly craued pardon for the Iewiſh people, if, in feare to be puniſhed by God; they had not receiued his Statue into their Temple of *Ieruſalem*.

King Agrippa feaſteth the Emperor, and maketh interceſsion for the Iewes.

Agrippa winneth pardon for the people of the Iewes.

Caius accounting it a ſhame and diſgrace to him, if heerein he ſhould refuſe his friends requeſt: wrote to *Petronius*, commending his care for the execution of his commaund. Adding withall, that if (with the peoples liking) the Image was already placed in the Temple, ſo to let it reſt: but if the people would not voluntarily ſuffer it to bee doone, by no means to offer them any violence. Soone after came the Letters ſent from *Petronius*, concerning the ſtowte reſolution of the Iewiſh Nation: which quite altered him from his former minde, and made him highly diſpleaſed with his Captaine, for not perfourming what hee had enioyned him.

The Emperor ſoone changed from his promiſe made to Agrippa, & wrathfully incenſed againſt Petronius.

Wherefore hee wrote againe to him, that if he would not be brought to *Rome*, and there be maſſacred with moſt horrible torments: hee ſhould make choice of what kinde of death himſelfe pleaſed, as a puniſhment for the contempt of his commaund.

It came to paſſe, and (no doubt) diuinely, that the ſhip which carried theſe cruell Letters, was greatly tardied by boyſterous tempeſts: ſo that an other ſhippe (bringing the newes of *Caligulaes* death) arriued there in *Iudea* before it. Fearefull indeede was his death, but well worthy ſuch a monſter, who ſhortly after hee had written theſe terrible menaces to *Petronius*, was maſſacred, with his wife and daughter, by *Chereas* and his confederated conſpiratours. Whereupon *Petronius*, beeing infourmed of the Emperours death, and thereby exempted from all feare; receiued the other Letters of his death. Thereby he plainely perceyued, that almighty GOD had miraculouſly preſerued his life, for the good hee had doone to the Iewiſh Nation.

Caius Caligula, his wife & daughter murdred altogether, and his cruelty intended to Petronius, miraculouſly preuented.

About the ſame time, *Claudius* was ſaluted Emperour by the Souldiours: who, becauſe hee had beene both councelled and aſſiſted by *Agrippa*, at ſuch time as hee remayned in *Rome*: he confirmed vnto him (by publique Edict) the Kingdome of *Iudea* giuen him by *Caligula*, adding alſo *Samaria*, and all the other parts and portions, which his grandfather *Herode* the Great formerly poſſeſſed.

Claudius made Emperor, & Agrippa confirmed by him in his kingdome, with other additions beſide

Moreouer, hee gaue him the Tetrarchie of *Lyſanias*, called *Abella*, with a part of *Cilicia*, and *Comagena*, which hee had taken from *Antiochus*. He conferred alſo on *Herode*, brother to *Agrippa*, the Kingdome of *Chalcis*.

*A Towne Campania in Italy, now called Bella.

Agrippa beeing in this manner richly recompenced, returned to *Iudea*, in the firſt yeare of the Empire of *Claudius*, and aſcending vp to *Ieruſalem*, gaue thanks to the Lord for his good ſucceſſe. There hee made a ſollemne great feaſt, hanging vp in the Temple, the Chaine of golde which *Caligula* had giuen him in memory of his miſeries, and diuine deliuerance.

The Chaine of gold hangd vp in the temple.

Afterward, he beganne to fortifie the Cittie

Cittie of *Ieruſalem*, and with ſuch ſufficient furniture, that *Claudius* (fearing a reuolt in the Iewes, vnder truſt in ſuch a well ordered fortification) forbade *Agrippa* by his Letters, to finiſh the work hee had begunne. Hee was alſo moſt liberall towards his ſubiects, and (aboue all) a ſuperſtitious obſeruer of the traditions, receiued in the forefathers lawe. So that, hearing the Apoſtles to valew them of no reckoning, to winne the good liking of the ſacrificing Prieſts, and fauour of the vulgare people: Hee executed ſome of the Diſciples of our Sauiour Chriſt, and namely *Iames* the brother to *Iohn*, they beeing the ſonnes of *Zebedee*. Hee alſo cauſed Saint *Peter* to bee put in priſon, during the dayes of vnleauened Bread, to bring him foorth to the people after the Feaſt. But the Euangeliſt Saint *Luke* amply declareth, that Saint *Peter* was deliuered by the continuall prayers of the Church: where hee alſo declareth, the miſerable end of this *Herod Agrippa*.

Agrippa a ſuperſtitious obſeruer of ancient traditions.

Saint Iames put to death, and S. Peter in priſon.

Luke 12.6. Luke 12.23.

Now, concerning the deſcription of *Ioſephus*, ſpeaking of his death: it agrees with the Hiſtorie of Saint *Luke* in this manner. After hee had reigned ouer all *Iudea* for the ſpace of three yeares; in the fourth, hee came to *Cæſarea*, where hee celebrated the Feaſt with a great company of the Iewes; cauſing Playes to be acted, in honour of the Emperour *Claudius*, and for his health.

The deſcription of Ioſephus concerning the miſerable death of Herod Agrippa.

The ſecond day of the Feaſt, he entred the Theater in the morning, attired in a Roabe of cloth of ſiluer, tiſſued, and made moſt ſumptuous and artificiall: whereon when the bright beames of the Sunne did caſt their radiance, it cauſed ſuch a luſtre by their reuerberation; that all eies were dazeled with the ſplendour of the garment. Whereupon it happened, that ſome of his Flatterers, interrupting him in his Oration; tolde him, that he ſpake like a god; nay, and (with a loude voice) called him God, crauing mercy of him, becauſe (vntill then) they had feared him but as a man onely; but now they plainly perceiued, that he farre excelled all humane nature.

His pompous entrance into the theater to ſpeake to the people.

As the King gloried in theſe flattering clamours, no way reproouing them for ſuch impious behauiour: hee was ſodainely ſmitten with a moſt grieuous paine in his entrailes, ſo that very hardly hee could bee carryed to his Pallace. Where, after many horrible tormentes, his life expired the fift day: beeing iuſtly puniſhed for the crueltie, which hee had exerciſed againſt the members of the true Church of Chriſt, whereas otherwiſe, he was very benigne and gracious towardes all men, eſpecially to ſtrangers and Gentiles. Hee reigned (in all) about ſeauen yeares; for hee helde the Tetrarchie of *Phillip* (vnder *Caius Caligula*) three yeares, and foure other yeares, the whole Kingdome of *Iudea*. He dyed in the foure and fiftieth yeare of his age; the third of the Empire of *Claudius*; and the twelfth yeare after the reſurrection of our Lord and Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus.

The terrible & iuſt iudgement of God vpon King Agrippa.

The yeares of Agrippaes reigning.

His poſteritie hath already beene related, whereof *Agrippa*, beeing his eldeſt Sonne, and of the age of ſeuen years when his Father dyed, albeit *Claudius* the Emperour gladly deſired, that hee ſhould haue beene ſucceſſour in his Fathers kingdome: yet ſome other preuayled ſo farre with him, that all the Regions (ſubiected before to his Father;) were againe reduced into the forme of a Prouince; and the firſt Gouernour ſent thither to rule in *Iudea*, was *Cuſpius Fadus*, or *Fadus Cuſpius*.

Agrippaes ſonne ſucceeded not his father in the kingdome.

Cuſpius Fadus.

CHAP. XX.

¶ *Of Herode, the fourth King of Chalcis, youngeſt ſonne to Herode the Great, brother to the firſt Agrippa.*

IHaue heretofore named this man, *Herode* the fourth, for his better diſcerning from other; who led a priuate kind of life, vntill *Claudius* (mooued by the interceſſion of his brother *Agrippa*) beſtowed vpon him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, in the firſt yeare of his Empire, which he enioyed the ſpace of eight yeares, ſuruiuing onely fiue yeares his brother *Agrippa*.

Claudius made Herod king of Chalcis, in the firſt yeare of his Empire.

After the death of his brother, *Cuſpius Fadus* beeing ſent into *Iudea*, ſtroue to haue the cuſtodie of the Roabes and other ornaments, which belonged to the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and to transferre the Sacrificers to Romaine Gouernours: whereupon, *Herode* tranſported himſelfe to *Rome*, at requeſt made to him by the Iewes, whoſe cauſe he maintained there ſo well; that he obtained, that the garments belonging vnto the High-prieſt, ſhould be kept in the cuſtody of the Hie-prieſt. Moreouer, hee obtained of *Claudius*, that he ſhould haue the charge and care of the money, conſecrated to the Temple of *Ieruſalem*. Hauing power alſo, to depoſe the High-prieſt, for ſome cauſes of importance, and to ſubſtitute an other more ſufficient. A Graunt which brought great gaine and profite to the Kings; becauſe the Prieſts ſought by power of mony, who ſhould haue that ſoueraigne dignitie.

A debate or contention for keeping the ornaméts of the high-Prieſts.

The liberall graunt of Claudius to Herode.

Cuſpius Fadus gouerned the Countrie of *Iudea*, when a certaine man, named *Theudas*, abuſed in ſuch ſort the vulgare people by his enchauntments: that hee brought them to *Iordane*, promiſing to make them paſſe (dry-footed) ouer the diuided riuer. But *Fadus* following, took him by his horſe-men, and hauing put him to death, ſcattered all the heapes of his followers. *Gamaliell* maketh mention of this *Theudas*, in the fift chapter of the *Actes* of the Apoſtles.

Theudas the Sorcerer his abuſing the people, and put to death by Cuſpius Fadus.

Acts 5.36.

Tyberius Alexander was ſent by *Claudius*, to ſucceede *Fadus* in the gouernment; vnder whom happened that terrible famine in *Iudea*, which *Agabus* had foretold in the eleauenth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apoſtles; and which was about the ſixt or ſeuenth yeare of *Claudius*: which extreamitie was ſomewhat aſſwaged, by the liberalitie of *Helena*, Queene of the * *Adiabænes*, who cauſed great plenty of corne to bee brought out of *Egypt*, and figges from *Cyprus*. Alſo the Churches of *Greece* and *Aſia*, gathered much mony, which they ſent to ſuccour the brethren, that endured the famine in *Iudea*.

A great famine in Iudea, foretolde by Agabus. Acts 11.28.

* A people liuing beyond Armenia.

Actes 11.29.

Herode, King of *Chalcis* dyed in the eight yeare of the Emperour *Claudius*. Hee had two wines, each after other; the firſt was *Mariana*, daughter to *Olympia*, the yoongeſt daughter to Great *Herode*, by whom he had *Ariſtobulus*. Afterward, he married *Berenice*, daughter to his brother *Agrippa*, who brought vnto him two ſonnes. And this was his iſſue or poſteritie, which was reputed quite conſumed, by the calamities hapning in the warres of the Iewes.

The death of Herode king of Chalcis the 4. of that name.

Ariſtobulus. ſlaine by his Father *Herod* the Great.

Agrippa the firſt.

The iſſue of Herod the 4.

Mariana, daughter of *Olympia*.
Herode, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.
Berenice, daughter of *Agrippa* the firſt, who had by her vnckle,

Berenicina, *Hyrcanus*.

Of theſe we reade nothing.

Agrippa the laſt.

Salome, daughter of *Herodias*, firſt maried to *Phillip* the Terrarch.
Ariſtobulus, to whom *Nero* gaue the gouernement of the Leſſer *Armenia*; and had by *Salome*,

Herode *Agrippa* *Ariſtobulus*.

Ioſephus maketh no other kind of mention (concerning them) that I can finde.

CHAP. XXI.

¶ *Of Agrippa the laſt, Sonne to the yongeſt ſonne of Herod the Great, the laſt King in any part of Iudea.*

THis *Agrippa*, being aged ſeuenteen yeats, was at *Rome* with *Claudius* when his father dyed; and ſucceeded not immediately after his father, becauſe of ſome enemies about *Claudius* therein were his hinderance: who alleaged; That his youthfull yeares were not apt to gouerne ſo great a kingdome, neither to bridle a people ſo rebellious. But indeede, their pretence was, to enrich themſelues by gouerning the Countrey.

Agrippa hindred from immediate ſucceeding after his father.

Fiue

Agrippa made King of Chalcis, and enabled with his vnkles power.

Fiue yeares after his fathers death, his vnckle *Herode* beeing dead also: *Claudius* conferred on him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, at the age of 22. yeares. He gaue him also the same power his vnckle had, to keepe the treasure of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and to create the High-priests. Of which authoritie *Agrippa* made verie good vse: for (in a short time) he deposed diuers, and substituted other at his pleasure.

Cumanus next gouernor in Iudea to Tyberius Alexander.

At such time as *Agrippa* beganne his reigne, *Cumanus* was sent into *Iudea*, to succeed *Tiberius Alexander* in the gouernment, who greatly tormented the country, which already sauored of the succeeding ruine. For, at Easter, the fourth day of vnleauened bread, a Romain Souldier of the band, which (according to custom) kept a garrison about the Temple; vnreuerently shewed his base backe-part to the people, they being dutifully busied in the seruice of God.

The vnreuerend behauiour of an insolent Souldiour to the people.

The Iewes not a little mooued at this iniurie, gaue very bitter speeches against the Gouernour *Cumanus*, because hee did not punish this wicked act of the Soldiour.

A most cruell and bloodie act of Cumanus, whereby 20000. left their liues.

Cumanus taking in disdayne their bold words, and fearing some violence by the mutinous multitude: sodainely (but very secretly) sommoned his armed Legiens and horsemen together, who discouering themselues before they could be suspected; made such an affright among the vnarmed popularity, that they fled away so confusedly crowding, that more then twenty thousand men and women, were trodden and crushed to death in the Streetes and other places, to the great and grieuous lamentation of all the people.

A Booke of Moses & the Prophets writing abused by a wicked Souldier.

Another tumult also followed soone after, the issue whereof was not yet so pittifull. For some theeuing Iewes, had (vpon the highway) shrewdly beaten and wounded one *Stephen*, a seruant to the Emperour *Claudius*, stripping him out of all that he had about him.

Cumanus heereat highly offended, and not finding them that had done the deed; tooke all the neighbouring parts, where the fault was committed. Which being done, a Souldiour finding a Booke in his booty, which containd the writings of *Moses* and the Prophets; made a publike shew thereof in derision, & after tore it to peeces, in presence of the chiefest Iewes. Sodainly a great multitude of the Iews ranne (by troups) to *Cæsarea* (where then was the ordinary abiding of the Romaine Gouernors) and required, that iustice might be inflicted vpon him for this wicked act: whom if *Cumanus* (by the perswasion of some) had not beheaded, to satisfie the enraged peoples anger; this tumult could not haue beene appeased, without very great effusion of blood.

Diuers Galileans slain by the Samaritãs

Afterward, some of the *Galileans* ascending vppe to *Ierusalem* to the Feast, were slaine by the *Samaritanes*; which was the cause of many murthers committed on both sides. For, eyther part beeing encouraged to reuenge, ranne into fresh iniuries, by way of robberies, putting to fire and sword all they met withall. But, because *Cumanus* (corrupted with money) did not represse those theeueries done by neighbour on neighbour. *Quarreus*, President of *Syria*, was called thither by the contrary side, who (hauing receiued information of the fact, and executed the authours of the mutinies) sent *Cumanus* to *Rome*, to render a reason for the Prouince committed to his charge. He being conuicted of auarice and crueltie, was sent into exile by *Claudius*, & in his place, was appointed gouernor of *Iudea* and *Samaria*, *Claudius Fœlix*, brother to *Pallas*, who (long time before) was sent into *Palestine*, to gouerne the Tetrarchy of *Philip*, as is affirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*.

Cumanus sent to Rome by Quarreus, after whom succeeded Felix.

Almost at the same time, that is to say, in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, *Claudius* gaue to King *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy of *Phillip* (being destitute of a Gouernor) which contained *Trachonitis* and *Batanea*; giuing him also *Abella*, the Tetrarchy of *Lysanias*. Then he gaue to his vnckle paternall *Aristobulus* (brother to the first *Agrippa*, and *Herode* of *Chalcis*) the kingdome of *Chalcis*.

The liberall bountie of the Emperor Claudius to K Agrippa.

After these affayres thus passed ouer, the condition and estate of the Iews grew worse and worse; and now beganne the gouernement of *Fœlix*, who beeing reprooued by *Ionathas* the High-priest, for his rapines and other wicked actions by him perfourmed, and yet not daring to depose him from the Sacerdotall dignitie, because hee stoode in feare of the people: subborned diuerse Ruffians, who

Ionathas the high-Priest reproued the rapines of Felix, and was secretly murdered.

(entring into *Ieruſalem* at the feaſt with the multitude) ſlew ſo ſecretly the High-Prieſt *Ionathas*, and others marked for the ſame purpoſe with him; as very eaſily they were concealed in the troupes.

This attempt ſpeeding ſo well as the Ruffians could deſire, fell out to bee the occaſion, that (at euery feaſt) they made a market or merchandiſe, of killing the honeſteſt of the people: ſometimes being hired there-to by other, ſometimes out of their owne ſpleene and mallice. So that euery man ſtoode in feare, becauſe no one knew how to ſecure himſelfe; audacious boldeneſſe dreading no puniſhment, in regard of the Gouernors careleſſe negligence.

Mens liues bought and ſold as ruffiás pleaſed, without any puniſhment.

Troups of theeues ranne euery where making ſpoile, though many were apprehended by *Fœlix*, and executed: yet wickedneſſe had taken ſuch deep roote, onely through neglect in the precedent Gouernours, as it could no way be holpen; no, not by the greateſt ſeuerity of iuſtice. And the worſt of all was, that theſe theeueries were maintayned by the High-prieſts authoritie: amongſt whom, ſuch as were beſt ſtored with money, kept bands of deſperate villaines about them, by whoſe meanes they oppreſſed ſuch as they pleaſed, laying cloſe ambuſhes to kill and murder them.

The miſerable affliciós of the Iewes, no way to be redreſſed.

In the thirteenth yeare of *Claudius* his Empire, *Paul* the Apoſtle was taken in *Ieruſalem*, and being led thence to *Cæſarea*: pleaded his cauſe before *Fœlix* and *Druſilla*, as S. *Luke* declareth in the foure and twentieth of the *Actes*. Afterward, *Fœlix* called for him diuers times, and heard him anſwere for himſelfe, hoping that *Paul* would redeeme himſelfe by money. But after hee had kept him two whole yeares in priſon; at his departing from *Iudea*, hee left him there, to pleaſe the Iewes.

Paul impriſoned, pleadeth before Fœlix and Druſilla Actes 24.24.

Claudius died in the foureteenth yeare of his Empire, and *Nero* (at the beginning of his gouernment) encreaſed the authoritie of *Agrippa*, adding thereto part of *Galilee*, with the Citties of *Tyberias*, *Tarichea* and *Iuliada*. Forthwith he ſent *Portius Feſtus* into *Iudea*, calling home *Fælix*, whom they of *Cæſarea* followed, and accuſed him of cruelty, rapines and other vniuſt dealing; but he eſcaped by the cunning of his brother *Pallas*. So ſoone as

The death of Claudius and reigne of Nero.

Portius Feſtus ſent to gouern Iudea

Portius Feſtus was arriued in *Iudea*, hee gaue audience (at *Cæſarea*) to *Paul* and the Iewes his accuſers: and as he intended to ſend *Paul* to *Ieruſalem*, he (fearing the ambuſhes of the Iewes) appealed to the Emperour *Nero*.

Actes 25. 11. Paul appeald to anſwere before Cæſar

Some few dayes after, *Agrippa* went to *Cæſarea* with his ſiſter *Berenice*, onely to ſalute the new gouernor: which ſiſter (after the death of her husband *Herode* of *Chalcis*) liued ſo familiarly with her brother, that there was great ſuſpition of inceſtuous acquaintance. *Paul* was brought before them to pleade his cauſe, and (in a wel couched oration) ſo approued his innocencie; that, according to the Kings owne opinion, he might haue gone at liberty, if hee had not appealed to *Cæſar*. Not long it was, but *Paul* was ſent (with other priſoners) to *Rome*, in the firſt yeare of *Neroes* Empire, as is auouched.

Paul pleades before Feſtus Agrippa and Berenice.

Agrippa returning to *Ieruſalem*, offended the Prieſts very grieuouſly, by a building erected in the Pallace royall, and ſomewhat neare to the Temple: for hee could thence diſcerne, whatſoeuer the Prieſts did in the inward parts, and when they loytered in the ſacrifices and diuine Seruice. The Prieſts holding this action vnlawfull, erected a wall (on the Temple ſide) of the like height; whereby *Agrippa* was not onely hindered from ſeeing the Temple, but alſo a great part of the City. The King inſiſted, that the wall ſhould be beaten downe; but the Prieſts ſo preuailed (by means made to *Poppea* the Emperours wife) that *Nero* allowed the wall to remaine as it did.

A contention betweene Agrippa & the ſacrificing Prieſts about a building.

Heereat *Agrippa* being exceedingly offended, depoſed *Ioſeph* the ſoueraigne Sacrificer, placing *Ananias* in his roome, who was of the Saduces Sect, a man very bolde and cruell. He (*Feſtus* dying in *Iudea*, and *Albinus* his ſucceſſour ſtaying ſomewhat long ere he came) tooke occaſion to exerciſe crueltie againſt many worthy perſons; eſpecially againſt *Iames* the ſonne of *Ioſeph*, brother to our Lord Ieſus Chriſt by an other mother, a man (in the iudgement of all them dwelling in *Ieruſalem*) excelling in innocencie of life and piety, who was throwne down headlong from the higheſt wall of the temple; and (by command of the ſaid *Ananias*) ouerwhelmd with ſtones, about threeſcore yeares after the birth of Chriſt.

Ioſeph the high-Prieſt depoſed, and Ananias enſtalled.

Ananiasc cauſed Iames to be murdered.

For

Ananias dismissed from his Office by Agrippa.

For this wicked deed, he was accused before *Agrippa*, who feared the Romane Gouernour, named *Albinus*, now neere approaching; and also stoode in feare of the peoples fury: wherefore *Ananias* was dismissed from his Office, exercised by him but three moneths onely. And yet he ceased not to commit great cruelties, against them that were of his owne condition. For, in regard of his great power, hee had many Theeues (kept at his charges) of whom he made vse to murther his enemies priuily. Beside, hee made them breake into the Garners of corne, to steal the Tythes therein enclosed: which beeing often done without any punishment, was the cause of staruing to death manie of the poore Priests.

The greedy & insatiable couetousnesse of Albinus the Gouernour.

Albinus being ouercome with insatiable couetousnesse, cared for nothing else but onely to get wealth together, by any vile meanes whatsoeuer: wherefore, such of the Priests as gaue him Gold, hee winked at all their wickednesse, and permitted Theeues to doe what they listed, if their kindred or friendes would redeeme them with money. By which meanes, in short time, all *Iudea* was full of Theeues, all things turned topsie turuy, no Iustice exercised in any place: and there was no acte so horrid or execrable, but it might quickly be pardoned for money.

Florus a more wicked gouernor then Albinus, sent as a iust plague and vtter ruin of the Iewes.

Gessius Florus was sent as successor to this Horse-leech, who farre exceeded the rapines of *Albinus*, by infinit other wicked courses; so that the Iews reputed *Albinus* a Saint vnto this other. For *Florus* proceeded not couertly, nor after the cunning manner of his predecessour: but by open violence, scorning, stealing, rudely taking, and doing whatsoeuer hee pleased; for will onely was a Law to him. And surely it seemed, that he was meerly sent by destiny to the Iewes, so to irritate them by open iniuries, and blinde them from all desire of reuenge, as finally to be their vtter ruine. For, the whole country being ouer-runne with Theeues, and the people growne desperately desirous of warre; had a hope of some other Dominion, groaning vnder the tyrannical Romaine rule, and (insottish zeale) were perswaded to recouer their liberty.

The time fore propheſied for the destructiō of Ierusalem, was now fully come to passe

In breefe, the time was come, which Christ and the Prophets had foretolde, concerning the destruction of the whole Priesthood, and policy ordained by *Moses* and diuine authority: considering, that the Messias had already beene sent, for the loue of whome, both the Priesthood and policy had bin (till that time) diuinely preserued. Wherefore, vnder *Gessius Florus*, threescore yeeres after the Natiuity of Christ, fiue and thirty yeeres after hee was crucified and risen againe, the twelfth of *Neroes* Empire, the seuenteenth of this *Agrippa* now in question; and three yeares before *Paul* was put to death by *Nero:* the warre began to waxe tempestuous, because the Iewes reuolted from the Romane Empire, and entred into mutiny against *Cæsar*.

Florus a bloody desirer of the vtter ruin of the Iewish Nation.

Florus could easily haue quenched this warre in the beginning; but that hee rather affected, to nourish and feede the flame newly kindled, by prouoking the Iewes dayly more and more, still adding iniury vppon iniury: vntill the fire flewe foorth both farre and neere, that finally, it wrought the destruction of all *Iudea*.

Agrippa labored to reconcile the Iewes to the Romās.

At the beginning of this reuolt, *Agrippa* labored very seriously, to stay the Iews from this furious desire of warre, and to regaine peace and tranquility, by requiring pardon of the Romanes for their offence, which they might haue obtayned on meane conditions, in regard it was very euident, that they had some iust causes of rebelling, by the outrages done vnto them by *Florus*. But he came so short of their expectation, they hating nothing more, then to heare of peace or equity; as (very hardly) he escaped theyr violence. Perceiuing then the Nation so enraged for fight, & (like men blindfolded) throwing themselues impetuously into perdition; he retired from their furious enterprize, and sent ayde to *Vespasian* in *Iudea*, to tame the head-strong course of those Rebelles, foreseeing already in his soule, the sad ruine of all the Iewish people.

The lamentable horror of the warre betweene the Iewes and the Romaines.

Heere I could weaue vp the fagge-end of this History, with report of the Iewish warre, which *Iosephus* and other authors haue described; but that my heart will not serue me, to discourse those straunge & miserable ouerthrows, which (in their pitilesse euents) did exceede humane beleefe. For no History is found of any nation whatsoeuer, that was so long time shut

The Iewes reuolted in the 12. yeare of Nero the emperor.

shut vp from all succour, wofully tormented, and finally (wholy confounded, with numberlesse calamities) almost altogether quite raced out, and destroyed. For after that the Iewes were reuolted in the twelfth yeare (as is affirmed) of *Nero*, the army of the Romanes neuer ceased for six whole yeeres together, cruelly to rauage the countrey of *Iudea*, because from time to time, the Iewes (by their inuincible obstinacy) prouoked the victorious soldiers to such tyrannies, as the like were neuer heard of.

The miserable estate of Ierusalem, six whole yeares together.

But though I spare to relate the deuastation of the whole countrey: who can conceiue (with true iudgement) but the miseries of the Citty *Ierusalem* it selfe? Which, before it beheld the *Romane* enemy, for the space of sixe whole yeers, felt (within it selfe) farre more cruell domesticke aduersaries: as beeing diuided and torne in peeces, by Sects, Factions, and Seditions of Theeues, fighting amongst themselues (when they had none elfe to quarrell withall) for rapines, murthers, and other mischeefs, euery Faction thinking to support it selfe, by dooing iniurie vnto it selfe, and surmounting one another in number, and manner of nouel villanies and extremity.

Bands of partiality and factions in Ierusalem.

Furie grew on to such horrid perfection, that if any Man or woman were esteemed holy, religious, and modest: these were arguments sufficient, to yeild a pregnant reason for their death; and the goodes of the richest Cittizens, must bee brought foorth, and layde before their doores, while the Factious fought who should enioy them. To kill people of meane or simple condition, was but to ridde them out of the turbulent crowdes, for they were esteemed but as a charge to the Citty, and hindered the way when the siedge should beginne: for this they accounted their wisest course, and best meanes, to abide a long lingering siedge.

The richest Citizens in most wofull perplexity.

If any man durst but speake a word, or expresse by any apparant signe, that hee disliked the present License vnto all Villanies, it was presently termed Treason, and flatte conspiracy with the Romaines; yea, it was a sinne deseruing terrible punishment. And as great an offence it was, to mourne or lament for Parents or Friends, being slaine or murthered in these vprores.

Such matters as they accounted in their madnes to be Treason & conspiring with the Romanes.

To prophane the verie holyest part of the Temple, with Rapes, Murthers, and Massacres; they sayde, it was fighting in defence of the Temple, and for the Religion of the countrey. To beare away violently the riches out of the Temples Treasurie, and to waste them in all Villanie and abhominable excesse: this was tearmed, borrowing money, wherewith to defend the seruice ordayned by GOD. And vpon paine of death, no man durst flye, or get him gone, from these horrible, diuellish, and dangerous courses.

Calamities of the Iews such, as sildom any nation was euer subiect to.

Moreouer, such as dwelt in the Citie, beheld (beside these publike miseries) their owne bodies, their wiues, children, and goods, exposed to the violent & vnbridled attempts of those mercilesse Villaines. In breefe, there could not be thought or deuised any iniury or opprobrious behauiour, which the miserable Iewes might feare or expect from the Enemy, but they first made triall thereof vpon themselues, vsing no resistance at all against it. Wherefore, the coming of the enemies army was no way dreadful vnto them, but rather gladly desired; and euen but as a tolleration, or rather a recreation (when the City was sharply assayled) the seditious factions were enforced to ioyne their forces, for repulsing the enemy, and to breath awhile, from their owne domesticke theeueries and warres.

Men forward to vse any violence vppon themselues.

The last six moneths of this warre, after that the Citty was round engirt with enemies, and themselues had pilled, polled, and miserably spoyled all that they could by their intestine robberies: they began to feele a famine in the heighth of extremity, which was accompanied likewise with so greeuous a Pestilence, that in the time of the siedge, aboue eleauen hundred thousand mē died by the plague and famine. During this war also, great multitudes wer daily murdred within the wals, by the mutinous and rebellious factionists: & in the assaults, surprizals, and sacking of the city, many millions of people lost their liues. Also in the war time, there were taken 97000. persons, who were partly sold as slaues, and partly distributed to rounde neighbouring great Cities, there to bee giuen and deuoured by wilde beasts, in publique Playes, and

Pestilence & famine in all extremitie, whereof there died, 110000.

Ninety seuen thousand sold as slaues, and deuoured by bruite beasts.

and fantaſticke ſpectacles. Some other were compelled to fight as Fencers in the Theaters, with the like fury as hoſtile enemies: and ſome were ſent into *Morea* (by huge troopes) to cut out a Channell betweene the *Ægæum* and *Ionian* ſeas.

The vtter extermination of the Iewiſh people, for their contemning Ieſus Chriſt.

By theſe pittifull examples of Gods heauy wrath, againſt the contemners of his Sonne Chriſt, and the doctrine Euangelicall; almoſt all this nation was vtterly exterminated. Hapning by the Diuine permiſſion, that at the Feaſt of vnleauened bread, when the Iewes were wont to meete at *Ieruſalem*, from the fartheſt parts of all *Iudea*; the Citty ſhould be thus beſiedged, and all the deſperare Robbers, Theeues, & Ruffians, diſperſed throughout the whole Regions, ſhould (euen then) be retyred to *Ieruſalem)* to ſhelter themſelues in her fortificarions.

After that *Veſpaſian* (for about the ſpace of fiue yeares) had firſt of all ſubdued well-neere all *Iudea*, conquering many ſtrongly munited Citties, yea, deſtroying and burning them, onely through the wilfull obſtinacie of the inhabitants; in the laſt halfe yeare, *Titus* brought his Army to the Citty of *Ieruſalem*, and there planted his ſiedge, in the ſecond yeare of the Emperor his Father; and the ſiedge continued for the ſpace of ſixe moneths, which *Ioſephus* tearmeth by *Macedonian* names.

The names of the 6. moneths wherein Ieruſalem was beſiedged.

Xantiqua.	which in our Language are thus called:	Aprill.
Artemiſion.		May.
Dention.		Iune.
Panemon,		Iuly.
Loion.		Auguſt.
Gorpiaion.		September

CHAP. XXII.

A breefe Collection, of the principall Accidents which happened in the time of the ſiedge.

The begining of the ſiedge.

THe fourth day of the firſt moneth, *Xantiqua* (which is Aprill with vs) the Citie of *Ieruſalem* was beſiedged, neere to the feaſt of Eaſter.

The two and twentith day after, *Titus* eſſaying (in vaine) to haue it yeilded, raiſed his Bulwarkes, and prepared his Engines to batter the City.

Preparation for battery.

The ſeuenth day of *Artemiſion*, which is May, *Bazetha* (that is to ſay, the new city, the firſt wall being taken) which was a part of the Citty beyond the Temple towards *Biſa*, newly annexed, and enuironed with walles by the firſt *Agrippa)* was ſeized on by the Romanes.

The taking of the firſt wall by the Romãs

The twelfth day of the ſaid month, the ſecond wall was taken, and yet the ſame day it was recouered againe.

The ſixteenth day, the Romanes hauing taken the other wal again the ſecond time, enioyed the baſe or lower part of the City, which the Iewes called *Acra*, & was ſeated beneath on a little hill.

The 2. wall, & nether part of the city taken

The one and twenty day, two parts of the Citty were loſt, when the Iewes (being graciouſly entreated by *Titus*) diſdained to embrace peace. Then the Souldiers began to mount their ſcaladoes, neere to the Towre called *Antonia*, ioyning to the third wall, where their Enſignes and Bulwarkes being raiſed in twelue dayes, they were againe as quickely burned by the Iewes.

Two parts of the City loſt.

All the whole moneth of *Dention*, the which anſwereth to that of Iune, the Romanes were ſeriouſly buſied, in engirting the whole Citty with a Wall, to hinder the bringing of victualles to the Iewes, and alſo to bereaue them from all means of flight.

A wall built round about the City.

The firſt day of *Panemon*, which referreth it ſelfe to our Iuly, *Titus* taking compaſſion on the people, whom he knew to dye by the extremity of the Famine and Peſtilence, onely through the obſtinacie of ſome among them; being deſirous to deliuer them without long delay, he erected new Terraſſes vp aloft, and began to batter the third wall, called *Antonia*, verie difficult to be ſurprized. This *Antonia*, was a moſt magnificent building, and very ſtrongly munited nere to the Temple, foure ſquare in forme, and carrying the greatneſſe of a very large Caſtle. *Herod* the Great had builded it, in fauour of the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and gaue it the name of *Marke Anthony* the Triumuire. Within that goodly Monument, the Ornaments belonging to the High-Prieſtes were continually kept.

Battery playing on Antonia the thirde wall.

Herode the Great builded this Antonia.

The

The Antonia wonne.

The sixt day, the *Antonia* was wonne, because the walls fell downe of thēselues, on that side where the Iewes hadde vndermined, to get foorth of the Cittie, with intent to burne the enemies rampiers.

The eight day of *Loiön*, which is the moneth of August, after that the Iewes had beene many times exhorted, to desire peace of so gracious a Conquerour; after they had repulsed his often Ambassages by base iniuries, and wicked abuses: the Temple was forcibly taken, beeing a worke well worthy of admiration. And (contrary to the Edict of *Titus*) it was set on fire by the offended Souldiers. So that it burned the very same day, when as (six hundred, threescore, and nineteen yeares before past) it was burned by *Nabuchodonosor*, Collonell of the *Chaldeans*.

The surprizing and burning of the Temple.

The twentith day, was the batterie of the high Towne (called the City of *Dauid*) begunne: after that the Iewes (once more admonished to lay downe Armes) refused peace, being gently offered vnto them.

The batterie of the City of Dauid.

The seuenth day of *Gorpiaion*, which is our September, the high part of the City was taken: the Fortresse whereof was the Temple, as the *Antonia* was Bulwarke to the Temple.

The hie town taken.

The eight day, all the City of *Ierusalem*, (pilled & ransacked before) was conuerted all into ashes.

All the Cittie burnt.

The foure and twentith day of October, *Titus* celebrating the birth-day of his brother *Domitian* in *Cæsarea* (a Cittie on the Sea-coast) had Playes there of sundry kindes: wherin were brought forth three thousand Iewes captiues; some of them being deuoured by beasts, the rest killing one another, fencing and fighting each against another.

The Natiuity of Domitian celebrated by Titus, with the death of 3000. Iewes.

The seuenth day of Nouember, *Titus* went to *Berytha*, a City in *Syria*, where he celebrated the Natiuity of his Father *Vespasian*; & where (in sports & pastimes presented before the Romans and Grecians) a great nūber of captiue Iewes, were some trodden to death, others hackt, hewed, and torne in peeces.

Titus honoured his fathers birth day.

I haue collected this small discourse, concerning the wofull consummation of this Citty, which sometime was the principall seate of Gods people, and of his diuine Doctrine: from the eight yeare of King *Dauids* reigne, vntill the finall destruction, being eleuen hundred, thirtie and seuen yeares. The due Obseruation whereof, may serue to testify the mighty anger of God, against the despisers of his Sonne, and of his word in him reuealed; exampling vs, from falling into the like calamities, either by a violent appetite of oppressing the true Doctrine, or to darken & obscure it by false interpretations, or (vtterly contemning it) by wandering into euery wickednesse.

The cheefe reason why the Authour made the collection of these histories

Now I returne againe to *Agrippa*, who (according as hath beene sayde) detesting the furious madnesse of his Nation, and euidently fore-seeing their wofull ruine) sent ayde to *Vespasian*, making Warre against the Iewes, and by that means partly saued his owne Countries, from the lamentable spoile happening in this warre. *Nero* being dead, and *Galba* chosen Emperour, he proiected a iourney to *Rome*, with *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, to entreate the confirmation in his kingdome by the new made Emperor. But contrary winds intercepting them, they could not compasse what was intended: but receyued tydings neere vnto *Achaia*, of *Galbaes* death: which was the reason, that *Titus* returned towards *Syria*, *Agrippa* holding on his course for *Rome*. But *Italy* beeing embraced with ciuill warre, because *Otho* (successor to *Galba*) being slaine, and *Vitellius* presuming to the Empire, *Agrippa* was very hastily called backe to *Iudea* by Letters, where he assisted *Vespasian* to bee saluted Emperor by his soldiers, and safely to conduct a well prouided Armie towardes *Italy*, with purpose to encounter the Captaines of *Vitellius*. So he left his sonne *Titus* (with some legions) to beate down the Iewes, especially them of *Ierusalem*, as hath bin said before.

His returne backe to the former history of King Agrippa.

The death of Nero, and succession of Galba.

Agrippaes intended iourney to Rome.

Vitellius contending, Vespasian is saluted Emperor.

I finde no other matter of *Agrippa*, or any other of the posterity of *Herode* the Great: but onely *Philo*, writing of *Agrippa*, saith; That he reigned seuen and twenty yeares. He dyed then (by *Philoes* account) in the threescore and eighteenth yeare of Christ, the seauenth of *Vespasian*, and the fift yeare after the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

How long Agrippa reignd and when hee dyed.

Philo further saith, that this *Agrippa* had a sonne, named *Agripine*, who reigned thirty yeares after the death of his father: wherefore he attained to the year an hundred

Agripine, son and successor to K. Agrippa.

dred and eight after the death of Christ, and to the eight of *Traiane* the Emperor, which yeare *Philo*, being ouer-spent with yeares, foretold would be the last of his reigne.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of three great and notable Doubtes, which the ancient Philosophers knew not how to resolue, and for what cause.

The naturall illumination of ancient Philosophers.

THE ancient Philosophers, illumined by the gifte of God, made curious search into all things belonging to nature: and verified al their propositions (without contradiction or repugnancie) by other propositions meerly naturall. Notwithstanding, they neuer knew how to resolue three things, verie doubtfull and of importance, neyther could yeelde a reason for the causes of their originall.

The first doubt a naturall desire in man neuer to dye.

The first was, that they well knewe a desire giuen to man by nature, that hee would neuer dye, neither feele any paine or greeuance whatsoeuer: but to liue happily in the pleasures of this world, without the want or neede of any thing; and yet hee could neuer attaine to the end thereof. On the other side, hauing made this propòsition, that God and Nature neuer did any thing in vaine, & that this appetite in man ensued thence, whereof they coueted to finde the cause; considering beside, that in all other naturall effects the proposition alwayes did verifie it selfe: they were vtterly confounded in infinite perplexities, being neuer able to compasse the end.

The second doubt, a libidinous and sensuall desire in man to the flesh.

The second was, they said & affirmed naturally in like manner, that euery man felt in himselfe a peruerse carnall inclination, or sensuality, quite contrarie to the former appetite of vnwillingnesse to dye: and yet this carnall lusting desire, causeth a man fall into diuers diseases, which are the abridging of life, yea hasteneth on death, wherto his other appetite is an vtter enemy.

Moreouer, many couet after riches and pompe, seeking to winne them couragiously in the field; where soonest of all they meete with death, or else bear away wounds, maimes, afflictions of mind, & other misfortunes, quite contrary to their desire indeed.

The 3. doubt, the peruersion of Natures order in the body of man.

The third doubt proceeded from the order of nature, all inferiour things beeing gouerned by their superiour: as wee see the elements obedient to the celestial bodies; the Orbes and Spheres to the moouing intelligence, and all the intelligences to the cheefest of al, which is God loued and desired. Onely in man is this order peruerted; for he being composed of a soule and a body, the flesh which is the vilest part of all other, stands repugnant to reason, yea and to the soul, which is the very nobleste part of all: and (which is farre worse) draweth it to the bent of his owne wicked will. And therefore the Apostle saide; *That hee felt a Lawe in his members, repugnāt to the law of his thoghts, and attracted him to sin.*

The soule is the most noble part of all other in man.

The Philosophers that were before the comming of Christ, neuer knew how to find out the occasion of this disorder: yet making curious search for it, fell into many and sundry errors. Wherefore *Anagoras* saide: *This exorbitant irregularity, happened at the beginning of the world, and when all things were confused in the ancient Chaos. For the intellect being separated by discord, and reioyned by concord, all things were created good, and well ordered in their kinde: onely man excepted, whose flesh hee saw to be ill disposed, and disagreeing with the reasonable soule. And therefore, euen as in that Chaos these two things were discordant: so in like manner afterward, they still continued repugnant, contrary to the rule & order of all other things in the world.* In this manner, this poore Philosopher imputed the blame of all, to the Diuine intellect, which is God himselfe.

The opinion and saying of Anaxagoras, concerning the discordāce of things in the Chaos.

Others saide: *That this proceeded from the celestiall constellations, vnder the which man is engendred, and receiueth birth.* For *Aristotle* durst neuer bee so bolde, as (openly) to yeeld a resolution of this doubtfull difficulty; but seemed (as it were) to contradict himselfe sometimes, saying; *Sensuality is naturally enclined to euil, howbeit (with great difficulty) it may sometime be ruled or tamed by the moral vertues.* And in another place he saith, *That the felicitie*

The iudgement of some other Philosophers, and Aristotle himselfe.

licity which is atcheeued by the vertues morall, is the gift of God. By consequence then those morall vertues, in whose operation the happinesse of man doth consist; must be the gift of GOD, and no way naturall.

The Manichees maintained a man to haue two soules.

Contrarywise, the Manichees, desirous to render a reason for this peruerse disorder, saide: *That there were two soules in man, the one good, made of the substance of the Prince of Light; and the other badde, made of the substance of the Prince of darkenesse, and these do cause this continuall combate in man.*

Origens conceit of this irregularitie in man.

Origen afterward saide; *That before the creation of the world, all things were conserued in Heauen which sinned against God: & therefore (as a punishment) they were disposed into ill complexioned bodies, and from thence ensued this controuersie in man.*

Aug. in Lib. 1. De duab. enim. Et in lib. 2. de Nat. boni.

All these detestable opinions wer confuted by Saint *Augustine*, writing against the Manichees; where, by long & pregnant reasons, hee prooueth the occasion of the subuersion of this order; and that because they had no vnderstanding in the sacred Scriptures, they vtterly lost that light. For in them is declared to vs, the full resolution of these doubts, and there may plainly be discerned, that these two propositions are good and true, and both of them in the order of Nature. To wit, that God and nature neuer did any thing voide of purpose, and that it is very conuenable, that a man (by nature) should not desire to dye, but to leade a happie kinde of life, and yet without power of attaining thereto; not because he hath this desire giuen him in vaine, for it is truely naturall: but to obtaine the end and effect therof, is a matter accidental to man, and not naturall.

Both the propositions approued to be good and true

God created man immortall, and not to dye.

For it is plain and apparant, that God created man immortall, in such sort, as effectually (according to the very soundest opinion of all Diuines) he could not haue dyed, nor be subiected to any miserie, if hee had obserued his commaundement. But hauing transgressed, hee ought iustly to suffer death, and the miseries of the world; therefore, because he obeyed not his command, he incurred death and all afflictions. So that by the sinne of disobedience (as the Apostle said) death came into the world. Hereby it appeareth thē, that death was not (at the first) natural to our prime father, neither successiuely ensuing to vs, but accidentall; beecause it was not the intention of God.

Death not natural to our first father, nor successiue to vs.

The 1. doubt resolued.

Thus come wee then to resolue this doubt, that desire not to dye, nor endure any paines; is giuen to vs by nature, and not in vaine: because the power was giuen vs to obtaine the effect, but in regard of our disobedience, the desire stil remaineth, and cannot be taken from vs. By the selfesame reason is the second doubt answered: for of our selues, by carnall obscœnity, and gluttinous gourmandize, we purchase death, and make way to this disorder.

Answer to the second.

Resolution to the third.

In like manner, the third is resolued by *Adams* sinne committed, whereby he lost the originall righteousnesse which God had giuen him; which serued him as a bridle to moderate himselfe by iust order, and so this harmony fell into confusion. For the soule, which ought to gouern the body, as beeing the thing most noble and excellent; came afterward to bee gouerned by the sense, and by the bodye. And so wee see euidently, that this subuersion is no way naturall, but accidentall.

The confusiō on of the first concording hermony.

By this meanes then, the proposition remaineth firme & true, that those things most worthy and most noble, ought to gouerne them of lesse noble and inferior quality: which fayleth not, neyther can, as well wee may obserue in the celestiall bodies. And if in man it falleth out otherwise, it is by accident of the faulte, deseruing this and worse, but not by Nature.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of such Ceremonies as were vsed by the Romaines, before they mooued any warre.

Ceremonies for times both of peace and warre.

SVch as haue reade the sacred Ceremonies, and Religious obseruations which were vsed by the auncient Romaines, as well in matters concerning peace, as attemptes and enterprizes of warre: doe not make any wonderment at all of the great Victories by

Contempt of religious Ceremonies, ouerthrew the Roman Empire.

by them obtained, against so many furious people, and most potent nations. On the contrary also, they maruell not at the decadence of that Empire, which began, when they began to contemne those Ceremonies and religion. For we may obserue by infinit histories, full of examples, that so long as they were best obedient to religion; their Common-weales prospered so much the more happily, & the enterprizes of their Captaines fell out then successiuely. As was well noted in *Pompey*, *Brennus*, and infinite other, who albeit they were idolaters, and neuer knew the true God: yet it seemed (neuertheles) that by certaine meanes of terrestriall retribution, God fauoured them that were religious. And it might be perhaps to this end, that like as the people were then zelous in a religion, whereof they had neither foundation, or any perfect beleefe; they would (by far stronger reason) bee good obseruers of the true faith, if it had bin reuealed to them, as now it is vnto vs. The effects then make it euident, that heauen neuer left them, without some apparance of good prosperity, & fortunate successe in their temporall affaires.

Many & sundry ceremonies among the olde Romanes.

The Ceremonies which the auncient Romaines obserued in times of warre or peace, were many and diuers: wherein I must needs be silent, because the relating of them all, would require more time thē I am alowed; and it might offend to speak of some, and not of other. My intent therfore is, to make relation of fiue only, and especially by them obserued, before war was mooued against any Prouince. To the end, that moderne Princes may perceiue, how farre out of the way they wander, in attempting war inconsiderately, & making no consultation first to GOD: wherein (if they iudge rightly) they may conceiue, that ill successe happeneth to them by no other occasion, they liuing in Religion so farre inferiour to Ethnickes and Idolaters.

Instruction for our modern Princes in attempting warre.

When newes came to *Rome*, concerning the rebellion of some Prouince, or of any trouble giuen by some barbarous Prince to their countries, or to anie of their confederates: they sent ambassadors to him, by whom the Senate gaue to vnderstand, that they would know, in what maner the wrong receiued should be repaired, with refraining from offering the like afterward; wherein finding obstinacy then war was intimated. The Senate hauing created a Captain for this expedition, called the Sacrificers, who were commanded to inuocate the Gods with their prayers: for the Romans neuer went forth to shed the blood of their enemies, vntill the Priests had first wept, and made their solemne prayers in the Temples. Afterward, the Senate beeing assembled, went to the temple of Iupiter, wher they swore a most solemn oath. *That at all times when the enemy* (against whom the instant warre was published) *would require a new confederation with them, or desire pardon for the offence past; clemency should neuer be denied him.* This being don, the Consul elected for the enterprize, went to the Capitole, and there made a solemne vow, to such a one of the Gods in whom he reposed cōfidence, to offer some singular thing vnto him, if he returned home victorious from the war. And were the offering of neuer so great value, yet the people stoode obliged to pay it. Then the banner of the Eagle, being the ancient ensigne of the Romans, was broght forth into *Campus Martius*; which they did, to let the people vnderstand, that in *Rome* ther might no feasts be celebrated, so long as their fellow Citizens and kindred were in war: & so bringing out the ensignes, deliuered them to their seueral Captains. But first, a Prætor mounted on the gate ealled *Salaria*, causing a Trumpet there to sound, while the soldiers receiued their pay. Wherby may be gathered, that they stird not their armies at any time, till they had first appeased and honored their Gods, and likewise made their orisons for the prosperitie of their Captains, and vertuous carriage to their enemies in conquering them. For, if their Consuls (appointed for war) in cōquering any Prouince or city, made not euident testimony, aswell of their vertue as valor, they were greeuously punished by the Senat. Hereof we haue many examples, but two only shall serue my turn: the one for vsing vertue in his campe; the other, for due punishment inflicted vpon him, who (being victorious) soiled his reputation in base manner. *Fabritius*, beeing encamped with his army of Romanes before *Fidena*, a schoolmaster of the Cittie came forth with the Sonnes of diuers principall Cittizens, as intending to gratifie

The Senates going to the temple of Iupiter, & their Oath there taken.

The Consuls vow made in the Capitole.

The Ensigne of the Eagle, deliuered to the Consull in Campus Martius.

The other ensigns giuen to their captains

Rebellion of a Prouince, or offence offered by a barbarous Prince.

The honorable act of Fabritius vpon a disloyall and trecherous schoolmaster.

tifie the Consull with them, and so presented them vnto him. The Consull (albeit hee might haue detayned them, and and thereby haue made himselfe Lord of the Cittie) not onely refused to accept them: but stripping the Schoolemaister naked, and binding his hands, hee gaue a Rod to euery Scholler, and so sent them (whipping him) backe to their fathers. This benignitie tooke such preuayling power in the soules of the Cittizens; that they yeelded themselues instantly to the *Romaines*.

The other was thus. In the yeare of *Romes* foundation, 318. warre was deliberated by the Senate and Consulles, against the *Sarmates*, and other people inhabiting by the Mountaine *Caucasus*, which (according to Cosmographers) deuiding *Asia* in the middest, terminateth *Syria* on the one side, and finisheth *India* on the other; where, by extremitie of cold, the Vine hath no ability to grow. *Lucius Pius* was created Consull, and appointed for this expedition; where, waging cruell warre against them: Fortune was one while fauourable to him, & then againe frowning. But in the time of a truce concluded betweene them, *Lucius* very friendly entertained the *Sarmates* Captaines, and hauing diuers times banketted them, perceiuing that they were lickerously affected to wine, because it was a rarity among them; at last he made them a bountifull feast, wherein he fitted them with great plenty of wine; that they (in drunken loue to him) yeelded the whole Prouince tributary to the Roman people. The warres so concluding, & the Consull being returned to *Rome*, hee demanded Triumphes; which not only was denied him by the Senate, but also his forme of victory so abhorred by thē, that publikely they did put him to death, and for his greater defamation, engraued an Epitaph on his Tombe, speaking in this manner.

Wine brought that to passe, which warre had not the power to doe.

The Consuls of Rome make warre against the Sarmates and Lucius Pius was appointed for the expeditiō.

The Epitaph appointed by the Romaines, to be engrauen on the Tombe of Lucius Pius.

Here lyeth the Consull Lucius Pius; who, not by Armes in the fielde, but by carrowsing at his Table; not by the Lance, but plenty of wine, conquered the Sarmates.

An Epitaph fit for a quaffing Conqueror.

And yet the Senate, not satisfied with this his disgrace, caused publikely to bee proclaimed thoroughout *Rome*, that all (whatsoeuer) had bene wonne in the *Romaine* peoples name, by *Lucius Pius*, shold be accounted as nothing. And wrote (moreouer) to the *Sarmates*, that they denyed any Conqueste of them; but referred them vnto their former priuiledge and liberty.

The end of the sixt Booke.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

¶ *Of the Gouernement and Administration of Iustice obserued in the Commonwealth of Luca.*

LVca is a noble Cittie (seated in the Country of *Tuscany*) so called of *Lucomenus*, King of the *Tuscanes*. *Strabo* saith, that *Luca* is a Citie neare to the mountaines of *Luna* (and nowadayes the Country is called *Lunigiana*) and that the Region yeeldeth very woorthy men, apt and able in valour for Armes: there being a multitude of knights, from whom the Senate receiued the Military order.

Strabo lib. 5.

Concerning the Country Lunigiana.

But because we are to discourse of out times, I say, that *Luca* is now found to be about two miles in circuite, seated singularly, and in a good place. It containeth about foure and thirty thousand persons within the walles; and there are rich families, because the men of this Citty do trafficke greatly in merchandise, and especially in matters of Silkes: for which (amongest all Christians) they haue no meane name. In the time of *Castrucio Castracani* (who was of the *Interminelli*) he became Lord thereof, there beeing a diuision of many families, that would not obey a Tyrant; they vsed the Arte of making silke together, deriuing great wealth from diuers parts of *Italie*. They brought also into *Florence*, the Artes of making cloth of golde and siluer, whereby they attained to inestimable riches. The men are (naturally) very curteous and modest, not niggardly, but bountifull, and therefore prosperity commeth the more freely vpon them. The *Lucan* tongue in *Tuscany*, is held to be very sweete and pure, because they haue no medling with noyous accents, which are common to all other cities of the Prouince. This so small a cittie, hath a long time maintained it selfe in freedome, and so still doth, with good and substantiall orders.

The situation, compasse, and number of the people, & their chiefest trading in Silkes.

The Language sweete and delicate.

The Councell.

HEr maine foundation (as it is in all other Common-wealths) consistes of the Councell; because on them depend, and from them are deriued all the other Magistrates, that are members of a bodie so well ordered. These Councellors do discourse on the State occasions, and are (indeede) Fathers of that Common-wealth, It is compounded of three kindes of persons, because some are ordinarily of the Councel, and they continue a whole yeare. Some others are inuited *ad bene placitum*, and are not ordinary. Some others are subrogated in the place of such as die, and so endure for a full yeare. This Councell consisteth of an hundred and three score Cittizens, but ordinarily are in number an hundred and twentie.

The power for creating all other Magistrates.

Three seuerall degrees of Councellors.

The Signoria.

The City of *Luca* is diuided into three parts, which (there) they vse to tearme *Terzieri*: The one is of S. *Saluadore*, the second of S. *Pauline*, and the third of S. *Martine*, The Councell doe elect the Signorie from the three forenamed *Terzieri*, that is, for euery *Terziero* they create three men, which are nine in ful number. Beside these, they elect the *Gonfaloniere*, who is the head, or chiefe of the Common-wealth, & (for examples sake) he is first elected from the *Terziero* of S. *Sauiour*; next from that of Saint *Pauline*; and the third time from that of Saint *Martine*: and the *Terzieri* being once so gone ouer, the *Gonfaloniere* returneth

Three diuisions of S. Sauiour, S. Pauline, and S. Martine.

The working of Cloth of gold & siluer.

Some hold this Office to be the cheefe Standerd-bearer.

for election to S. *Sauiour*, and so successiuely (each after other) according to the foresaid order.

Elders, Conforts, or Companions.

By these men, and by the *Gonfaloniere* liuing abroad, other are to be elected, called *Antiani*, and the election is made in this manner. Three men are chosen, whō they tearme *Assortitori*, one for each *Terziero*. These, haue the charge of counting the Ballots of them that are elected, culling out such as they think fittest, after that the Councell haue made choyse of many men, and then they elect the *Gonfaloniere*. And in making this election, the *Assortitori* sit in Councell separately in a place, and account the Ballots vntill they come to the number: which beeing not compleate, they reballot them ouer againe, vntill they be an hundred & eighty in number. And neither such as are subrogated, nor the other ballotted, are published to the Councel; but onely are made knowne to the *Assortitori*. And because no fraud or deceit may ensu by the *Assortitori*, two principall chosen Fryars are as their assistants; one of the order of S. *Dominicke*, and the other of S. *Frances*.

Acount made of the Ballots to their full number, or els rebalotted ouer againe.

The authority of the Assortitori in bringing the elected persons to the Magistrates.

These *Assortitori* haue Authoritie, to bring the men elected to the Magistrates, at such time as they think fitting in seueral months: and this deputation done by the *Assortitori* (who are the prime men of *Luca*:) it is kept by them in secret, & they are sworne not to reueale it. The *Assortitori* created, then they create the Seignory, who cannot bee vanquished, if they haue two third partes of the Ballots, althogh the foresaid Ballots are to be seen by none but onely by the *Assortitori*. The charge of the Seignory is to hear (freely) matters of iustice and punishment, being alwaies present in the Palace, & may not depart thence vnder capitall penalty: the publike purse payeth their expences.

Their abiding in the Palace.

By this forenamed body of ten, one other officer is chosen, whom they call *Comandatore*, and this new man they make neere vnto them, his gouernment lasting no longer then three daies: in which time he hath liberty and authority to commād all the other; yea, and the *Gonfaloniere*, & is Patron in euery busines. And although the supplications which com to the Signory, are presented to the *Comandatore*, & if he wil not present them to the colledge of the Lordes or Signiors, they remaine with him: yet notwithstanding he cānot dispose of them without the authoritie of the Signiory. And if the *Comandatore* propone the supplications to the Signorie, & there they passe two thirds; the *Gonfaloniere* propones them afterwardes in the Councell. The authority of the Signorie extendeth vnto straungers, but not ouer the Citizens: and they propone al things, but conclude nothing.

The power of the Comandatore.

The extent of the Signories power.

Of Supplications presented to the Comendatore.

The Secretaries Office.

The Office of the Secretaries (who are three in number) is very important. These men haue authority, onely in matters offensiue to the maiesty of the Commonwealth, being absolute in that case, & are aboue the *Gonfaloniere*. But true it is, that they can do nothing without the *Gonfaloniere*; and before they conclude any action, they must tender the cause vnto the Councell. Sometime it falleth out, that seeking iudiciously into the matter, they accomplish it, & afterward render a reason for it to the Councel, when they haue done it: either, because they coulde not congregate the Councell in the instant, or in regarde the cause necessarily required, to haue such sodaine expedition.

Three Secretaries, and the import of their authoritie.

The Councell of Conference.

The Colloquie, or Councell of Conference, is composed of 18. Citizens, and they are elected by the Councell. These men, if the Lordes are doubtfull in any matter, and that the case cannot be easily deliberated: they meet together, and discourse on the cause propounded to the Councell; and after they haue discussed it pregnantly, then they determine together, whether it is to bee granted by the Councell, or no.

18. Cittizens in this Office of Colloquie, & their charg.

The Councell of sixe.

These six men (being of sound reputation) haue charge of the expences & profits for common imployment. They prouide and command all things, which passe in mony accounts, and are as Gouernors of the rents and reuennewes. They haue also a Chamberlaine, who is the executer of their deliberations. And all these are likewise chosen by the greater Councell.

As Customers or Receyuers of rents & reuennues for generall vse.

The Rota.

In many Cities of *Italy*, this office is ordinary, consisting of three forraine Doctors, within the compasse of fiftie miles. One of them hath the Title of *Potestata*; the

The Doctors liuing out of the Cities Iurisdiction.

They change their places & offices by turnes.

the second is Iudge of malefactors; & the third is Iudge in ciuill causes. By turnes they haue their seuerall changes, and euery sixe moneths, one of the Centers as Potestate, beeing first iudge of malefactors; and his Office of Potestate beeing past, hee becommeth Iudge in causes ciuill. So that each one of them is Potestate, Iudge for Malefactours, and Iudge in ciuil occasions, as it comes to his turn. If the Potestate haue (perhaps) a Citizen in his power; he doth no more but form the Processe, and sets downe (in writing) his owne opinion, what is the merite of the delinquent, and so it passeth vnto the Councell, who either commend, teare, or temper the opinion and sentence of the Potestate; and then in such a case, the Potestate entreth into the Councell. On strangers, the Potestate may absolutely determine, without any other: And in breefe, these three men do also discourse on ciuill matters.

Matter of the Potestates power.

The Marchants Court.

Nine Officers and a forrain Iudge.

These Officers are nine in number, being elected (by threes) out of the *Terzieroes*. They haue a forraine Doctour for their Iudge, being their Assistant. They iudge in causes appertaining to merchandise, their authority stretching (in the said matters) to blood.

The Office for Store.

Officers for the Cities plenty of corn

In like manner there are nine Officers, & so chosen out of the Terzieroes. These men are the prouiders of Corne, that the Citty may continually be furnished therwith, and they hear all causes concerning the matter. Prouision still beeing made for euery three yeares, and the Garners diligently respected where the Corne is kept, being still supplied, that there may be no want.

Six Commissioners.

Commissaries for occasions of warre and their prouisiõ

And becausе thoroughout the whole Countie, certain assemblies are ordained of such persons as are meete to manage armes: for this especiall businesses, and such occasions as may happen in times of warre; these sixe Commissaries haue authoritie to muster and make ready bãds of Souldiers, and all such things as are requisite for them. Whatsoeuer belongeth to this businesse, passeth thorough theyr power, and their sentence in them carieth allowance.

For Health.

Presidents appointed for wholsome dyet, and cleane keeping the Citie.

There are likewise three especiall Presidents, for matters concerning the countries health. These Officers do regard, that all the food may be sound and good; that all filth and vncleannesse may be sent out of the Citty; and men imploying all diligence, to conserue the people from being offended by any pestifferous accident, or whatsoeuer annoyance may be preiudiciall to health.

The Councell for disobedience.

Slothfull Rogues and idle vagabonds.

Banishment giuen for 3. yeares.

And becausе in euery Citty, there are found too many persons, not enclineable to any goodnesse, but practising to liue viciously, addicting themselues to lewde courses, and are meerely opposite to all well instituted rules, for liuing ciuilly, & in good order; therefore the men of *Luca* haue a Councel, which they entitle, for disobedience, and inflicting punishment on such (as by their vile example) may be the ruine of a well-policied Commonwealth. And the forme of their discipline (in this case) carieth some correspondencie with the *Ostracisme* vsed amongst the *Athenians*; only herein is this difference, that the *Athenians* banished such, whose greatnesse and power grew suspitious to the people, and so sentenced them for ten years, wheras here it extended but to rascality onely, and the sentence lasting but three yeares.

The Office for Lodgings,

A good and prouidēt care and meete to be vsed in euery well gouerned Citie.

Eight Gentlemen are appointed to this Office, who haue charge for vnderstanding the affaires of all strangers comming into the Citty, and what businesses they haue there. All hosts stand bound to giue in writing the names of such Guestes, as come from any part abroad, and are not of the Citty, and those names they must deliuer to these officers. And if perchãce some one tell a lye, reporting one thing for another; he is then examined by the strappado, becausе the truth of his businesse there, ought to be knowne. Such as approue themselues good and honest, being no spies or treachers to the Citie, are kindely entertained, their Lodginges orderly appointed, and their expences well respected.

The Guard.

The Signorie electeth an hundred Soldiours, liuing within fifty miles compasse, to bee as a Guarde for the Pallace,

and out of this hundred are chosen Captaines and Collonels. These men haue good Wages, if they be called to guard the Walles in the night time: wheras otherwise, the guard for the wals consisteth of Cittizens artificers, such as haue wiues and children, and are waged with three Crownes each man euery month. At the gates stand men of the country, and each gate also hath two Cittizens Commissaries: one of them being there early in the morning at the gates opening, & so continuing til dinner time; and at his parting commeth the other, who stayeth there til Euening, when the gates are shutte in againe.

Citizens are the watch and guard for the walles.

Two citizens Commissaries & their charg

CHAP. II.

What benefite and honor it is to a Prince, to haue a comely bodye, a gracious countenance, and venerable aspect.

ONE of the parts (in mine opinion) which maketh the Maiestie of a Prince to bee most venerable (speaking of exteriour graces) is beautie of body: which we see to be accompanied with singular grauity, and which yeeldeth argument of wisedome and knowledge.

Beauty of body is no mean blessing in a Prince.

And although the rule of *Pythagoras* hath often bene noted to faile, affirming, *That in a crooked body, there can neuer dwell a right soule* (because we haue seene in an ill shaped body, to reigne diuers choyce vertues) yet that which is most frequent and ordinary, is to see the contrary. And if an honourable aspect and representation, serued to no other end in a Prince, but to encrease his authority and reuerence, yet are they much more dignified, if some signes of vertue and bountie doe beare them company. As on the contrary, they are diminished by ill shape and deformity. For *Cicero* sayeth; *The habitude of vertue is of such efficacie, that it maketh vs to loue him that is possessed therewith.* Euen so, Maiestie in the person of a Prince, hath a veneration meerely in it selfe, which attracteth the heartes of his subiects vnto loue: vrged thereunto (perhappes) by no expresse fantasie, that a Prince ought to bee vertuous, and conforme his actions to the beauty of his body.

The saying of Pythagoras, concerning a crooked body

Cicer. in Tusc. Lib. 3. cap. 7.

Dionis. Areopag in vit. Princ. ca. 17.

This reason (it may be) hath induced many barbarous people to iudge, that there was no man capeable of a good spirit, to bring any great attempt to successfull end; but onely such a one, as was endued (by nature) with a goodly proportion of body, and an honorable presence. *Macrobius* declareth, that in the Isle of *Meroe* on *Nilus*, the inhabitants (who are said to liue halfe againe as long as we do) vse to elect as their Prince, him whome they know to be the strongest, and of far goodlier presence then any other. There is no man, but will repute a deformed Prince, yet vertuous; ought to be preferred before him of goodly person, and vicious: but when wee come to make equality of them, our affection will rather leane to the comely body, then vnto the counterfeit.

The opinion of diuers barbarous nations.

Macrob. in Saturn. l.b. 3. cap. 9

Demetrius, the sonne of *Antigonus*, was of such a goodly and honourable representation, that there was neither Painter or Caruer that durst attempt to portraire him: for there was in him both a sweete complexion, and terror mixed together, yet ioyned with such mansuetude & grauity, as it plainly appeared, that hee was meerely borne, to be affected, feared, and reuerenced altogether. VVee reade of *Marius* (who had so many Triumphs) that he was of such a venerable aspect, as beeing prisoner to his enemy *Silla*: a French man was sent by him to murther him. Who entering into the prison, with his weapon ready drawne, and noting in him a verie graue and dreadfull aspect; he became so dismayed and terrified, that hee returned backe, leauing the prison open, and (by that means) was the cause of preseruing his life. *Alexander* the Macedonian (being but of meane stature, and not ouercomely countenanced) walking with his deerely affected Friend *Ephestion*: the Mother of King *Darius* (being verie desirous to salute *Alexander*) offered her courtesies to *Ephestion*, making him many humble reuerences. For, seeing him to bee so goodly a man of person; she verily thought, that (of necessity) hee must be *Alexander*.

Affection rather fauoreth comelinesse, then deformity.

The excellent feature of Demetrius, the son of Antigonus.

The countenance of Marius saued his life in great perill.

Ephestion honoured instead of Alexander, only by his comly personage.

Histo-

The benefit of manly apparance to Countries & Common-weales.

Hiſtorics make report, that *Alcibiades*, *Scipio*, and many other, did highly honor and make great the dignitie of their authoritie, onely by their ſightly appearance: wherewith alſo their innated vertues being combind, did ineſtimable benefite to their ſeuerall Countries and Common-weales. On the contrary, we finde that many Princes and Captaines, as well auncient as moderne, haue bene deſpiſed for their lowe ſtature, and other defects of honourable preſence, euen to the peril of their liues, whereof I purpoſe to produce two examples onely.

Example of deformity in Philopoemen Gouernor of the Achayans

Philopœmenes, Duke of the *Achaians*, and much renowned, was of ſo lowe ſtature, miſ-ſhapen preſence, and deformed countenance, that when he attyred himſelfe in mechanicke habite (as oftentimes he vſed to doe) he ſeemed rather to bee of vile and vulgare place, then woorthy to haue gouernement of the people. He was greatly addicted to hunting, and therefore reſorted very often to *Megara*. It ſo chaunced on a certaine day, that this deſire of hunting carried him further off, then hee had any willing intent to goe: ſo that hee arriued at the houſe of a Cittizen neare adioyning, who was a ſingular friend of his, and had lately before beene marryed. He had but one ſeruant in his company; becauſe the reſt hee had ſent to other places, and being come to his friends houſe, he knockt at the doore: and the women looking foorth at their window, demaunded what they would haue; when the ſeruant replyed, That *Philopœmenes*, Duke of the *Achaians* came to haue entertainment there.

A Citty of Achaia on the borders of Attica.

A pleaſant hiſtory of Philopomens hunting.

The woman being much amazed, that a man of ſuch worth, and ſo much vnexpected, ſhould come on ſuch a ſodaine thither, and (hauing neuer ſeene the Duke) reputing theſe to be but two of his ſeruants, which came before to giue knowledge of his coming, becauſe they were thus alone; without returning any other anſwer, came and opened the dore to them. When they were entred into the houſe, ſhe ſent one of her ſeruants to aduertiſe her husband ſpeedily (who was then abroad at the next village:) requiring *Philopœmenes* & the other with him, to ſit downe in the meane time, while ſhe beſtirred her ſelfe to prepare ſupper. About the houſe trots ſhe and her maid,

The Citizens wife ſuppoſed Philopomen to be ſome more ſightly perſon, then he appeared in her eye.

her thoughts much buſied and moleſted, beginning one thing, and then another, but neuer going thorow or finiſhing any, though ſhe had but little time of allowance. At laſt, looking on *Philopœmenes*, who ſate muffled in his cloake, and might be more cold then hee would make ſhew of (whereat (happily) ſhe more ſmiled, then at his deformitie) ſhe, ſomewhat roundly (like a nimble ſtirring huſwife) prayed him to lay by his Cloake, and help her to make a good fire, becauſe her other ſeruants were elſe-where imploied, and that ſupper might be made readie in due time, againſt the coming of his Lord and maiſter.

This doubtleſſe ſhe wold not haue done, but that ſhe tooke him for ſome meane ſeruant.

Heereupon, he tooke a hatchet which ſhe gaue him, and fell to cleauing wood for the kitchin: hauing formerly giuen order to his man, to take no other knowledge of him, leſt the woman ſhould diſcerne any ſcruple of the deceit. While hee ſtoode ſtoutly to this employment; home came the maſter of the houſe, who knowing *Philopœmenes*, and wondering to ſee him ſo homely buſied; did him humble reuerence, ſaying; *My Lord, this is no office for you to vndergoe*. Whereto (ſmiling) hee replyed: *Worthy friend, let mee alone, I doe but pay the penaltie due to my deformitie.*

Philopomen cleueth wood for the Kitchen, to make ready ſupper.

A free confeſsion of his own deformitie.

In our time, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, who had the title of *Catholike*, a verywiſe and diſcreet Prince; but of ſtature, rather too lowe, then of any mediocritie, and although hee had a royall face, and was a man of great gouernement; yet it appeared plainely in him, that it was not correſpondent to his other members. Beſides, hee vſually wore his garments of cloth, whereby he was rather thought to be a Cittizen, then any way taken to be a King.

Another Hiſtory of king Ferdinand, called the little King of Spaine.

The King trauailing (on a time) to *Naples*, accompanied with Queene *Iſabell*, and beeing there louingly expected; by occaſion of weather, hee arriued at a hauen towne on the Sea coaſt (called * *Puteoli)* with his onely Gally, the reſt beeing much better prepared, remaining behinde. Landing there, he was honourably receiued by the Inhabitants, according to the extent of their power in ſuch a place. While the Pallace was furniſhing, and prouiſion for his diet preparing; hee walked alone by himſelfe in a Hall, where

* A Towne in Campania, eight miles from Naples

The conference betweene a blunt Fisherman and the King.

where (very soone after) a poore blunt fisherman came to him, who (by chance) had taken a goodly fish, wherewith he intended to present the King. The Fisherman, not knowing him, desired to vnderstand where the King was: he presently answered him; I am he. The Fisherman brake foorth into loude laughter, imagining that hee had meerely mocked him; wherefore hee prayed him agayne, to tell him where the King was: and he againe affirmed himselfe to be hee. But the Fisherman, discerning in him no maiesticall resemblance, either for his person or habite, and no attendants about him fitting for a King; returned backe, and caryed away the fish with him. Hereat the King could not chose but smile, and some of his especiall Lords and Fauourites immediately entring (after they had saluted him with their wonted reuerence) laughing outright, thus hee spake vnto them. *Lordes, did yee not mecte a Fisherman going foorth? If you doe not goe and giue him assurance, that I am your King, wee shall loose the best Fish that euer I saw.* Instantly the Fisherman returned backe againe, and beholding him (whom he so much neglected) to bee so duetifully reuerenced by such worthy persons; he beganne to conceiue in his soule, that (vndoubtedly) he was the King, and falling vpon his knees before him, he humbly presented the fish vnto him.

The Fisherman would not credite outward apparance.

The Kings pleasant words to his Lords.

Wee may account this for a merry accident, in regarde of another which happned to him, and by the same occasion of mis-censuring his person. For, at another time, the same King being at *Barcellona*, going in Procession with his courtly attendants, as wayting on the Sacrament, on the day dedicated to that sollemnity: hee was sodainely set vpon by a *Spaniard*, who gaue him so mightie a stroke with a great Dagger on his necke, as had beene sufficient to smite off his head; but that the blow was rebated by a great chaine of golde, being then (accidentally) about his necke. This *Spaniard* being taken, and suspected that hee had some other complices in the action; was put to the tortures, where he would confesse nothing else, but onely that he was moued out of his owne mind to do it, in meere hatred he bare to the King. Heereupon he was demaunded, what occasion should so prouoke him to hate the King? He answered; Truely nothing else, but becausе his countenance did not pleasе him, for, it appeared so vngracious vnto him, that if they did set him at libertie, yet he would kil him, whatsoeuer came of it. Questionlesse, it was a strange case, that a man should so desperately endanger his owne life, becausе a King was not formed to his liking.

Another History concerning the same king, but in a more distastefull manner.

The King in danger of life by his deformity.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the inhumane actions, and monstrous cruelties of Aristotimus the tyrant; a subiect well beseeming a Tragedy.*

Aristotimus, vnder the fauors, and forces of King *Antigonus*, tyrannically vsurped ouer the * *Eleusians*, exercising his power so intemperately, that he omitted not any kinde of iniury or crueltie, whereby he might afflict the miserable Cittizens; for he was (by nature) more inhumane and cruell, then any man liuing in his time. Hee added to this his cruel disposition, the councell of barbarous men, to whom hee not only gaue the rule of the kingdome, but also the gardance of his owne person. Among all the extraordinary cruelties, that which he inflicted on *Philodamus*, a very honourable Cittizen, deserueth to be recorded for a most especiall example.

* Eleusis a Citty in Attica neere Athens, where Ceres had a a Temple.

Tyrants are commonly gouerned by barbarous persons.

This *Philodamus* had a daughter of admirable beauty & singular graces, named *Mica*, on whom a soldier called *Lucius* (an especiall fauourite to the Tyrant) became so extremely enamored; that (in a bold & imperious manner) he sent to her father, commãding him to send him his daughter. *Philodamus*, much afflicted at so sawcie a commaund, & knowing what power *Lucius* had with the Tyrant, fearing also what might happen to him and her mother; laboured by perswasions, that his daughter should go to him. But the yong Virgin, who more prized honor then life, by meere instinct of her noble education; fell on her knees before her father, & embracing his knee very strictly, humbly entreated, that hee would not expose her to such monstrous dishonour, but rather to see her dead before his face, then deliuer her to such shame and indignitie.

The lamentable History of Philodamus and his faire daughter Mica.

The vertuous entreaties of Mica to her Father.

The

Lucius goeth himselfe to the house of Philodamus, where (in most inhuman manner) he beateth Mica.

The father being moued by her teares to compassion, sate downe by his wofull wife, and sorrow now sung griefe in three sad parts, which admitted no leisure for a finall resolution. Whereat *Lucius* growing impatient, through the violence of his hote and fiery lust, seeing the mayd not brought, according to his wicked expectation: he ran himselfe to the house, where finding her on hir knees before hir parents, fast holding her fathers legge in her armes; with heauy threatnings, hee commanded her to arise, and goe thence along with him immediately. Shee continuing her wofull complaints, refusing to rise, or listen to his menaces; the cruell man, tearing off her garments to her naked skinne, did strike and beate her in most vnmanly manner; all which she endured with a most constant courage, not breathing foorth so much as a sigh, but as one prepared to suffer his vttermost cruelty.

Lucius desperately killeth faire Mica, which procured death to some, and banishment to other.

On their knees fell the mournefull father and mother, before the wretched man, not able to abide so rufull a spectacle, entreating him, to take pitty on the Virgine, and their age. But seeing they could not preuayle with this mercilesse barbarian; they called for helpe to the gods, and men, whereat hee wexing extreamely displeased, drew out his sword, and slew the Virgine, as thus she embraced the knee of her father. Although this horrible cruelty mooued not the Tyrant a iote, yet the Cittizens so distasted the deede; that some of them hee punished with present death, and banished some other, so that eight hundred fearefully fledde into *Aetolia*: who afterward writing backe to the Tirant, desired so much fauour of him, that their wiues and children (with some part of their goodes) might bee sent thither to them, to liue with their husbands.

The women, not a little glad at this good motion, beganne to make vp their fardells, some prouiding wagons, others horses, for conueying thence their goods and children.

Vpon the day appoynted for their departure, all the Gates were set open for them to passe out at; their waggons and horsses loaden with their children and goods; and as they offered to issue forth, diuers Sergeants and Catch-poles (standing ready for the purpose) cryed out to them with dreadfull threatnings, to stay and passe no further, ouerthrowing the waggons and horsses, laden with their goods and children, so that they were not able to escape out of the crowds: but beheld their yoong children bruised in peeces vnder their heels, they not being any way vnable to helpe them. Afterward, such women and children as were left aliue, the Souldiers assembled them together, driuing them on before them, (like heards of cattell) beating them with staues towards the Tyrants Pallace, who (causing all their goods to be taken from them) imprisond them and their children together.

The monstrous and cruell acte of Aristotimus, vpon poore women and children.

This horrible cruelty did highly displease the Cittizens, who not knowing how they might best incite the Tyrant to pitty their wiues: tooke sixeteene vestall Virgins, consecrated to *Dionisius*, and, attyring them in their religious habites: they tooke sacred things out of the Temple in their hands, and (in sollemne manner of a Procession) went towards the tyrant, to craue mercie of him for the women and children. The Souldiers, who stoode as a guarde about the Tyrant, being mooued with reuerence to those holy Virgins; made way for them, that they might the easier come into his presence. *Aristotimus* affoording audience, to vnderstand what these women desired, and gathering by the very entrance into their Oration, to what end the full scope aymed; hee gaue very disdainefull lookes vpon his Guard, reprouing them roughly and rigorously, because they suffered them to come so neare him. Whereupon, the rude Souldiers, without any regarde of their Sexe or religious condition; smote them with the staues of their halberds, giuing them many cruell blows and bastinadoes, vntill such time as they went away from him, being each of them condemned in two Talents fine beside, because they had presumed so boldely to enter into his presence.

A Procession of sixteene vestall virgins to pacifie the cruell Tyrant.

The vestall virgins cruelly vsed by the Soldiours about Aristotimus.

There was a noble Cittizen in the Citie, named *Hellanicus*, two of whose children the tyrant had put to death, and yet (in regarde of his age) did not account him any way to be suspected. This worthy Gentleman, being no longer able to dure, the outrage and crueltie inflicted on

Hellanicus a Noble Cittizen, practiseth reuenge vpon the Tyrant.

on his Countrey : determined to finde out some apt occasion, and to reuenge all wrongs by the death of *Aristotimus*. In the meane while, the other Cittizens, that were fled before into *Aetolia*, hauing mustred so many men togither as they could possibly procure; entred into open armes, and came into the *Eleusians* confines, where they fortified themselues, and daily drew more and more to their faction, determining present warre vpon the Tyrant, many neighbouring friends assisting them with supplying forces, so that they encreased to an indifferent armie.

* A Region in Greece, betweene Acarnan and Phocis.

Vpon these proceedings, the Tyrant became afflicted with very great feare, so that he went to the women whom he detained prisoners, and being a man of a diuelliſh spirit, coueting to compasse whatsoeuer he would haue, rather by rigorous menaces, then any faire or gentle means) commanded them very roughly, to write to their husbands by Ambassadours, that they should desist from their present enterprise : otherwise, hee would instantly massacre al their children, and cause them to be beaten starke naked throughout the Cittie. To these threatnings the women returned not any answer, which incensed him with the greater rage against them; and hee sternely commaunded them, to giue him resolution what they would do. Some, not hauing the boldnesse of spirit to reply, stoode stedfastly looking vppon the rest, as questioning in their soules, which of them should returne the answer, yet making no account of all his threatnings.

Aristotimus being in feare goeth to his women prisoners, and cruelly threatneth them.

Among this company of worthy women, was one, named *Megestena*, wife to *Thimoleon*, who, as well in regarde of her husbands Nobilitie, as her owne innated singular vertues, was held to be the very chiefest of them, & (with the like esteeme) they honoured her. This Lady, when the Tyrant came in among them, would not rise to giue him any reuerence, neyther suffer any of the rest to do otherwise then as she did. She hauing heard the Tyrants menaces, sitting stil vpon the ground, and returning no signe at all of reuerence, she spake thus.

Megestena, wife to the Noble Lord Thimoleon, chiefe among all the women

¶ *The answer of Megestena to the Tyrant Aristotimus.*

Aristotimus, if there remained in thee any wisedome, then wouldest thou not make thy recourse to women, to haue them write a direction to their husbands, what they should doe; but rather thou wouldst send their wiues to them, with better speeches and more woorthy consideration, then thou hast vsed toward them, making a mockerie of vs, by a most base and dishonourable deceit. And now, when thou seest thy selfe able to doe nothing else; thou presumest (by our meanes) to beguile our husbands by faire wordes, as formerly thou hast abused our credulitie. Thou deceiuest thine owne iudgement, for, wee will not suffer them to be agayne ouerreached by thee; neyther doe thou imagine them to bee so fooliſh, as to shield their children from death, or preuent the losse of their poore wiues liues, they will forbeare to execute that whereto they stand obliged: I meane the freedome of their Countrey. For, the losse of vs & their children is not so yrkesome to them, as the gladsome satisfaction will be, to deliuer their people and Countrey from outrage and cruelty.

The proud folly of the Tyrant wisely reproued by a discreete woman.

Longer would *Megestena* haue continued her discourse, but that the Tyrant (beeing vnable to bridle his rage) commanded the Ladies sonne to be brought thither, that there hee might be slaine in her sight. But whilest the Officers were seeking among the rest of the imprisoned children for her sonne; the mother (with an vndaunted courage) calling him by his name, sayd. *Come hither to me, sweete Boy, and rather die by thy mothers hand, then endure the bloudy crueltie of a Tyrant.* These wordes so amazed *Aristotimus*, and kindled such outragious choller in him; that (drawing foorth his Sword) hee purposed to haue slaine the Lady. But one of his chiefest familiar friends, named *Chilon*, standing by, caught her in his armes, and pacified his fury.

An admirable & worthy resolution in a woman, to the amazement of the Tyrant.

This *Chilon* was one of them, who practised with *Hellanicus* the Tyrants death, as vnable also to suffer his cruelties. Hee hauing somewhat calmed the extreamity of his rage, caused him to put vp his Sword agayne : plainely telling him, that it was a matter monstrous, and ill beseeming the dignitie of a Prince, to soile his hand with the bloud of a woman.

Chilon one of the Confederates with Hellanicus, to deliuer his Country from tyranny.

Within a while after, there hapned a strange

A strange prodegy prefiguring the death of Aristotimus.

strange prodigie, as foretelling the death of the Tyrant. For, being in bedde with his wife, whileſt the Cooks were making ready his diet, an Eagle was ſeene to houer ouer the Lant-horne of the Pallace, and letting fall a great ſtone directly into it (it being ouer the Chamber where hee lay) it made a great noyſe in the fall; and giuing a fearefull loud ſhoute, the Eagle vaniſhed from the ſight of all that beheld it. The Tyrant awaking, with the confuſed murmure of ſuch as had ſeene it, and not a little diſmaied when it was reported to him; ſent for a cunning Soothſayer, in whome hee repoſed no meane confidence, to vnderſtand what the meaning heereof might bee. The Wizard bade him be of good courage, for it figured nothing elſe, but that *Iupiter* had an eſpeciall care of him, and ſent his Eagle ſo to expreſſe it. But he told the Cittizens quite contrary, in whom he durſt repoſe his truſt, becauſe he knew their hatred to *Ariſtotimus*: and bade them be bolde, that ſome ſodayne and ſtrange kinde of death, ſhould (in a ſhort while) happen to the Tyrant.

A Wizzard relateth the intent of the Prodigy.

Heereupon *Hellanicus* and his Confederates, thought fit to delay the time no longer, but concluded to kill him on the morrow following; becauſe the verie ſame night, *Hellanicus* ſleeping in his bed, ſeemed to ſee one of his ſonnes, that before had beene ſlaine by the Tyrant, who cryed out aloude to him, ſaying; *Deare father, Why doe you ſleepe thus? Wherefore doe you trifle away the time? Stand you in doubt, that you ſhall not be made Prince of the Cittie? Hellanicus* confirmed by this Viſion, went earely the next morning to finde his vowed friends, haſtening them to execute the deed determined. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Ariſtotimus* had receiued tydings, that *Craterus* was comming to aſſiſt him with a great power of Souldiers, and that hee was already ſet foorth from **Olympia*. Which news were not a little welcome to him, ſo that ſeeming now free from all feare; he walked abroad to take the aire, ſome ſmall diſtance from the Pallace, accompanied onely with *Chilon*, not attending for any more, although rhey came dropping after one by one. Which *Hellanicus* well obſeruing, thought it now a fit time to execute the enterpriſe, and without giuing any ſignall to the reſt of the confederacie, he lifted vp his hands to Heauen, ſpeaking aloude; *What ſtay yee for, valiant Gentlemen? Why make yee not now the goodlieſt ſpectacle that euer yet was ſeene?*

A viſion ſeene by Hellanicus in his ſleepe, to haſten the death of Ariſtotimus.

* A Citty betweene the Hils Oſſa and Olympus, where Iupiter had a Temple

Chilon was the firſt that drew his weapon, and killing one that came laſt from the Pallace, who offered to ſteppe in the tyrants defence; *Areſtotimus* eſpied *Thraſibulus* and *Lampidius* (two whom he moſt truſted) drawing their weapons likewiſe vpon him. Whereupon, hoping to eſcape their violence, hee ranne into the Temple of *Iupiter*, where he was ſlaine by his owne followers. Afterward, his bodie being throwne forth into the open ſtreet, the people cryed out, *Libertie, Libertie.* The women were the firſt, that (making way through the throngs) came thither, who ioyfully embraced them, that by the tyrants death) were the happy deliuerers of their Countrey. In the meane while, multitudes flocked to the Pallace, where the wife of *Ariſtotimus* (hauing heard of the murder of her husband; and doubting how the people would deale with hir) ſhutting her Chamber doores about her; there with her Chaine ſhee ſtrangled her ſelfe.

Ariſtotimus the Tyrant ſlaine by his owne followers in the Temple of Iupiter.

The Tyrants wife ſtrangleth herſelfe with her chaine of gold

The Tyrant had two very goodly and beautifull daughters, of yeares apt and able for marriage, who hauing heard of their fathers death, had lockt themſelues vp cloſe in a Chamber; from whence they were drawne by the peoples violence, and in their furie they would haue ſlaine them. But *Megeſtena*, with diuers other of the Ladies, ſtoode in their defence, ſaying: That it were an euill deed, and iuſtly deſeruing blame, to kill them: conſidering, they had not learnd ſo much courage of the Tyrant their father, to exerciſe cruelty vpon themſelues. By theſe ſpeeches the people were appeaſed, and a decree was ſet downe, that they ſhould make election of their death, and performe it on themſelues with their owne hands, if they had the heart to doe it.

Aſpaſia and Hillaria, the daughters of Ariſtotimus.

So beeing ſent into their Chamber, *Aſpaſia* the eldeſt ſiſter expreſſing no appearance, eyther by countenance, or any ſigne elſe, that ſhe ſtood in feare of death; looſed her girdle, and faſtening it about a timber-beame, reſolued ſo there to hang her ſelfe, exhorting her ſiſter (with manly courage) to perfourme the like vpon

The valiant reſolution of two ſiſters in their death.

vpon her ſelfe; *Hillaria* the yonger daughter, taking her ſiſter by the hand, deſired her to permit, that ſhee might die firſt. Whereto ſhee replyed in this manner: *As during the time, that Nature permitted vs to liue like Sisters, I neuer did willingly deny thee any thing; ſo farre be it from mee now, to refuſe thee in thy lateſt requeſt: howbeit, nothing can afflict mee more, then to ſee thee die.* No ſooner were theſe words ſpoken, but *Hillaria* taking the Girdle, ſtrangled her ſelfe therewith immediately. When ſhee was dead, *Aſpaſia* kneeling by her body; and looſing her girdle from about her necke, turning herſelfe to *Megeſtena*, & intreating, that their bodies might receiue no ſhame after death; with the ſelfe-ſame conſtancie of corage, ſhe ended her life likewiſe.

The words of Aſpaſia to her ſiſter Hillaria, before her death.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *The reaſon why men cannot know and vnderſtand the truth of many things, while they remaine in this life.*

FIue principall cauſes there are, why a man can not know the truth of diuerſe things, during his abiding in this world: which if hee could attaine vnto, he might repute himſelfe to be wiſe indeede.

Fiue impediments to a mans knowe ledge.

The firſt is ignorance of his end, that is, he knows not to what end he was created, for it is a matter moſt certayne, that if he did know that; he would labor no leſſe to obtaine it, then he doth to get dignities & riches: wherein (becauſe they beſt agree with his appetite) they make him to imagine, that all his happines conſiſts in them. But in this caſe it fareth with him, as with a kings ſon in his child-hood. For, if it be demãded of him, whether he doth more affect the ſucceſſion in his Fathers kingdom, then Apples, Cheries, or ſome other fruites, preſented inſtantly to him: queſtionleſſe, hee will rather accept the Apples or Cherries, then the kingdome, bicauſe he finds them ſutable to his yong deſires, as hauing both ſight and knowledge of them in taſte and apprehenſion.

1. Ignorance in the cauſe why he was created.

A Kings Son cares more for an Apple or a Cherry, in his childehood, then his Fathers kingdome.

Euen ſo it happeneth to a man; for if it were demaunded of him, whether he beſt liked to make choice of, Riches or Wiſedom: his election would ſtand on wealth and power, being meerely ignorant, that Wiſedome onely is the chiefeſt wealth, and that the Wiſe man only ought to ordaine and gouerne. For, without Wiſedome and Knowledge, power is not power, but weakenes, and vtter depriuation of power indeede: And riches without knowledge, is but a beſtiall poſſeſſion, an abundance of preſumption, and a kind of ſottiſh ſubſtance. Whereas on the contrary, a wiſe man hath alwayes ſufficient for himſelfe, & others beſide; hauing in him that truly abounding treaſure, that can neuer faile or deceiue him. And all this enſueth to a man, becauſe he is ignorant in his true end.

There can be no greater treaſure or wealth in the world then wiſedome.

The ſecond cauſe, is the vſe of corporall delectations, voluntary and ſenſible, which ouerwhelme and drowne, not only the ſenſes of the body, but alſo thoſe of the ſpirit and intellect. So that a man, being thus wrapped vppe in the mire of this world, is like the beautifull daughter of a King, to whom appertaineth the inheritance of her fathers Kingdome; but hauing committed adultery with ſome blacke deformed ſlaue, looſeth the right of her ſucceſſion thereby.

2. The vſe of bodily delights & pleaſures, which are the louerthrowers both of body and ſoule.

The third cauſe enſueth by the indiſpoſition of ſuch matter, as many times maketh a man vncapable of learning and knowledge: which commeth often ſo to paſſe, in regarde that the region or place of his birth, is vtterly diſagreeable, and cauſeth him to receiue a bad complexiõ. As in ſome of the Eaſterne parts, and of *Affrica*, where men are borne ſo beaſtly, by reaſon of the heates extreamity; that they are not capable of any reaſon. And contrariwiſe, ſome places in the northern parts are ſo colde, that verie furious men are there borne & bred; ſuch as the *Gothes* and *Oſtrogothes*: ſome whereof feede on humane fleſh. And theſe people may aptly be compared to an Eagle, that hath a ſtone faſtened to her foote, to keepe her from ouer-violent flight, which commonly is naturall vnto this Bird, cauſing her to ſoare aboue the cloudes.

3. The indiſpoſition or vnaptneſſe of the Country where a man is borne, by two extremities of heate or colde.

The fourth is, difficulty in the Sciences. For, although a man doe plainely diſcerne, that the deſire of his ſoule is to ſeeke attentiuely, as coueting to know the truth of high and deepe cauſes: yet notwithſtanding, he findes them ſo hard

4. Difficulty in truely vnderſtanding the Sciences.

to

to be vnderstoode that he retreates, and quite giueth ouer his enterprise. Wherein he resembleth his owne eye, which fixing respectiuely to beholde the Sunne: the splendour thereof prooueth so piercing, that it ecclipseth and troubleth so his sight, as he is not able to endure it.

5. An affection to some especial things conceiued in the time of a mans youth, and so continuing.

The last and strangest of all, is an affection taken by a man in his youth, vnto things wherein he hath beene instructed, and especially when his desire hath lasted of some long continuance thereto. For then, Custome conuerteth it selfe into Nature, and therefore worketh a setled feare in the mans soule, and a singular loue to those things embraced, hating all other contrary to them, and the whole world (almost) is swallowed vp in this errour. Do we not obserue that children among the Turkes, before they can reach to the yeares of reason: doe vtterly abhorre our Faith and Religion; and so the Iewes in like manner? Wee see also, that countrey people, by being inured and accustomed to field-dwelling, do liue grosely, disdayning conuersation with Courtiers, or such as inhabite ciuile Citties. From whence insued the Prouerbe; *Vnluckie is the Bird, that is bred in a bad valley*. For, by vse and conuersation receiued there, he cannot part thence, though he beholdes a much better place for him. And not onely heerein is knowne the power of this habitude: for we our selues do despise them of another countrey (except sight or frequentation haue begot more familiaritie) and only through some bad and abusiue relations of them. This errour hath also preuayled with women, with whom, matters of long vse beare so high a priuiledge, that bee they neuer so bad; yet they despise the contrary, be they neuer so good.

Country education contemneth Courtly or Citty qualities.

Custom both in men and women breedeth another nature.

Finally, this affection to continued vse, and detestation of such things as we know not; extendeth it selfe to all matters in our election. Wherefore, it were good to expell those hinderances out of our hearts, to the end we may (if possibly wee can) know the veritie and trueth of things indeed. For, in the knowledge of them, consisteth all contentment in this world, and the way to all felicitie in that heereafter: imitating the good husbandman, that intending to prepare his grounds for the best aduantage, doth first

The true felicity in this world and the other to come

roote vp the thornes and weeds, because his graine will bee the better borne. So, when the Physitian would giue a sicke man health, he first purgeth his stomacke from all corrupt humors; because in matter ill disposed, the former cannot induct it selfe. Let vs then contend against all these impediments; for the reasonable man, that will not yeelde to reason, but onely leane to his owne appetite: is like to him that will sayle ouer Mountaynes, or builde his dwelling in the Sea: for the effect both of the one and the other, are depriued of their proper ends.

Comparisons aptly answering to the purpose.

CHAP. V.

¶ *Of diuers Accidents (monstrous in nature) which serued as diuining Auguries, or coniectures of things to come, in olde and auncient times.*

IN precedent times, whē by permission of the true GOD, sundry Oracles, which were spirits of illusion & falshoode, hidden in Idolles and Images, gaue answere to Idolaters: many prodigious sights were seene in the Ayre and on the earth.

Oracles of lyes & grosse illusions.

And because that in these latter dayes of ours (we liuing in the light and trueth of faith) none such are now to be seene: it is a matter of some difficultie, to credite what learned Authors haue written, concerning those which hapned in their times.

Yet (mee thinketh) there needeth no distrust at all; for they hauing written Histories of warres, and other occasions happening in those dayes: by inserting the memorie of prodigious Accidents, we ought not to make any scrupulous doubt of them; but rather to rest perswaded; that as they dealt faithfully in the one, they vsed the like iustice in the other; especially, when they are likewise confirmed by many and sundry other Authours.

Graue Authors of great and venerable credite, deserue not to be distrusted in their writings.

Amongſt other Prodigies in the *Romaines* dayes, the moſt notable was, that of *Modena*, vnder the Conſulſhip of *Lucius Martius*, and *Iulius Sextius*, Conſulls: where two mountaines aroſe out of their proper places, and mette together ſo impetuouſly, that hurling a great flame and ſmoake vp into the ayre, by the violence of their encounter; they returned backe agayne, not onelie deſtroying villages which were betweene them, but alſo killing an infinite number of cattell, in the open ſight of many trauellers, and likewiſe of a great company of Romane Knights.

Plin. in l. 9. c. 14

Two great Mountaines met together, and did much harme to Townes, Men and Cattell.

Pliny, in his ninth booke, and in the fifteenth chapter, likewiſe relateth in the ſame place, ſaying, that in his time, and vnder the ſame Empire of *Nero*, *Veſſus Marcellus*, a Romaine Knight, whome the Emperour had ſent (on his behalfe) into the kingdome of *Naples:* had (there in the maritine territorie) two fieldes, each diſtant from the other, the one beeing a fayre meadow, and the other verie thickely planted with Oliue trees.

Plin. in l. 9. c. 15

By an admirable accident, but how, I know not, theſe two fieldes chaunged into each others place: for the Oliues field was tranſported where the meadow ſtoode, and the meadow into the Oliue plottes place; and this was conceyued to be doone by an Earthquake. This is not onely reported by *Plinie*, but alſo is auouched in the Chronicles of manie learned men, as alſo in the Booke of the Mountaines warre.

Two diſtant Fields remoued ſtrangely into each others place, by reaſon of an Earthquake.

And although hee cannot be induced to credite, that men may be metamorphoſed into Woolues; yet neuertheleſſe hee declareth, that *Euanthes*, an Authour of no meane authoritie among the *Grecians*, recordeth the *Arabians* to haue written, that in *Arcadia* there is a great ſtanding Poole, whereto men are brought at certayne times to paſſe thorow it: and as they ſincke into the ſand, they are inſtantly transfourmed into the ſhape of Woolues; and hauing continued ſo for the ſpace and tearme of nine yeares: they doe recouer their former formes agayne, according as *Fabius Pictor* in his ſecond booke and in the ninth chapter; who addeth alſo, that *Scopas*, who wrote the *Olympiades*, ſpeaketh of one, named *Demarchus*, had eaten the bowelles of a young Boy, which they of *Arabia* had ſacrificed to *Iupiter Lyceus*, and preſently hee was transfourmed into a Woolfe, in which forme he continued the ſpace of tenne yeares, and afterwardes recouering the ſhape of man agayne, he wonne the victorie for Lute-playing at the Mount of *Olympus*. Saint *Auguſtine* in his fourteenth booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, and the third chapter ſaith, that *Varro* alſo recordeth the ſame. In mine opinion theſe transformations could not thus happen, but rather were performed by diabolicall Artes.

Men metamorphoſed into Wolues *Euanthes in lib. 2. cap. 5.*

Fabius Pictor in lib. 2. cap. 9. Scopas in Olymp.

Aug. in Ciuit. Dei. l. 14 cap. 3.

Now, concerning theſe things of wonder written by *Pliny*, they are not to be wondred at, becauſe he ſetteth downe many matters, reputed vtterly impoſſible, as the transformation of a woman into man, and yet himſelfe will not credite the like things, or of leſſe impoſſibilitie, and which haue beene apparant to his owne iudgement. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as conſider well the Scriptures, need not meruaile at transformations, happening really, and not feigned. For we know what is written in the ſeuenth chapter of *Exodus* and twelfth verſe, That the Rods of the Nations were (not in apparance, but in effect, by ſecret charmes) turned into Serpents. Now, which thing is more eaſie, to change a Rodde into a Serpent, or the true body of a man (I doe not ſay his ſpirit) transformed into a beaſt. The opinion of Saint *Auguſtine* is heerein auaileable, where hee ſayth; A certayne man conceiued in his minde, that his daughter was turned into a young Mare. And bringing her to an holy man, named *Hellarion*, the graue olde man looking on her, ſaid: *I ſee a young Maid, but no Mare:* for it appeared that by his deuoute prayers, ſhe had recouered her former ſhape againe. Wherefore we may iudge, that ſome things are ſhewne to men, which are not indeede; and ſuch a thing may be apparant, and yet not exiſtent.

Plin. in lib. vbi ſupra.

The ſorcerers rods conuerted into Serpents. Exod. 7, 12.

Auguſt. in ciuit. Dei. lib. 14. ca. 3

But returne wee now againe to our Auguries. It hath beene obſerued diuers times, that in the opening of a beaſt, that no heart hath beene found in him: as it happened at the firſt time, when *Cæſar* the Dictatour ſate in his golden Chaire, and then it was diſputed among the Auruſpices, if a beaſt were to be found without a heart.

No hart found in a Beaſt being imbowelled before Cæſar.

Plinie

Plinie in his foureteenth booke and the seauenth chapter reporteth; so doth *Cicero* in his Diuinations, that *Caius Marius*, offering Sacrifice at *Vtica:* euen in the same manner, there was not any heart found in the beast. But it might be then well obserued, that it chaunced not thus by nature: but rather was rightly to bee presumed, that false spirits did thus delude and abuse the people, taking away the beastes heart in the Sacrifice time, knowing well thereby what was to happen after.

Pli in l.14. c.7. Cicero in lib. de Diuinat.cap.9

Oftentimes likewise hath beene obserued, that two hearts haue beene found in one beast. For, wee reade that in the Sacrifices, which *Marcus Marcellus* made before hee dyed in the battaile against *Hannibal:* the first day he found no heart in the beast he sacrificed; and the next day following, hee found two. *Pliny* writeth in the place before alleaged, that in *Paphlagonia*, the Partrige hath two hearts: so likewise saith *Theophrastus*, the most expert (among Philosophers) in naturall things, as *Aulus Gellius* declareth. *Theophrastus* sayth, that in * *Bisaltia*, each Hare hath two Liuers. And in some places (as in *Euboa*) the beastes haue no gaules.

Two harts haue bene found in one Beast.

In *Nassa* it is quite contrary, for there they are very great, and double in diuers. And Frogges, which are there called *Rubettes*, haue two liuers, the one venemous, the other medicinable: so that when they are dead, the Antes make search for them, and feede on that which is Physicall.

* A Country in the North part of the lesser Asia, by the sea side, aboue Galatia *Aul.Gellius in lib.16.cap.15.*
* A free country of Macedonia by the Riuer Strymon.

Wee reade, that on the day when *Pyrrhus* dyed, they sacrificed the heads of dead beastes, that licked their owne bloud vpon the ground.

Aul.Gellius in lib.vbi supra.

The same yeare, when *Hannibal* was vanquished by the *Romaines*, vnder *Publius Aelius*, and *Cneus Cornelius*, Consulls, Wheate was seene to growe vppon trees.

Aristander (a learned *Greeke* Author) declareth in his Booke of Prodigies, and in the third chapter (and it is also confirmed by *Cneus Epidius*, the Romaine, in his Commentaries) that some Trees haue beene changed into another kinde of Trees.

Aristander in lib.Prodig.c.3. Cneus Epidius in Comment. cap.19.

We reade also, that in the warre of the *Cimbrians*, a great noyse was heard in the Ayre, like vnto the sounding of Trumpets, and clashing of weapons. And in the third yeare of the Consulship of *Marius*, two Armies were seene in the heauens, that went from the East, to meete in the West: besides many other the like Prodigies, whereof Saint *Augustine* maketh mention in his Booke of the Cittie of God.

CHAP. VI.

¶ *Of a very strange and admirable Accident, which happened on an Armie in the night season.*

Accidents hapning in diuers places of little difference each from other.

WHosoeuer shall reade auncient Histories, needeth not wonder at some things, happening in those times, or else related by such as haue seene them: for sometimes it hath beene obserued, that either the same accident, or else but little differing, hath chaunced in one place as well as another. Among the admirable Accidents, which I haue read in auncient or moderne Histories: I finde that to be very singuler, and well deseruing memorie, which happened to *Agathocles* (the Tyrant of *Sicilie*) in *Affrica*.

Agathocles the sonne of a poore Potter, came to be a singular Soldiour and a King.

This *Agathocles* was a man very expert in Armes, whereby (beeing but of base condition, to wit, the sonne of a poore Potter) hee made himselfe Lord of the whole Isle of *Sicilie*. Hauing had long warre against the Carthagenians, and seeing himselfe besieged (both by Land and Sea) in *Syracusa*, by *Amilcar*, with a powerfull Armie of *Lybians:* hee was of such an vndaunted courage, that, leauing the Cittie to the guarde of his brother *Antander*, and hauing certain shippes readily prepared; by the helpe of a cunning stratageme, hee gote foorth at a narrow port, with about seauen thousand footemen, and a small number of horse, and went to land on the shoares of *Affrica*. Hauing gote there in pay sixe thousand *Greekes*, he went and besieged *Carthage*, bringing the Citie into such distresse, that the Senators knew not which part to take.

Carthage besiedged by Agathocles.

Many battailes were fought betweene

them, wherein *Agathocles* proued alwaies victorious; becauſe the time ſo fauored him, that he had drawn no meane troups of horſe to take part with him. The *Carthaginians* (beſide their Citizens, and many mercenary Souldiers (in great number) which they had for defence of the Citty, being vnable to equall the cauallerie of *Agathocles*) called one of their chiefe Captaines from *Lybia*, bringing with him a powerfull army into the field, to haue a day of tryall againſt *Agathocles*. After diuers skirmiſhes paſſing betweene them, vppon a day, *Agathocles* would needs aſſault the enemies Campe (for his men wanting victualles, deſired nothing more then preſent fight) but the enemy being very ſtrõgly planted, would not iſſue foorth, though they were very hotely ſet vpon in their Fort; knowing the neceſſitie of *Agathocles*, and the deſperate condition of his men.

A freſh ſupply from Lybia, came to the Carthagenians,

Continuing the aſſault ſtill, to his owne diſaduantage, he payed the penaltie due to his boldeneſſe: for the enemy repulſed him with great loſſe of his Souldiers; one part of them beeing ſloyne, and the other within compaſſe of the enemies power. The night preuenting the battailes concluſion; I am to tell yee an example of wonder, which ſtrangely followed thereupon, in this manner. The *Carthaginians*, after their victorie, ſacrificing vnto their Gods, in ſigne of their thankefulneſſe (with a cruell ſuperſtition) a great number of their priſoners, both *Greeks* and *Italians*; brought ſuch a quantitie of wood to burne the bodies, that the fire grew ſo impetuous: as it not only conſumed the ſacrificing Tent, but alſo the Pauillion of their Captayne and Generall, beſides infinite other, being a lamentable ſpectacle to all that beheld it. For, through the extreamity of this accident, a mighty tumult grew among them, proouing to occaſion the death of many; for ſome, labouting to quench the fire, fell into it, and ſo periſhed; others ſtriuing to eſcape from it, crowded one another to death in the throngs.

Agathocles maintained the aſſault ſtill to his owne loſſe.

A bloody and cruel manner of ſacrificing obſerued among the Carthagenians.

In this night of horrour and confuſion, one nouell accident drew on an other: for, in the Campe of *Agathocles*, there was found about fiue thouſand *Lybians* newly arriued, in whom hee durſt repoſe no truſt; for they intending to paſſe on, and to ioyne with the *Carthaginians* forces, were miſſ-led, onely thorow the darkeneſſe of the night. On ſtill they went from *Agathocles* Campe, till they came within hearing of the Guards and Centinells of the *Carthaginians*; who imagining them to be the Armie of *Agathocles*, re-aſſembled againe for a freſh aſſault; and hoping to finde them in diſorder (as indeede they were, through the foes violence) rayſed ſodainely ſuch a ſtrange noyſe themſelues, that the whole Camp fell to flight, and was vtterly broken, ſo that few or none remained, but all were diſperſed, ſome running thwart the fieldes, others backe to the Citty, to ſaue themſelues.

The coming of a freſh company of Lybians, cauſed a ſtrange accident in this confuſion

The Cittizens hearing this noyſe of the people (conceiuing verily, that it was the enemy, who had foiled their Campe, and came now to aſſault the Cittie:) were ſo confounded with feare and amazment, that they left the Citty without any defence, ſeeking how they might beſt ſecure their owne liues. So that if *Agathocles* had receiued but the leaſt intelligence thereof, and had gone immediately to giue the aſſault: this night had made him Lord of *Carthage*, and the whole Kingdome thereto belonging. Fortune, not yet ſatisfied with blinde-folde confuſion, cauſed the fiue thouſand *Lybians* (perceiuing what had happened) to turne backe vpon the diſordred Campe of *Agathocles*, who fearing a freſh onſet of the enemie; fled, ſome one way, ſome another, and fel into ſuch a madding fury among themſelues, that thinking their owne people (ſtill as they mette) to be *Carthaginians*; they ſlew one another very cruelly, the obſcurity of the night not permitting them to ſee their owne errour. So that, through this inaduertence or inconſideration, fiue thouſand were ſlaine among the *Grecians*, and as many of the *Carthaginians*, flying and fighting in this confuſed maner. By which meanes, fiue thouſand men (erroniouſly miſ-ledde) againſt their willes, brake three hoaſts or Armies, with no meane example, of Fortunes power in actions of Armes.

A ſtrange confuſion happening likewiſe among the Cittizens at Carthage.

Another accident in the Campe of Agathocles, among themſelues.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

¶ *How indiscreete a thing it is, and greatly to be blamed in Christian Princes, to permit the Duello, or single Combat between man and man.*

LIke as abuse is growne among all things (well-neare) in the world, by the coldnesse of charitie in men, and their mallice augmented one towards an other; Euen so falleth it out in Duells or single fights. For, amongest great Princes, when they lawfully exercised themselues in Armes, it was honourably admitted in certayne cases, and differences of most high importance, which could not otherwise bee termined or discided. But now it is grown to such corruption, as euery silly and priuate Souldiour, for very small or simple occasion, presumeth, that it is lawfull for him to vndertake it. But that which most of all distasteth me, is to see, that Christian Princes onely doe permit it, considering, that in them (more then in any other) the Lawe doth expresly forbidde it: and it is encreased to such an abuse, that, except God amend it, it is to bee feared, that Prelates of the Church will also suffer it.

In elder times the combate was honourably granted.

The Law expresly forbiddeth combate to Christian Princes.

The Duell or Combate, is denied to a Christian man, to doe it, to graunt it, and to see it, by reason both diuine and humane, as well Canonicall as Ciuile. It is prohibited by diuine reason, according to this argument. Euery acte whereby God may be tempted, is prohibited to a Christian by the commaundement of God: For, it is written; *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*. That GOD is tempted by the Duell or Combate, I proone it in this manner: To make triall of things, which cannot be reduced to an end by naturall meanes, but onely by the Hand of Heauen: such attempting is to tempt God. As it happeneth in cases of purgation, where it is most notorious and euident, that (by naturall course or disposition) the strongest, actiue, and most powerfull person euer vanquisheth the weaker, and of lesse abilitie. Contrariwise, that the stronger bodie shall be ouercome by the weaker, can not happen but miraculously.

The combate is denied to a Christian in action sufferance, & sight

Things not affected by naturall meanes is tempting God.

Bringing then two such vnequall persons into the field, victorie is desired for him which hath right and reason on his side, to the end, that the trueth may be made apparent. But then God is tempted, in seeking, that he should performe a myracle; which must needes bee so, when the weaker man conquereth the stronger, beeing (as it were) directly against nature.

Miracles only appertaine to the power of God.

I proone it further forbidden by Diuine reason, after this argument: when a Law prohibiteth a thing, it forbiddeth also the dooing of it; and a man performeth an especiall inhibited thing, when hee knoweth (by the Diuine Lawe) that hee is not to kill a man: The Combate then is flatly forbidden, because thereby murder may happen.

Murder may happen by combate.

I yet proue it otherwise thus. The Diuine Lawe forbiddeth euery action, that differeth from the fountaine of charitie, which is the scope and end, of al vertues, and vtterly expelleth vice: The acte of Combate is farre off from charitie, leaning vnto vice; because charitie is nothing else, but to loue God and thy neighbour, and he that enters the Combate to kil his neighbor, is out of all obedience to God.

The acte of combate killeth Charity.

It is likewise prohibited by the Canonicall Lawe, because it euermore followeth the diuine Law: and in plaine reason, what the one inhibiteth, the other neuer aloweth. Combat is also forbidden by the Lawe of men, and the proofe is, that euery thing which repugneth and contradicteth naturall equitie, is likewise prohibited by the reason of man; because reason is grounded vpon naturall equitie. The reason of equity among men willeth, that he which committeth a crime, should be punished, and the innocent cleared: notwithstanding, by Combate it falleth out many times quite contrary.

Combate contrary to the common law, and law of men, and naturall equity.

It is further proued by this argument. Naturall equitie, whereon (as we haue already sayde) all reason in men is grounded; is entirely for the conseruation and encrease of them. That acte then, which turneth vnto the diminution and destruction of men, is quite forbidden: so ought Combate to be, because thereby

Naturall equity is for the conseruation of mankinde, and combate is for his destruction.

men kill one another, and men are of greateſt price in the world. Moreouer, euery acte which repugneth the precepts of naturall equitie, is forbidden by mans reaſon, becauſe it is grounded thereupon. One of the precepts is, that no man ſhall deſire profit or honour, by the preiudice and hinderance of another. The ſecond is, that no man ſhall wiſh that to another, which he would not haue done to himſelfe. The acte of Combate contradicteth them both, becauſe hee which commeth ſo prepared into the field, coueteth his owne glorie, by the ſhame and harme of him againſt whom he fighteth, which is his neighbour; and wiſheth that to him, which he would not haue executed on himſelfe; for, he would vanquiſh and kill him.

The two main precepts of naturall equity, are broken by the acte combate.

It is alſo forbidden by Ciuile reaſon, and this is the rule. Ciuile right prohibiteth euery acte, whereby Iuſtice may bee denyed to men, or iniurie doone them. Now, in the caſe of Combate, oft times it falleth out quite contrary; for the innocent man dyeth, and the guilty offender remayneth aliue, ſo that by this meanes, Iuſtice can not take her due place.

Combate forbidden by the ciuill Law.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ *Of ſtrange and admirable properties in the Aſſe.*

AMongſt all the properties in beaſts, thoſe of the Aſſe are moſt to be admired; for hee is ſo meeke and domeſticke, as that *Iſidore* doth ſay, *He taketh his name of ſeating*; for, in elder times, men mounted on ſuch beaſts backs, to ſaue themſelues ſecurely. Or elſe it cometh of the Greeke diction *Aſinos*, compoſed of *A*, which is a Greek diction priuatiue, ſignifying *Sine*, *Without*, and *Cinos*, which ſignifieth *Senſus*, *Wit* or *Senſe*: ſo that coupling theſe two vocables together, ſignifieth, without Wit or Senſes. Heereupon it is ſaid, that hee is fearefull to goe ouer a Bridge, where water runneth vnderneath it: becauſe hauing a weake brayne, hee is (by inſtinct of nature) fearefull to fall therein. He is timorous alſo to enter water, how ſhallow ſoeuer it be; fearing by the current thereof, his braine may be troubled, and he drowned; which proceedeth from a kinde of knowledge that hee hath of his owne imperfection.

Iſidor. in lib. Anim. 3. cap. 8.

A definition of the Aſſes name.

Fearefulneſſe in the Aſſe to paſſe ouer a Bridge.

This creature is ſlouthfull and melancholy, becauſe he is colde, drie, without memory, laborious, and apt to carry burdens. By reaſon of his great frugalitie, he cannot liue in colde Countries, and if by aduenture he doe liue there: hee affecteth not the generatiue action, neyther can he there ingender. Hee beareth beſt vpon his reines, rather then on his backe or ſhoulders: for, being melancholie, his bones behinde are the more ſtrong and dry, for there is the ſigne of melancholy, and there is his skinne ſo thicke and hard, that though he be beaten with great ſtaues, he cannot be killed without much paines. Alſo, becauſe he conſiſteth of an earthie nature, hee is hardly diſciplinable, and fatneth very little. *Albertus Magnus* ſayth, That by the ſelfe-ſame reaſon, hee endureth much paine in his head, and dieth, tumbling his head aſide, and in regarde of his heads weightineſſe, a thicke and viſcuous humour falleth on his lights or lungs, which maketh him to breathe with difficulty, and fall downe ſwowning. He eateth little, and the more he watcheth, ſo much the more he drinketh beyond other beaſts.

The Aſſe ſlothfull and melancholly.

The ability of his bearing burdens.

Albert. Magnus in lib. 4. cap. 7.

In regarde of his great coldeneſſe and drieneſſe, hee can not ſtirre to ingender, at ſuch times as other beaſts doe, to wit, before the Winter Equinoctiall, or elſe vnder the Equinoctiall; but in the month of May, when the Sunne mounteth, almoſt to the right angle of the Equinoctiall, and then his groſſe humiditie beeing depreſſed and diminiſhed; he is prouoked to the acte with ſuch fury, as if hee were a wilde foale, and eſpecially when he is yong. The thickneſſe of his skinne, is cauſed (as we haue ſayd) by his groſſe humours; and he that mendeth his ſhoes with leather, of that part of the skinne, where the Aſſe hath longeſt borne his burdens, can not weare it out at all, but it will long time endure, paſſing ouer ſtony or craggy wayes, and will at the laſt growe to ſuch hardneſſe, as the feete can not ſuffer it: *Albertus Magnus* ſpeaketh thereof by proofe.

The Aſſe engendreth not when other beaſts do.

The benefit of the Aſſes skin in wearing it in ſhoes.

From

The milke of the shee-Asse Physical for a consumption.

From this drinesse it ensueth, that the milke of the Female Asse is subtile, that it cannot curdle: and therefore it is Physicall for such as are in a consumptiõ. Moreouer, the purity of this milkes whitenesse maketh the skin of men or women wonderously faire, and very cleare. Hereupon *Pliny* reporteth, that *Pappæa*, Cnocubine to *Nero*, often vsed to bathe her bodie in the Milke of a shee-Asse. This beast hath a custome to Vrine in the place, where he smelleth that another Asse hath staled before.

Plin. in l. 6. c. 12

Small birdes are enemies to the Asse: but the rauen most of all.

He is very much hated by small Birds, because he bites of the bushes & thornes, where they builde their nests: and vvith his crying noise, makes them fall vnto the ground, or frights them away when they sit in the bushes. The Rauen is his naturall enemie, so that when hee hath taken any harme on his skinne; hee mounteth thereon, and pittifully plagues it with his bill. So do the small Birds likewise, onely to be reuenged of him: but the Rauen aboue all the rest, labours to picke out his eyes with his beake; against which cruelty, the hollow concauity of them, doeth serue him as an especial defence, the hard nesse of his hide, and continuall agitation of his eares; for, by closing his eies, he chaseth them away with his ears stirring. The Bear also is his enemy, wearying him (oftentimes) to kill him, desiring to feede on his raw flesh.

What defence the Asse hath, to saue his eies from the Rauen.

The curiosity of the Asse in drinking.

He will not drinke but at such Springs or Welles where he is inured, & where hee may passe without wetting: but that deseruing meruaile, is, that if the water be troubled, though hee be neuer so thirsty, he cannot be procured to drinke, vntill such be giuen him as is pure and clear. *Pliny* saith beside, that he will hardly bee constrained to drinke, vntill his backe bee disburthened of his loade. The shee-Asse so intirely affecteth her young Foale, and is so fearefull of it by Nature: as shee dreadeth not to passe through fire to find it.

Plin. in l. 8. c. 43

Arist. in Gener. Anim. lib. 2 c. 6

Aristotle saith, that the shee-Asse will remaine so long time from conceyuing, vntill the graines of Barley, steepte in the blood of a Mulet, bee giuen her to feede on. For the generation of Mules, the Mare must be of no lesse age then foure yeares, and not aboue tenne. Now, in regard that (naturally) no beast will habite with any other then of his owne kinde, such Heardsmen as would haue a Mule engendred by an Asse and a Mare, do vse this kinde of cunning. The young Asse-foale is nourished with Mares milk all his tender time, but in some obscure place, for better taking it. By this meanes, comming to age (as adulterated) he groweth to loue Mares. And in like manner, norishing the Foales of Mares with milke of a shee-Asse; they habite afterwardes willingly with shee-Asses. And if it happen that the Mare be taken, and the Asse hath yet vse of her immediately, her greatnesse will corrupt, through the extreme coldnesse of the Asse. And so it fareth vvith the shee-Asse, if the horse haue ioyned with her, and by the same reason.

An obseruation for the engendering of a Mule between an Asse and a Mare.

Aristot. in Lib. vbi supra.

The Mule that is bred of an Asse and a Mare, cannot engender, the cause (according to *Aristotle*) is, that the seede of the Asse (as we haue already said) being cold, & that ioyning with the seed of the Mare which (hauing respect to the sexe Feminine) is also of cold complexion; & therefore, that engendred is so cold, as it cãnot be proper for generation. And albeit *Pliny* saith, that diuers times they haue yong ones: yet (for all that) it is not naturallie, but rather as a thing prodigious.

Pli. in l. 8. c. 44

Aristotle granteth that they do engender, but the fruite cannot bee reared or brought vp. *Theophrastus* saith, That in *Cappadocia* they engender and haue yong. *Aristotle* further saith, that the Asse fatneth more by drinking troubled Water, then that which is cleare, and best agreeeth with Kine. The Foale of the she-Asse, is of so short memory, that following the damme, if it be but fiue paces behind hir, it hath forgot, and followes no further, but stayes and standeth stone still. It is said, that the shee-Asse hath a natural custome, when she is ready to Foale, shee withdraweth into some obscure place: but the opinion of *Albertus Magnus* is, ỳ she doth so in regard of the weakenes of the Foales sight.

Aristot. de Gener. Anim. l. 2. cap. 3

The short memory of the Asse foale

Albert. Mag. in lib. 4. cap. 7.

It is a thing well approued, according to the iudgement of the same author, that the Liuer of an Asse being boyled, and afterward roasted the same day, is verie soueraigne for the falling sickenesse, prouided, that it be often vsed: the like power hath his hoofes, being burnt, beaten into powder, and drinking the weight of three Ducates

Ducates, and euery day an ounce. An emplaister made of the same powder, dissolueth the Kings euill, & heals the chaps, which trouble the handes in Winter by cold.

For an Impostume.

Moreouer, the hooues so beaten into powder, and applyed vnto an Impostume, quickely breaketh it. The Vrine of an Asse, is very anaileable for the Disease of the Reines, caused by grosse humidities; and his dung, either burnt, or not, made in an emplaister, restraineth the Flux of blood, and smoking any house with the Lunges of an Asse, it killeth all wormes and mothes.

A present remedy for bleeding at the nose.

Againe, his dung steeped in Vinegar, and applied to the nose in a cloth, ceaseth the extreme bleeding: making also an emplaister thereof, and binding it to the forhead, it hath the same vertue. *Pliny* also saith, that both the Milke and bloud of an Asse, are very effectuall against the biting of a Scorpion.

Plin. in l. 8. c. 44

His Vrine, applyed with Spickenard, encreaseth and conserueth haire: and his bones being broken, and the powder of them drunke in white Wine, is very soueraigne against poyson. *Aristotle*, *Albertus Magnus*, and *Pliny*, reporteth infinite other Vertues, abiding in this much despised creature, which would require too long a time to relate.

CHAP. IX.

Of the singular vertue and constancie, of the Noble Lady Aretaphila, the enforced Wife to the Tyrant Nicoreon: And her honest policy, for the deliuerance of her Countrey.

An honorable Gentleman of Cyprus, and a worthy souldiour.

THE vertue and constancie of the Noble Lady *Aretaphila* the *Cyrenean*, deserueth to be remembred in all Ages. She was the Daughter of *Aglator*, and wife to *Fedimo*, who for Nobility and riches, was one of the worthiest men in the whole countrey: and in those times she was no lesse endued with singular beauty, then admired wisedome and eloquence in her speaking. It came to passe, that *Nicoreon* vsurping the gouernment by tiranies, condemned many worthy Cittizens to death. And among other cruelties by him committed, hee caused *Melnapius* (the Priest of *Apollo*) to bee slaine, to make vsurpation of his Priestly Office.

Nicoreon a tirannical vsurper of the supreme authority.

Afterward, hauing treacherously put to death *Fedimo*, the husband of *Aretaphila*; constrainedly, and whether she would or no, he married *Aretaphila*. Continuing on his pride against his people, & day by day encreasing his cruelty, hee furiously put a great number to death. And beecause they were to be buried without the Citty, he was enstructed by some of his picke-thankes, that many counterfeyted themselues to be dead, for their safer escaping out of the City, onely thereby to auoid his cruelty. Hereupon, guards of souldiers kept the gates, vvith long Iron Pikes and Bodkins, made red hotte in the fire; wherewith they pierced the bodyes carried by, to try whether they were dead or no.

A hard extremity that many were put to, for escaping from tyranny.

These cruelties, were greatly displeasing to his wife *Aretaphila*, who greeued to see her Countrey thus oppressed; and to such a height grewe her compassion, that hating *Nicoreon* for her former Husbands death, she resolued to make aduenture of her owne life, to free her country from so bloody a Tyrant. And although *Nicoreon* affected her extraordinarily, & bestowed infinite fauours on her, onely to please her: yet could shee not quit her thoughts from this magnanimous determination. And, when (through the tyrants power) all hope in the people was vtterly lost, for euer freeing themselues from his tiranny: she only grew the stronger in her confidence, that shee should compasse the meanes of his death.

Aretaphila pitying the oppression of her Countrie, hazardeth hir owne life to deliuer it.

Heerein she was still the more encouraged, by remembring the vndaunted resolue of the *Thebane* * *Pheræa*, so much renowned thorough the world, coueting to imitate her example. But becausе shee had not the benefite of assisting Friends, as *Pheræa* had; she concluded her enterprize alone by her selfe, purposing to kill the Tyrant by poyson. By which meanes she ranne into great dangers (as you shall reade heereafter) in regard she failed many times of her attempting; and beeing surprized at the last; all dissimulations were

*, An honorable Ladie of Thebes, that deliuered her country from cruell oppression.

were not sufficient, but shee was conuinced by most euident arguments.

The Tyrants mother hasteneth the death of Aretaphila

At this time, *Caluia*, Mother to the tyrant (beeing a Woman of fierie temper, and one that heauily hated *Arctaphila)* laboured him by earnest perswasions, to put her to death with grieuous torments: but the feruent loue of *Nicoreon* towards hir, and her owne couragious spirit, in answering the accusations of her enemies; occasioned the delaying of her death. Neuertheless, after much clamor and constraint, she being conuinced by apparant testimonies, and no longer able to denie, but that she had prepared a breuage for him: In the presence of the Iudges, with an vndanted and cheerefull countenance, thus she spake.

The Speech of Aretaphila, *in the presence of the Tyrant, and all her hatefull enemies.*

Her witty insinuation to couer what she had closely intended.

My Lord and Husband, I freely confesse, that a drinke was prepared by mee to giue thee; yet farre from so much as thought, that poyson, or any harmefull thing should therein be compounded: but onely as a drinke, whereby to incite feruent loue and affection. For, seeing my selfe to bee enuied by so many Ladies, in regarde of the kinde loue by thee extended to me, and exalting me to wealth and honor, farre beyonde any capacity in them of compassing the like; fearing withall (most worthy Lord) that they would not spare their vttermost endeuour, to kil that louing kindnesse in thee towards me, and quench the intire affection so long continued: I made that Breuage purposely, to preserue the heate of Loue in full power, and rather vrge it to a higher reach, then suffer it to quaile in the least degree. If therefore heerein I haue offended, Reason (me thinkes) should free mee from punishment; in regard that spotlesse loue (to confound that foul fiend hatred) thereto procured me. Neuertheless, if I shall bee saide to merite chastisement; it cannot vrge death, as to an hatefull impoysoner: but rather such an amiable and fauouring affliction, as such a wife may be thought worthy of, who will not spare to practise any enchanting Potions on her Husband, to continue his Loue in correspondencie, equall vnto hers.

Such was her constant carriage in this answer, and appearing of so sound truth in the Tyrants opinion; that by no means he would permit shee should bee put to death. Onely, through their diuelliſh & violent vrging, he suffered her to be further tryed by Racks and Tortures, as hoping (that way) to extort confession. *Caluia* causing the extreamest tortures to be prepared, stoode by, while they were inflicted on her, euen according to the measure of her monstrous cruelty; and so many violences was done to the poor Lady, that *Caluia* her selfe, grewe wearie with the very sight of them. So that *Aretaphila*, not confessing any thing more then she had done, was deliuered from further tormenting, and adiudged innocent by *Nicoreon*; repenting that hee had permitted her to bee so cruelly misused, and his loue now growing to farre greater extremity towards her, made him labour by al amorous blandishments, and gifts of extraordinary valew, to reconcile fauour, & qualifie all conceiued vnkindnesse in her. And she, being a wise and sprightly minded Lady, had her owne discretion so much at command, that she could seeme as earnest in loue to him as euer: yet carrying an inward vnconquerable remembrance of her Countreyes Oppressions, and her owne extreame wrongs, waiting but time and meanes for iust reuendge, which offered it selfe to her in this manner.

Nicoreon admitteth further tryall by tortures, but wil not let her dye.

Cruelty conquered by mild, patient, and constant sufferance.

An incomparable discretion in Aretaphila.

She had (by *Fedimo* her husband) a yong daughter, of admirable beauty and vertuous qualities, named *Miraguarda*; and *Nicoreon* had a Brother, named *Leander*; youthfull, gallant, and somewhat dissolute in affection to women, which made her the more diligent, to procure liking in him towards her daughter, and easily she preuailed therein, by the help of amorous enticing drinkes, and other deuices, wherin she wanted no furtherance of her cunning Physitian. Beside, the witty enstructions shee had giuen her daughter, for her carriage in the company of *Leander*; caught fire on the Tinder of his affection, in such violent manner; that (in all hast) he entreated his Brother to graunt his

Miraguarda, daughter to Aretaphila, & Leander brother to Nicoreon.

his marriage with *Miraguarda*, wherto he as quickely gaue consent, prouided, that he could induce the good liking of *Aretaphila* therto, which was not long in obtaining (though excused with some fewe faint and modest doubts) because it was the onely mark she aimed at, to compasse that which she further intended.

The marriage the onely meanes to be reuenged on the Tyrant.

Leander, being married to his beloued *Miraguarda*, their mutuall affections so sweetly simpathized together, as he could neuer be satisfied with her louely embracings, nor shee contented without his company. During the heate of this reciprocall fierie temper on both sides, *Miraguarda*, ingeniously instructed thereto by her mother (knowing she could craue nothing of her *Leander*, that eyther hee durst or would deny her) aduised him to the killing of her brother. And so sutable were her witty remonstrances to his yeilding soule (alledging the acte to be generous, the freeing of his country from tyranny, and a certaine assurance to himself, that in requitall of so blessed a benefit, the people could not choose but elect him their King, by whom they enioyed theyr long desired deliuerance) that he liked the motion extraordinarily. Nor left shee off so, but plyed him still vnto the same purpose, that if hee did make deniall of the deede, the Cittizens (in their violent hatred to the Tyrant) would acte this Tragedy themselues, as therto they were all solemnly sworn; and then there could be no security of his own life.

The perswasions of Miraguarda to Leander for killing his Brother.

Leander is won to murther his Brother, assisted therein by his faithful friend Dannilles.

So preuailing were these perswasions with *Leander*, that instantly he conspired against *Nicoreon*, perceiuing that *Aretaphila* did not disallowe it; and imparting his intent to *Dannilles*, his familiar & very faithful friend: by his assistance he slew him, sleeping in an Arbor of his Garden, and thereby became Lorde of the Kingdome. The possession whereof made him so proud and powerfull, that, despising *Aretaphila* and her worthy counsels; the world might plainely perceiue, that hee was rather a murtherer of his Brother, then a conspirator for his countries freedome, because he gouerned by iniustice and improuidence; albeit (afterward) he began to reuerence his mother in Lawe somewhat more respectiuely, though the people were still oppressed, by many extreme violences.

Aretaphila perceiuing, that shee had not yet deliuered her country from tyranny; concluded to compasse it by his death likewise. Heereupon, by secret intelligence, she wrought with *Anabius*, a warlike Prince, and a Natiue of *Lybia*, to rise in Armes against *Leander*, wherto he was very easily induced. Hee being at hand with a potent Army, *Aretaphila* conuersing with *Leander*, told him, that his Captaines were not equall in courage and strength, to those braue Warriours that came with *Anabius*, and therefore it wold proue disaduantageous for him, to make hazard of his weake forces against him, being not certaine of his owne subiectes, whom he had too much prouoked by his harsh vsage; and therefore farre vnfit to be trusted in trial of warre. Wherfore she aduised him, to labour by honest & plausible meanes, that a pacification might passe betweene them, promising, to practise such meanes her selfe, that hee should haue a friendly imparlance vvith *Anabius*.

Another attempt of Aretaphila for the deliuerance of her countrey.

Leander liked well the Counsell of his mother in law, and praied her to proceed therein; whereuppon, shee dealt for the day of their meeting. Preuailing so well (in the meane time) by faithfull Messengers to *Anabius*, that when *Leander* shold come forth to confer with him: he either should kil him, or take him prisoner, promising a great sum of money for the performance therof. *Leander* being fearful by nature (as commonly all Tyrants are) daily deferred the enterparlance: but his mothers pressing him with shame of base cowardise, and faint-harted effiminacy, (shee promising to goe along with him in company) procured him to issue forth vnarmed. *Anabius* comming on to meete him with his traine, *Leander* made a timorous stay, saying; hee would not passe any further, vntil he had his guard about him. But *Aretaphila*, one while by faire speeches, another while by foule reproaches, calling him nothing but coward at euery word; stil made him to walke on alōg with her, and taking him by the arme, as to inspire him with courage, brought him forcily to *Anabius*, and deliuered him vp as his prisoner, who safely there kept him, vntill the promised summe of mony was sent him.

Aretaphila contriuet⁺ a meeting betweene Leander & Anabius.

Tyrants are fearfull vnto themselues.

Aretaphila deliuered Leander prisoner to Anabius.

Afterward, she returned backe to the Cittie,

City, there manifesting the manner of her successe, and how shee had deliuered her Countrey from the Tyrants power: Whereupon, the summe of money was collected and forthwith sent vnto *Anabius*. Then was *Leander* deliuered to *Aretaphila*, who instantly gaue him into the Magistrates power: so that by generall sentence, he was sowed vp in a sacke, and drowned in the Sea, after he had seen his Mother *Caluia* burned. All the Citizens flocking before *Aretaphila*, humbled themselues on their knees, confessing the iust merit of her praise: because (with so great perill of her life) she had saued her Countrey; enforcing her to vndergoe the Gouernment, which shee did, and ruled graciously vntill she had reduced the estate to perfect peace. Then, resigning vp her Office into the Senates hands: shee entred a Monasterie of Sacred Virgines, where shee liued priuately, and peaceably passed the remainder and rest of her dayes.

The death of Leander and Caluia his Mother.

Aretaphila made Princesse of the Countrey.

CHAP. X.

Of the Famous Philosopher Euxinus: And of a Letter sent by the Senate of the Athenians, to the Lacedemonians.

BEtweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, a verie cruell warre was waged, about the difference of certaine Confines, and in the field of battaile, the *Lacedemonians* being foyled and discomfited by the *Athenians*: the vanquished desired truce with the Victors, and for their easier attaining therto, they sent (as Ambassador) the renowned Philosopher *Euxinus*, who spake in so eloquent a style to the Senate, and onely in the praise of peace, deliuering such learned and pleasing allegations, as not only truce was granted to them, but also they freely gaue them those Confines, which they pretended was appertaining to thē, and (by the chance of warre) hadde lost. Such power had the Oration, deliuered by *Euxinus*; and the Senat of *Athens* back to thē, acquainted them with their minds in this maner.

Read Cælius Rhodeginus in his military Discourses. Lib. 3. cap. 9.

More obtayned then they desired or expected.

The Senate and People of Athens, send health and peace to the Lacedemonians.

WEE call the Goddes to Witnesse, that in the late passed battell betweene vs, Wee more greeued to see you so bloodily vanquished, then we ioyed in our owne fortune of victory: because the effects of Warre are such, that damage is certaine to the Conqueror, and benefit to the Conquered is doubtfull. Wee could heartily haue wished, that the demaund by you now propounded, had bene before in like manner required: but such is the lot falne both on you and vs, that you haue lost very much in this warre, and yet wee can boast of no benefit thereby. For the rule is most certaine, that whatsoeuer is appointed by the Gods, cannot be comprehended by humane iudgement, nor impeached by the power of man.

The euents of warre are vncertaine to either side.

What heauen hath ordaind, is not to bee disappointed.

You require truce for three moneths, to the end, that in that time, an agreemēt may be concluded betweene vs. Wee returne you answer, that the Senate of *Athens* neuer vsed to make truce, after they had begun a War: obseruing (as a most ancient Lawe) that either they accept of cruell warre, or else freely condiscend to perpetuall peace.

Wee labour and practise in the times of peace, to allure Wise-men into our Schooles, to helpe vs with their counsell in the times of Warre; and now they aduise vs, not to make a truce on suspected conditions: whetein wee thinke they counsell vs well, because a counterfeyte peace is more dangerous then an open waged warre.

The Philosopher *Euxinus* your Ambassadour, hath spoken so eloquently in the Senate, that we hold it vnreasonable, to deny any thing by him named: and therefore it is a matter more honest, to grant him peace that requires it by kinde words, then him that rudely askes it with the Weapon. Wherefore we tel you, and now giue you to vnderstand, that our Senate (with a franke and free hart) granteth to you Lacedemonians, loyall peace, deli-

Good wordes do ofte mo̅re then weapons can doe.

deliuering you from all suspition of war: And this wee doe, that the world may know, the *Athenians* are of so great spirite against the audacious, and so woorthie friends to such as are wise, that they both know how to chastise fooliſh Captaines, and how to be commanded by discreete Philosophers.

The occasion of the war betwen the two States.

Well wot yee, that all our difference hath growne about possession of Townes seated on the bankes of the Riuer *Milina*. By this letter we tell ye, and sweare thereto also by the immortall Gods, that wee freely renounce all right wee can pretend vnto them, on this condition: that (at our meeting) you shal giue vs your Ambassador *Euxinus*: for the happy *Athenians* do more affect a Philosopher in their schoole, then a whole Prouince for their Commonwealth. Yet *Lacedemonians* account it no acte of leuity in vs, to change towns and territories, to bee gouerned by one onely man: because the Philosopher can teach vs how to liue well, whereas such Countreyes may giue vs occasion of dying ill. And in regard, that (of auncient enemies) we now declare our selues your true louing Friends: We not onely deliuer you from Warre, and send you Peace; but likewise will giue you Counsell how to conserue it; for the Physicke that preserueth health, is farre more excellent then that which expelleth diseases. And this is the remedy which wee giue you.

A worthy estimation of Learning and learned men.

Honourable counsel giuen by the Athenians to the Lacedemonians.

As ye desire, that your yong men shal exercise themselues to Armes, in like manner bee as diligent, that your Children may haue Learning in due time: For, as Warre is made with cruell weapons, so with sweete words is peace sooneſt obtained. And thinke not (*Lacedemonians*) that wee heereto aduise yee without cause; for, in leauing the counsell of the Wise, and suffering ydlenesse to encrease among the people: it engendreth seditions and ciuill Warres, onely to make men murther one another. Nor would we haue ye thinke vs friends to busie pratlers; for our ancient Father *Socrates* appointed; that the first Lesson read to a Scholler in our Academy; was, that for the space of two yeares, hee should not dare to speake a word; beecause it is a matter impossible, that any man can be wise in speaking, except he be admirably patient in silence, and knoweth howe to hold his peace.

A busy talker can neuer bee a Wiseman.

May it please you then, to permitte *Euxinus* to remaine with vs, and immagine, that if wee hope for benefite by his presence; you may rest assured, that from such counsell as he giues vs, you cannot receiue any damage. For, it is a very ancient law in *Athens*, that the Senate may neuer attempt any Warre, vntil our Philosophers haue first made examination, whether the cause bee iust or no. So wee ceasse, praying both your and our immortall Goddes, to preserue you and vs in perpetuall peace: for that onely is perpetuall, that stands confirmed by the will of the Gods.

A conuenient law for euerie Christian kingdome.

CHAP. XI.

The true Module and Patterne of Gouernement, to be obserued in any Commonwealth; deriued from the communitie among Bees, and how many wayes they may be examples to men.

THE forme of a Cõmonwealth obserued amongst Bees, meethinkes is so proper and answerable vnto that of men: as it may bee verily presumed, that GOD gaue them it by a Naturall instinct, and for an instruction vnto our manner of Gouernement. This little Creature, is named by the Latines *Apis*, a deriuation from the Greeke, which signifieth to bee without feet: not in regard that it hath no feete, but because they do ioyne so closely and aptly with the body, as if indeede it had none at all.

The deriuation of the Latine word Apis from the Greeke.

Many haue written of their properties and qualities; as *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and many more: beside, I find in elder times, that *Hiliscus Tatius* was verie inquisitiue, to vnderstande the properties of these Creatures, and that he might render the sounder reasons of his knowledge; hee liued in Forests and solitarie places, where best he might attaine to his owne intent. And

Hiliscus Tatius a diligent searcher into the properties of Bees.

Aristomachus wrote diuerse bookes of the Bees qualities

And *Aristomachus* likewise, for the space of forty yeeres (without attending to any other exercise) gaue himselfe wholly to the same labour: and both of them wrote diuers Bookes very apt and worthy for all posterity.

A kinde of religious reuerence obserued in Bees, before comming forth of their hiues.

The first and most notable thing, obserued in the writings of moderne men, is, that they haue noted an admirable kinde of Religion in these little Creatures: For, before they wil yssue forth of their Hiues, they bow downe their heads forwarde in such humble manner, as if they were deuoutly at meditation on their knees. Declaring therein (euen by Naturall instinct as it were) to vs, that we should not vndertake, or beginne any thing, before wee haue first honoured God, and recommended our endeuours to his gracious goodnesse, that they be begunne and ended in his name. Very respectiue are they, that by the foode they gather from sweet Flowers, they may produce hony, beneficiall both for others and themselues; demonstrating thereby, that men should labour (by vertuous meanes) to performe good actions in their life time, auaileable both for themselues and others; considering, it is a duty required in men, and for vvhich they are born, not to labor for themselues, but also for their Countrey, and their Friends.

Men are not born for themselues, but for their countrie also.

They are content to liue in their owne habitation, without intruding for dwelling in anothers house, As a notable example to vs, that (for the peace of the Common-wealth) euery man should rest contented with his owne, without couetting or vsurping ought from any other.

No more but one king in euery hiue for order of Gouernment.

Euery Hiue hath his King, and both he and his attendants, doe shun noyses, clamours, and windes. Which teacheth vs, that we ought to haue one cheefe Commander in one Common-wealth, by whō all the rest may be well gouerned: & that we should shunne the smoake of Ambition, in being greater one then another in the Common-wealth, to the end, that there may be good discipline. Also, we should flie from all windes of vanities, tumults, partialities, and enmities. Flight, labour, foode, and fruite is common alike to euery one; to let vs vnderstand, the mutuall loue and charity which ought to be among Cittizens, in being helpful one to another: and partaking likewise in others distresses. for by this meanes, mens mindes become linked together in such amity, that the Commonwealth flourisheth in peace and quietnesse, and is a goodly president to other estates.

Mutuall loue and charity among the people, is no meane happinesse.

These creatures liue without lubricitie, although they engender more then any other. Which instructeth vs, that for the peace and repose of the people, men should haue care of childrens generation, to perpetuate their owne kind and the Common-wealth, without lusting after adulteries: but to liue chaste and temperate in pleasures carnall, the libertie wherof doth procure contentions, quarrels, and death.

A worthy president of continēcy in life.

They doe respect their King with such loue and obseruance, that they account it an honourable deede to die for him. And Saint *Ambrose* saieth thus: *They will not flye abroad, vntill they first see, vvhether he will flye foorth, or no: that they may keepe him company, in finding foode, and other effects for common benefite.* Which may minister example vnto men, for honouring their Prince, to whom GOD hath giuen such Authoritie, to bee assisted and imitated in those paines, which he taketh for the good of his people, hee being the principall of the Commonwealth.

Ambros. in Lib. de Cœna Dom. cap 9.

In what manner the Bees elect & make choise of their king.

They endeuour continually, to elect such a one for their King, as (in apparance) is most Noble, as also the mildest; not vsing his sting against anie other, which onely is as a punishment for offenders. Aduising vs heereby, to elect such for our Gouernors and Magistrates, as are of generous Nature, discreete, wise, and debonnaire. And these small creatures, are of such nature, that they who are of greatest bodie amongst them, are also (commonly) the most humaine and gracious. Signifying nothing else to vs, but that he ought to be most milde and courteous, that is exalted vnto the highest dignity, as well in Nobilitie of bloode, as in wealth and vertue: which things naturally beget enuy in others, and yet destroy themselues by humanitie, and conuerteth into loue. Most obedient are they to their King; and if any one haue declared disdaine, or disobedience, & the same bee discerned: hee neuer attendeth for other correction, but instantly slayeth himselfe with his sting. Whereby we are

A note for such as are highly aduanced.

Loue and fidelity to our superiours.

admoniſhed, to be faithfull and louing to our Prince or Magiſtrate, and fearefull to offend, euen to death it ſelfe.

No idlenes amongſt the Bees, but all imployed in ſeuerall offices, & all for general benefit.

No Bee is ſlothful or idle in the Hiue; for ſome flye forth to combate againſt other in open field: others watch to ſeeke for foode; others contemplate times, to foreſee when ſtormes and raines will enſue; others compoſe the hony Combes; others lay aſide the waxe by it ſelfe, and thereof others make little Lodgets, caries and rounds, in very ſtraunge and wonderfull order. Neuertheleſſe, in ſo many and ſundry offices, no one intrudes into anothers buſineſſe, or dare make any ſtealth or robbery from his companions: but by his owne labor and vertue, hee feedeth abroad on hearbes and flowers, and yet brings a part of his pains home, for generall good of the Commonwealth. Herein we haue a notable inſtruction, to abhor & baniſh out of our Cities, ſlothfull rogues and idle vagabonds, that will not liue by their owne labour as they ought to doe. Wherefore through ſuch deboſhment & negligence in men, all ſuch vices ariſe in Cities, as doe corrupt good manners, and ouerthrow order: for euery one ſhold liue vpon his owne endeuour, without vſurping ought of others; and what he hath ſuperfluous, is for generall aide of the Common-wealth, and to be miniſtred to others neceſſities.

A good admonition for Cities & incorporate townes to auoyd ydle liuers.

The weapons of defence for themſelues, & offending enemies to their State.

Nature hath giuen them ſtings to defend themſelues, and offend ſuch as dare aſſaiſe them, or preſume into their citty or hiue: and although they are not of any great corpulence, yet notwithſtāding they haue vnconquerable corage & prudence. For with the gum of trees, they annoynt the ſuperficies of their hiues, to the end, ỳ no beaſt or other enemy may enter in at any rift or chinke; and if the paſſage or iſſue be ouer large, they labor diligently to reſtrain and make it leſſe. By which example men are admoniſhed, to bee ſtout and couragious for defence of their countrie, and wiſely to foreſee, that no Vices enter into their Common-wealth, that may infect, corrupt, or poyſon it.

How they are naturally addicted in their diet and feeding, and what leaues and flowers doe moſt delight them.

By naturall inſtinct, they are enclined, that each one ſtaies on the firſt flower hee finds, and parts not thence away, vntill he haue taken his refection and noriſhment: whereof he wil diſcharge himſelfe, before he ſeekes out any other. And much they frequent the leaues and flowers of the Oliue tree, making there ſom long abiding: ſeruing vs as an example, what ſobriety wee ſhould vſe in the courſe of our Life. When they feed on the flowers of the Almond tree, their hony is the more ſauoury and temperate; whereas contrary-wiſe, when they feed on bitter herbs or flowers it is far leſſe ſweet: notwithſtanding, it is thinner, very mundificatiue, profitable for the opilations of the Liuer, and good for the dropſie, as alſo to heale the biting of a mad dogge.

Remedies for diuers diſeaſes.

Such as haue made triall by experience of theſe crearures, doe iuſtifie, that when their king cannot fly, he is carried abroad by troops of them; and during the time ỳ he liueth ſo ſickly, the females are ſeparated from the males. But when he is dead, then they conuerſe together again: which declareth, what pitty and piety wee owe to our Prince and countrey, and that men ſhold gladly ſupport and ſuffer for one another. The ſting of the female is ſharper then the males, & there are many males, that haue no ſtings at all. Hereby we may vnderſtand, that the tongues of women are more piercing then mens, & oftimes cauſe very great inconueniences: in which reſpect, they ſhould be kept ſhort & temperated, that their lauiſh liberty breed no blame and contention among neighbors. The beſt Bee is litle, round, cloſely plump bending in the midſt, and leaſt hairy. Som feed on flowers of the mountaines, others on them of Gardens and husbanded places: the firſt whereof, are much leſſe then the other, as alſo more ſtrong and robuſt, to endure labor. Beſide, according to *Pliny* they are of far dreadfuller aſpect, abiding in the rifts of trees, or in ſome ſmal vaults. And what fairer example can nature afford vs, then of their ſtrength and abilitie? For, ſuch people as are not educated in delicacies, but in continuall exerciſes of mind and body; are moſt profitable members for the Common-wealth. Cloſely they ply their worke in their hiues, & feed on the ſuperabundance of their Combes, knowing by meere inſtinct of nature, that if they ſhold not do ſo, & giue vigilant attendance: Spiders wold get into the hiue, & there kil thē. When they haue but ſmal ſtore of hony, the moſt of them keepes the entrance, ỳ it may not be taken from them vntill they are better prouided. A worthy preſi-

When the K. of Bees is ſick, & cannot flye

A good aduertiſement for Women.

Of mountain Bees, differing from other. *Pli. in l. 10. c. 18*

Who are the fitteſt members for the Common-wealth.

The danger of hatred and contention.

president to men, to banish all superfluous things out of their Common-wealth, least by the meanes of them, the venome of hatred may be bred among thē, which may procure the death of one another. And when dearth or scarsitie happens in their Cities, vigilancy is needfully required, to preserue such store as they haue; that it may not bee elswhere transported, & so publike calamity ensue thereon.

The idle Drones that make no hony

There are a kind of Bees which labour not to produce hony, but eate that already made, and they are longer then the other: the good Bees haue continuall war with them, to expell them out of their Commonwealth. Signifying to vs, that slothful persons should be excluded from other mens company: and such as seeke to feed by others sweat. Their King neuer flies abroad, but he is attēded round with a great company of Bees, and if it so happen, that they meet with another flight of Bees, that likewise haue their King vvith them, they leaue their owne, to accompany the new King. And if their owne King contend, to reduce them againe vnder his obedience; they kill him, and follow the other newly made choise of, and him they elect as their king. This excesse hapneth very sildom, & is one of the two imperfections which these creatures haue in their gouernment: beside, it is necessarie, that in euery kind there should be some vice. If they chance to sting hard, they put foorth the whole length of their sting; whereon themselues die withall, because their bowels issue out thereby.

A notable imperfection in the gouernement of Bees, worthy obseruation.

Their Kings and Gouernors sting but sildome, although they are thereto prouoked; for some say, that they haue no sting at all. And *Pliny* is not certaine, whether they haue any or no: but notwithstāding, he is well assured that they sting not: Neither care they that the king should be so armed, prouided, that he bee of good gouernment, valiant, & maiesticall: which proueth, that Princes ought to be benign, milde, and patient: neuer to take any delight in cruelty, but rather to be gentle & mercifull. Such is the cleanlines of these creatures, that they cannot endure any foule or noisom sauour; & therfore when they returne to their Cittie or Castle (for such they account their Hiue to be) they discharge their bellies in the aire, & many times (through bad smelles) they become sickly, and so soone as any one of them dyeth, the rest hurle him out of the Hiue. They grow sicke also thorow idlenes, and therefore they will not suffer any to bee slothfull amongst them: and the smell of boiled fish, such as Creuises, Lobsters, and Crab-fish is deadly to them. An excellent example for men to liue cleane & neatly, free from a vicious life, carefully respecting both their soules and bodies.

Pli in l. 10. *c.* 18

Vertues well suting with the maiesty of a Prince.

The neate cleanlinesse of Bees, exampling men to purity of life.

The winde is very contrary and hurtfull for them; and therefore when it is great, stiffe and boysterous, the hiues ought to be carefully couered. Warme places they affect in winter, as other creatures do, and in Summer, fresh aires are most fitting for them. It is very necessary to vse diligence, when the hony is taken from thē: because, if ouermuch be taken away, they will labour little; and if more likewise be left then is conuenient, they will bee the lesse diligent in making more, & therefore a moderate and reasonable quantity must remain, according to the number wherof they consist. What worthier example to men can there be then this? declaring that in the commonwealth, euery thing ought to be moderately measured; because ouer-great, pompous, and luxurious dyet, do but destroy famous families, abounding in al superfluous things. And yet not to be too niggardly and sparing in prouision needfully required. For as by the first children and seruants may become careless and negligent; so by the latter, they may grow wretched and desperate.

Their delight in winter and summer.

A caueate for taking thē hony from them

As lauish prodigality is not to bee vsed, so penurious niggardise deserueth reproofe

Another diligent care is required in thē that make vse of Bees, to witte, that when they heare their great swarming noise in the hiue, it is a significatiō that they wold be gone and leaue the hiue: but then if the hiue be gently sprinkled ouer with sweete wine, they will not stir abroad. Such as keepe them may easily take note heereof, because (ordinarily) they make no other noise then when they are flying: Wherein we are instructed, that by sweet language and kind behauiour, we may qualify sterne anger in discontented brethren.

A note foretelling when Bees would forsake their hiue.

Aristotle further saith, he did wel obserue it by experience, that their feet before are shorter then them behind; which is so giuen them by nature, for their easier rising from the ground. He saith moreouer, that when the hony corrupteth in the hiue, it engendreth certaine wormes, which make

Aristot. in Lib. Anim. 4. Cap. 14

Wormes that weaue ſpiders webbes in the hiue.

webbes like vnto Spiders; whereby they wexe ſicke, and dye. A very apt example for men, to bee vigilant and reſpectiue of themſelues, that the ſweet daies and proſperity in the world, doe not ſo corrupt their ſoules, as to beget the baneful worm of ambition, which is deadly. In moyſte times of raines, they multiply greatly, by reaſon of the humidity: and contrariwiſe they decreaſe in the times of drought, thorow want of moiſture. Alſo in Winter, their ſtrength much faileth them, in regard of cold weather, ſnowes, and windes out of the North; which hindereth theyr fruitefulneſſe, and therefore they keepe cloſely hidden. But when the Flowers of Beans begin to ſprout, they come abroad to labour: and the firſt worke they doe at home, is to builde their dwelling houſes, next to engender, & then to yeeld hony.

Reaſons of their multiplying & decreaſing.

Three rampiers of defence to guard their hony combes

They make three ſeuerall rampiers before their Combes, as their guarde and ſtrength; the firſt cruſt (being vtmoſt) they make bitter; the ſecond (within) ſomewhat ſweeter; and the third, thickeſt of al, becauſe it ioyneth next to the Combes; & thus is the foundation of their defence. A good inſtruction for men, how to ſhape their building in this worlde, to vſe diligence in their prouiſion, ſo ſoone as they can, eſpecially of things neceſſary; then to marry, for encreaſe of children, and ſtill to keepe employment in naturall exerciſes.

Their flight abroad, & hinderance from returning home at night

When they flye foorth vpon ſome vrgent occaſions, and are preuented by night, ſo that they cannot returne home vnto their owne habitation; they ſleepe topſie turuy, the vpſide downe, becauſe cold miſts, fogs and raines ſhould not offend their wings, to hinder their flight home to their owne houſes, or execution of their other enterprizes and affaires.

The Sentinell to awake thē in the mornings.

Sentinels they haue of their owne appointment, who make a noiſe at break of day, by which ſound they all awake; and turning themſelues on their feete, they make a noiſe againe to their Sentinels, as a thankfull ſigne of ioy: but then, vppon another ſound from the ſame Sentinelles, they are all ſilenr, as attending what inſtāt charge is to be giuen them. Informing our iudgements, in times of warre to bee very vigilant; well prouided, and no way negligent. Excellent experience haue they, when raines and vnſeaſonable times will enſue, which they foreſee by flying abroad in the Euenings, about their owne needfull occaſions; and finding it to follow as they feared, they will not by anie meanes boudge from home.

A wonderfull order naturally obſerued among them, the young laboring for the elder.

They haue (beſide) a maruellous order among them; namely, that the youngeſt Bees flye abroad, and bring home the foode; the elder ſort biding at home, to dreſſe and prepare it. But that which is yet far more admirable is, that when the yong ones arriue, laden with hearbes and flowers laborioufly; ſome of the aged ſort do meet them at the entrance, and help to eaſe them of their burthen. Moreouer, ſuch as come ſo home ouer-charged, ſeeke the ſweeteſt aires to paſſe thorow, and where they are calmeſt: as fearing, leaſt rude winds ſhould make them let fal what they haue carefully gathered, or dry vppe their honey, and therefore they flye lower towards the ground: and ſuch as can bring home no lading, are woont to carrie little ſtones or grauell, that by the weight of them, they may the better reſiſt impetuous windes.

A notable admonition for the better ſupporting of the Commonwealth.

By this precedent example, yong men are admoniſhed, that they ought to ſtirre and labour in the Commonwealth; & the more aged, to preſerue the fruits of their paines. Yong men alſo, that do buſy their braines in the bluſterings of ambition; ſhould take a lower flight, and neerer to the ground, eſteeming themſelues to bee no more then men: conſidering vprightly in their ſoules, that whatſoeuer benefit enſueth by their paines to the Commonwealth, they ſtand bound thereto by obligation. Let no man therefore ouer-ween, or ſtriue to outgo or be aboue other, except his contention be honorable, & that his trauell may moſt aduance the good of the Commonwealth.

The King powerfully defended by his Corps du Guard: & flying abroade with his army.

While thus theſe poore creatures are laboring abroad, their Ki. abides at home, hauing a ſtrong court of guard about him wel armed with their ſtings, for the defēce of his perſon. He goeth abroad but very ſildom, and when it is his pleaſure to goe forth, he is (in like manner) royally attended. But whē he wil haue his army abroad to any expedition; three daies before, loud ſummons is giuen for orderly preparatiō. If any troop of them ſwerue from following him, they find their error, by ſmelling to the ground where the King hath paſt, & ſo purſue in that tract, vntill they ouertake him.

him. It is to be admired, how highly they are comforted in his presence: for if he be lost by their negligence, the army looseth it selfe, and then they go to ioyne with another King. *Pliny* also reporteth, that whē their king dieth, they are so full of anguish and sorrow, that they will neither feed nor flye abroad for any prouision: so that if he be not taken away dead from before thē, they will also dye with greefe and hunger. Tutoring vs heerein, that if strifes & variances happen among vs, they should not last of any continuance: also howe the death of our Prince should be irkesom to vs, becausse little benefit cometh by changing Gouernors. Thus we perceiue, how many good examples may bee deriued from the Bees Common-wealth, not vtterly vnnecessary for our imitation.

Plin. in lib. 11. cap. 17.

Kingdoms fildome gain by chaunge of Princes.

CHAP. XII.

How sinfull and dangerous a thing it is, to desire reuelations from the dead, or knowledge of things belonging to future life.

LIke as God, who hath created vs without our selues, wil not saue vs without our selues: euen so hath he giuen the ground-worke of all meanes for our saluation, which is Faith, with hope of all those blessings, which (in the ancient Law) he hath promised, concerning the life to come, which also hee hath reuealed by his owne sonne, and are not to bee obtained without beleefe and hope in him. But humane frailty, or to speake more properly, Faith in man is so weake, that when the glorie which God hath ordained for that life is preached to him, he answeres, he beleeues it: But yet notwithstanding (saith he) it is a matter of no meane meruaile, that of so many men as haue dyed; not so much as one man is returned back, to tell vs the secrets of that other life.

The absolute foundation of eternall life in the worlde to come.

The very greatest signe of incredulity, that can be in the heart of man (in mine opinion) is this earnest desire, to wish from God a reuelation of the life to come. For seeing that faith consisteth in beleefe, and to hope in such things as are not apparant if they were reuealed to vs: why then faith remaineth no more, and so the singulare meanes of saluation should be taken from vs I say moreouer, that by such manner of reuelation, not onely should faith bee destroyed, but also it would bee an occasion in vs, whereby to runne into great error against God, as wee may easily prooue by this argument.

The chiefest note of incredulity in man.

Admit the case, that our father, mother, or brother were raised, and returned again into this world, euen in the same flesh as they parted from vs: and to the end, wee might the more confidently credit them, to be the very same persons, they did eate, drinke, & conuerse with vs (as our blessed Sauior of the world did with his Apostles, to auoide all scruple of doubt, that they were not shadowes or phantasmaes) they reuealing to vs, matters belonging to that concealed life: no doubt need to be made but wee would listen, and verily beleeue whatsoeuer they said to bee true. If this were so, all were but man, hauing a bodie and a soul, and we beleeue him, whom we credit to be but a man, who is a liar by nature. Hereon then it followeth, that in giuing faith to him, we shal shew our selues rather to beleeue a man, naturally a Lyar; then God, who is the soueraigne truth indeed, and cannot lie, but hath oftentimes repeated to vs, what rewarde is prepared for the good, and what punishment for the wicked.

An argument to approoue the infallibility of the matter alledged of reuelations by the deade.

God onely is true, & al men lyars.

I thinke then, there is no man, but he wil confesse it a greeuous sinne, if hee should lend faith to a reuelation, desired by a retched man, to beleeue the creature, rather then the Creator. Let no man then couet that which may redound to his own damnation; considering, what God hath bestowed vpon him, and also what is denied for his saluation, when hee may helpe to worke it with feare and trembling. If all are tyed to this conclusion, so much the more it belongeth to a Christian, whom our Sauior hath taught to beleeue, whatsoeuer hee hath reuealed in the Scripture, And saith in the Parable of the Glutton, that to know heauenly things, wee haue the Lawe and the Prophets to instruct vs sufficiently.

The creature ought not to beleeued, but the Creator onely.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a Disputation made in Antioche, in the presence of King Ptolomy, by seuen seuerall Ambassadors; to know, which of their kingdomes had the best Lawes and Customes.

KIng *Ptolomy* being at *Antioche*, Ambassadors from the *Romaines*, *Carthagenians*, *Sicilians*, *Rhodians*, *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, & *Sicyonians*, came thither vpon seuerall occasions to him. And sitting at supper with the King, a disputation chaunced to bee moued, cõcerning the condition of their Countries and Common-weales, which of them was best policied, and prouided of good Lawes and commendable Customes. The dispute was long debated & maintained among them, being defended with good and sufficient reasons. Whereuppon, King *Ptolomy*, being desirous to be resolued in the truth, commãded each man to speake the customes in their kingdomes: whereby might best be discerned, which of the Prouinces merited most to be commended.

The argumẽt moued to the Ambassadors by the King, for a resolution therein.

The Ambassador for the *Romanes* first began, and answered in this maner. We hold our Temples in great and reuerend respect; wee are obedient to our Gouernours; and greeuously we punish wicked and lewd liuers.

For the Romaines.

He for *Carthage* next spake, saying. In the Common-wealth of *Carthage*, our Noblemen fight for vs; our Plebeians & Mechanickes labour for vs; and our Philosophers enstruct vs.

Carthage.

He for the *Sicilians*, said. In our Common-wealth, Iustice is intirely kept; our Negotiations are truly managed, and all liue equally together.

Sicily.

Hee for the *Rhodians*, saide. In our Common-wealth, our olde men are honest; our young men bashfully modest; and our women liue solitarily, vsing but few words.

Rhodes.

The *Athenian* Ambassador saide. In our Common-wealth, we neuer consent, that rich men shall be partiall, poore men idle, nor our Gouernors ignorant.

Athens.

He for the *Lacedemonians*, said. In our Common-wealth, enuy cannot reigne, because we are all equall; nor auarice, because all our goods are in common; nor idlenesse, because all labour.

Sparta or Lacedemon.

In our common-wealth (said the Ambassadour for the *Sicyonians*) wee permit none to voyage foorth abroad, because at his returning home, hee shal not teach & instruct vs in matters of nouelties; neither do we suffer Physitians, who may kil our healthfull men; nor do we allow Orators, because we couet not quarrelling causes.

Sicyonia.

When King *Ptolomy* had heard all the seuen Ambassadors, he highly commended all their kingdomes; affirming, that they were all well and iustly gouerned. That each of them had good Customs, worthily deseruing commendation: and that it was hard for him to iudge, which of them was best ruled and ordered. So the Ambassadors taking their leaue of the King, returned home vnto their seuerall countries, very ioyful and contented, that the king had dealt with them so graciously in iudgement.

The answere of King Ptolomy to the Ambassadors.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of a very proud and sumptuous Temple (dedicated to Venus) in the City of Corinth, in the seruice whereof, were fiue hundred Ladies: And of the answer of an Abbesse to a great Lord.

IN *Corinth*, the principall City of **Achaia*, liued a tyrant, famous for wealth & vicious life, firnamed *Herion*; who caused a sumptuous Temple to be built in the middest of the City, in the maner of a Monastery, & dedicated it to the Goddesse *Venus*. In this abhominable Temple, were more then 500. yong Ladies & Gentlewomen of *Asia*, whom their fathers there offred to the Goddesse *Venus*, and to her seruice: so that such of them as were most wan-

*A part of Greece, containing Attica. Boetia, Megaris, Aetholia, and Phocis.

ton

A wicked custome obserued in this detestable Temple.

ton and lasciuious, were held in greatest estimation, and reputed to be most holie and religious. It was not lawfull for any of them to go out of the Temple; but each one might there sinne, and please her selfe with such as shee best liked, and as often as shee would: so that all their Religion consisted not in being honest and vertuous maydens, but they had power to doe what they pleased.

No married wiues or widdowes might offer in this Temple, but Virgins onely

Among them was an other Lawe also, that if any of them had a mind to marrie, shee must gaine or winne her dowrie, by the infamy of her body, which was permitted that she might so doe. Moreouer, that beside her husband, she mighi haue an amorous friend: for, in being dedicated to the goddesse of Loue, they intended, not to loose the name of Wanton and Amorous. And no married wife or widdow, might offer in this Temple, but onely virgines. And such as were so vnhappy, or wretched in fortune, to come and offer their Oblations there: before a yeare was expired, became a she diuell in this hellish sanctuarie; and, of a chaste virgin, a shameless and lasciuious strumpet.

Exercises too good for so lewd a kinde of life.

All such as had admittance there, were expert in reading, writing, singing, playing on instrumenrs, and dancing. Wherby men were allured thither extraordinarily, and it was no shame for them to bee seene there.

Monasteries of lewd Nuns in Iappan, and their abhominablequalities

The like Temples are (at this day to be seene) in the *Portugall Indiaes*, in the Prouinces of *Iappan*, where there are aboue eight hundred Monasteries, the least of which hath more then thirtie Nunnes in it, called there *Bonzes*; whereof there are two sorts: one clothed in blacke, the other in lighter colours.

It is a common fame in those Countries, that these *Bonzes* doe feede on a certayne hearbe, to auoyde conceiuing with childe: but if conception can not be preuented, then they eate another hearbe, to destroy the infant conceiued. They enstruct yong maydens in reading, and such is the sottishnesse of the people, to credit verily, that they can deliuer the soules of their deceassed parents from Hell; and therefore (in that respect) they are greatly honoured and reuerenced.

We our selues in these dayes (almost monstrous and miserable) neede not trauaile so farre off, to find out Monasteries, where Religious women or Nunnes (if wee may tearme them Religious) leade their liues as lewdly and dissolutely, whereof themselues make no other concealement, but that all commers and goers, finde there exceeding kinde wellcome. Which ensueth by ouer-much libertie & ydlenesse, or else, by being placed there by their parents, contrary to their owne liking. But the good and vertuously disposed (whereof there are many) are not comprehended amongest these deboshed women: And as for the voluptuous and immodest; they regarde not who knowes their looseneesse, and may well say of themselues, as an Abbesse did, of whom *Nicholas Boyerus* maketh mention in his Decisions. She had fortie Nunnes vnder her charge, and there belonged to that Monastery twenty Priests.

Monasteries of Nuns neerer home, liuing as lewdly

Nicholas Boyerus in li. de Decis. Dist. 17.

It came to passe, that a Prince, whose predecessours had founded that Monasterie, passing that way, and visiting the Religious companies: found all (else-where) in good order, except the number of Priests, and these Nunnes, whose number he thought not well ordayned; whereupon hee sayde to the Abbesse. Truely Madame, me thinkes, that in stead of fourty Nunnes, fortie Priests had beene better appoynted, and twenty Nunnes onelie had beene sufficient. My Lord (quoth she) perhaps the order is not so ill contriued, as you imagine it to be, neither is it to be condemned: for, of the fortie Nuns heere appointed, twenty are for the twentie Priests; and the other twenty serue for all comers and goers.

The conference betweene a Prince & the Lady Abbesse

CHAP. XV.

¶ *Of the Oracle of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos, the Originall thereof, and vpon what occasion it came.*

THE most renowned Oracle long since in *Asia*, was that of *Apollo* in the Isle of *Delphos*, whither resorted infinite persons, and from all parts of the world: offering there great gifts, and consulting on especiall matters, because

* A Citty and People of Bæotia, by Pernassus.

In what manner answer was giuen before the Temples erection.

becauſe more aunſweres were returned thence, then from all other Oracles. At the firſt, there was a deepe, crooked, winding caue or ditch, out of which iſſued a winde, that blew extremely at the mouth or entrance; thereon was ſeated a yoong Virgine, dedicated to *Apollo*, that gaue aunſwere to all things demaunded of her. This winde was the diuell, who blew into her eares; and before the Temple was builded in *Delphos*, a ſhe-Goat deſcending downe into that caue or ditch, became ſuddenly filled with a diuine Spirit, daunſing, skipping and leaping for ioy, as the like had neuer bin ſeene before. Whereat the Goate-heard wondering, followed her downe into the caue, and beganne to fore-tell of things to come. Many more beſide made proofe in the ſame maner; ſo that whoſoeuer would know what was to enſue, moſt put his head into the entrance of the caue.

The reaſon for building the Temple.

But in the end, this could not be doone without daunger, and loſſe of many perſons: whereupon a Temple was erected to *Apollo* the Diuiner, and the Prieſt named *Pythia*, who made choice of a Virgine, to be placed on the *Tripos*: whereof *Lactantius* the Grammarian ſpeaketh thus, interpreting this Verſe of *Achilles Statius*, in his firſt Booke of his *Thebays*.

Lactant. Grammat. in Achil. Stat. lib. Thebayd.

Salue priſca fides Tripodam.

Tripos (ſaith he) *ſpecies eſt lauri tribus radicibus, Apollini conſecrata, propter vim diuinationis.* *Iamblichus*, in his booke of the *Aegyptian* Myſteries, ſaith; *Sybilla, in Delphis duobus modis ſuſcipiebat Deum, vel per ſpiritum quendam tamen igneúmque, qui erumpebat alicubi ex ore antri cuiuſdam, vel ſedem in adyto ſuper ſedem aneam, habentem tres aut quatuor pedes, & Deo dicatam.*

Iamblic. in lib. Egipt. Miſt. cap. 5.

The Virgine that was the Organe of *Apollo*, ſitting on the *Tripos*, held a Rod in her hand, and was crowned with a greene Chaplet of Laurell.

Many other Oracles there were in diuers other places. *Liber* was the Oracle of the *Sicilians*; *Ceres*, that of the *Rhodians*; *Diana*, of the *Epheſians*; **Berecinthia*, of the *Romaines*; *Belus*, of the *Paleſtines*; *Iuno*, of the *Numidians*; *Venus*, of the *Thebans* and *Cypriots*; and many others, in whom poore abuſed Idolaters repoſed all their confidence, rendring to them their Vowes and Sacrifices, albeit vtterly in vaine. For, the anſwers of theſe Oracles, were nothing elſe but ydle imaginations, and meere fables proceeding from the diuell, the father of lies. And by good right were ſuch abuſes and ſuperſtitions condemned, by them that had knowledge of our true eternall God; as *Dauid*, *Baruch*, and other holy men, who deteſted ſuch Idolls and Images of the Gentiles, made of golde, ſiluer, ſtone, wood, and other matter, and by the hand of man.

* One of the names giuen to Bacchus. Cibele, mother of the Gods.

CHAP. XVI.

¶ *What care our Elders had in ancient times, concerning the performance of their Sacrifices.*

Pagans and Chriſtians haue bin carefull of Religion in all times.

AN auncient cuſtome (good and commendable) hath euermore beene, not onelie on the behalfe of Chriſtians, but alſo amongſt the *Ethnickes*: in acknowledging the benefite they receiued from God; not by wordes alone, but alſo by effects and exterior Sacrifices. So that there is no Nation ſo barbarous, but hath confeſſed his God, by ſome outward ſigne. And the Roman Senate did alwayes holde Religion in veneration, that ſo often as they met together (as *Varro* reporteth.) *Although they had affaires of great importance, and which required haſtie diligence: yet the firſt thing that they propounded to themſelues (before deciſion of any doubts) was religious humiliation to their gods.*

Marcus Varro in lib 1. de Relig cap. 8.

At all times, and whenſoeuer the Romaine Conſulls or Emperours ſhould go forth to warre, they neuer would prepare for the field, till they had firſt ſacrificed to their gods, ſaying; *All felicitie and proſperitie proceeded from them.* And *Marcus Aurelius* ſaith; *They helde it for an infallible rule, that there can be nothing perfect among mortall men, except it bee perfected by God.* *Lycurgus*, the auncient Law-maker of the *Lacedemonians*, among other Lawes, ordayned: *That no man ſhould be ſo bolde to ſeeke for fauor from a Prince, except he were knowne to ſerue the Gods diligently.* Nor do I alledge theſe examples, as intending to confirme my ſaying by Pagans and Idolaters: but onely to make vs bluſh with ſhame, by ſeeing, how farre they exceeded vs in pietie and religion.

Ammianus Marcel. in lib. 7. cap. 3.

Mar. Aurelius in Horolog. Princ.

A law made by Licurgus.

For,

For, if wee would reade Histories, we should finde, that Gentiles and Pagans sought carefully, to recouer all their necessities from the gods.

The admirable piety of the Ladies & Matrones of Rome.

In the time of *Quintus Fabius* and *Publius Decius*, they warring against the *Samnites* and *Hetrurians*, the Roman Matrons performed wonderfull things, neuer ceasing day and night, in offering great Sacrifices to the gods, saying: *If they were once appeased, they needed not to stand in feare of their enemies.*

Examples of the children of God.

But leaue we Idolaters, and let vs seeke what the auncient children of God did, who at all times, and whensoeuer they were afflicted, had their recourse to Sacrifices, when they would expresse their thankefulnesse to Almighty God, for benefites receiued. *Noah*, after hee came foorth of the Arke, erected an Altare, sacrificed thereon, and the sacrifice was so acceptable to God, that he promised him, neuer more to drowne the world agayne. Genes.8,18, 20,21.

Good *Iaacob*, being gone from the house of *Laban*, to giue thankes to God, built an Altare, which hee consecrated to God. Gen.31,54.

The children of *Israel*, beeing afflicted in the wilderneſſe, sayd: *Let vs go on for three dayes, and afterward wee will sacrifice vnto our God.* Exod.15,12.

We reade in *Esdras*, that after the children of *Israel* were returned, to re-edifie their Temple, that they might sacrifice to God; they were so carefull, that building with one hand, they helde their weapons in the other, to defend them from their enemies. 1 Esdras 4,3

In *Leuiticus*, mention is made of innumerable Sacrifices, whereby God pardoned offences committed. Leuit.5,6,7.

Hereupon *Daniel* being in the captiuitie of *Babylon*, and seeing the Sacrifices to be forsaken, sayd: *In these times, there is heere neyther Prince, Gouernour, nor Prophet, nor Holocaust, nor Sacrifice, nor Oblation, nor Incense, nor place to offer our First-fruites on before thee: Receiue therefore vs, with our soules broken, and our spirites cast downe.* Dan.3,9.

Elias also, lamented grieuously, because the Altares were ouerthrowne, and in his earnest zeale to God, vnable to suffer such ruine, desired to die. 3 Reg.19,14.

The contempt of gods seruice must needs draw downe vengeance.

For without all doubt, nothing is more miserable, then when the seruice of Almightie God is despised, and where it faileth, a punishment from God surely followeth.

Aarons sonnes, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, were consumed with fire from heauen, before all the people; because they obserued not the Lawe ordayned for the Sacrifices. Leuit.10,2.

King *Balthasar*, prophaning the vessels of gold and siluer, dedicated to the Temples seruice, to serue his wiues & concubines for drinking therein at his Table: diuinely sawe a Hand writing on the wall, foretelling his neere approching ruine; so that he was taken by his enemies, and slayne the same instant. Dan.5,2.

Achab, hauing prophaned the holy place, erected a Temple to the Idoll *Baal*: but afterwardes, going against the *Syrians*, he was slayne with an Arrow shot from a bowe. 3 Reg.22,35

The Records of Histories doe also tell vs, that *Pompey*, hauing made a Stable of Gods Temple, after hee had robbed, ransackt, & spoyled *Ierusalem*, became thereby so abominable to GOD, that thence forward he was most vnfortunate. And although hee had before vanquished two and twentie Kings, yet at the last, himselfe was miserably ouercome. The sonne of *Darius* was so prowde and presumptuous, that hee would not onely abuse men, but euen the gods also, and sent foure thousand men to beate downe the Temple of *Apollo*: but so great a hayle and tempest fell from Heauen, that destroyed them euery man. For this cause, the good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, writing a Letter to the King of * *Trinacria*; reproued him greatly, because he had beaten downe a moity of the temple, to enlarge his house. *Thou thinkest* (quoth he) *that the stones and morter, wherewith the Temple was built, to be of small value: it is very true; but the Gods to whom they are dedicated, are most mightie. I wish therefore, if thou would haue peace with the Romaines, (hauing scandalized Rome, and grieued the Senate) that thou shouldest take as much of thy house to enlarge the Temple, as thou hast taken from it, and build it a great deale higher, and wider then it was; and then thou shalt be happie, in taking nothing from the house of the Gods, but rather that they possesse part of thine.*

Pompey made a Stable of Gods Temple and the punishment therefore inflicted on him afterward.

* The Isle of Sicily.

The words in the Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the King of Trinacria.

The *Athenians*, who were alwayes conquered by the *Lacedemonians*, in many wars which they haue had together: complayned to their God, because they had exceeded in their Sacrifices to him, farre beyond those of the *Lacedemonians*. But the Oracle of *Iupiter* made them answere thus:

The Oracle of Iupiter answering the Athenians.

thus. *The humble and sincere Sacrifices of the Lacedemonians, are more agreeable to the Gods, then all the exteriour pompe of the Athenians.* In which respect, we holde it as a Catholique maxime, That God giueth eare to the prayers of the humble, and reproueth those of the presumptuous. *Deus enim superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* For God resisteth the prowde, and giueth grace to the humble; so sayth Saint *Peter.*

1 Peter 5,5.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ *Of diuers and sundry opinions of the Philosophers, concerning the seate of the soule in the body of Man; And a contrarie coniecture of the Platonists.*

Variety of coniectures diuersly deliuered.

PLato and *Democritus* say, *That the seate of the Soule is in the head. Straton* the Philosopher limitteth it; *Betweene the eyebrowes. Eraſtratus* within the skinne or filme of the Braine. *Heraclitus* placeth it, *in the outward agitation. Moschion* giues it place, *throughout all the bodie. Xenocrates, in the crowne of the head. Parmenides, Epicurus,* the *Stoickes* and *Aegyptians, lodge it wholly in the heart*: as the like doth *Orpheus. Xerxes,* King of *Persia,* thought it to be *in the eares. Empedocles, in the heape or pile of the bloud. Philo* the Iew, in his Booke of Allegories of the Lawe, saith thus. *The reasonable facultie or part of the soule, is in the head; the irrascible, in the heart, and the concupiscible, in the groine, or lower part of the belly.*

Philo Iudaic. in lib. Allegor. leg. cap. 9.

Opinion of Christians.

But we Christians, hold it to be in the *heart,* whence proceedeth good and euill cogitations. Saint *Augustine* in his booke concerning the knowledge of true Life, writeth thus; *The Soule is dispersed thoroughout all the body, and keepeth wholly in euery part thereof. Very true it is* (sayth he also) *that it yeeldeth far greater effects and actions, in some one place, then other: either by the will, which in that place sendeth out his strength; or else by those instruments, proper and commodious for action.*

Aug. in lib. ver. vit. cap. 33.

The opinion of the Platonists concerning the signs Cancer and Capricorne.

The *Platonists* say, *That the Soule descendeth by Cancer, and mounteth agayne by Capricorne;* and I thinke, that from hence they ground this coniecture. *Because Cancer is the house of the Moone,* the vertue whereof gouerneth ouer the vegetable parts, it viuifieth the body; And *Capricorne* is the house of *Saturne,* which presideth for contemplation, whereto the Soule being freed from the body it may walke at libertie.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ *How men ought to shunne and auoyde Curiositie; And what penalties and punishments were appoynted by our Auncients, for curious people.*

THE *Athenians* had a Lawe, which was well obserued among them, whereby euery man was forbidden (of what degree or qualitie soeuer he were) that hee should not dare, to enquire of any stranger, newly arriued in their Cittie: from whence he came, what hee was, nor what he sought for; vnder penaltie for him that demaunded such questions, to be well whipt with roddes, and banished his Countrey. The end, for which our graue Auncients made such Lawes, was, to keepe men from the vice of curiositie; which is alwayes ouer-ready, to prie into other mens affaires, and be regardlesse of their owne.

The Athenians Law against curious Questionists.

Plutarch, Aulus Gellius and *Pliny* doe thinke, that they can neuer sufficiently commend *Marcus Portius* the Romaine, because no man did euer heare him, to enquire what newes were at *Rome*; nor how the people liued in their houses. His talke alwayes was, of such things as hee knew was profitable for the Commonwealth, or else fitted such demaunds as required necessary answere. *Plato,* writing of *Dionysius* the *Syracusan,* speaketh thus: *The curious man, that would know the life and actions of another man; is more friend to his enemies, then to himselfe. For, hee will quickely bestirre his tongue, in talking of his enemy, and what harme hee knoweth by him; but neuer cares what foule offences himselfe hath committed.*

The great wisedome of Marcus Portius the Romaine.

Plato in lib. de Legib. 3. cap. 5.

A King of *Sparta* requested *Pindarus* to tell him, what was the most difficult thing for a man to doe? Whereunto *Pindarus* thus replyed; *Nothing is more easie for a man, then to reproue an other; nor more difficult*

The answer of the Poet Pindarus.

ficult, then to endure reprehension in himselfe.

Penethes a famous Philosopher of Thebes, his saying.

Penethes, who among the *Thebanes* was a Philosopher much renowned, could neuer be numbred among the curious, nor condemned with the malicious. He hauing liued as a Philosopher, for the space of thirtie yeares, in the Academies of *Thebes*; being blamed by some, because hee did not reprehend the sinnes which hee sawe committed, answered: *When I know that I haue no sinne in my selfe, then will I beginne to reprooue sinne in other.*

The answer of Plato to Dyonisius the Tyrant.

Plato departing from *Sicilie*, for his returne to *Greece*, and taking his leaue of *Dionysius*, the King spake thus vnto him. After thou commest among the Philosophers of *Greece*: O how ill wilt thou speak of me, and of my tyranny? *Plato* answered; Doubt not *(Dionysius)* what I shall speake of thee in the hearing of Philosophers: for their manners are so vertuous, and themselues so imployed in their studies; that they haue no time to heare idle talke. Moreouer he sayd; Know, O *Dionysius*, if thou beest ignorant, that such is the height of our Philosophie, as to perswade and councell men, Then euery one should iudge himselfe, and not to busie his brains, to defame or reproue the liues of other.

A good aduice if it were well obserued

King Lysimachus conferring with the Poet Philippides.

Philippides, who was the first inuenter of Comedies, being a great friend to king *Lysimachus*; the King conuersing with him vpon a day, sayd; What dost thou desire of me *(O Philippides)* and I will freely graunt it thee, whatsoeuer thou requirest? The greatest grace (quoth *Philippides*, that thou canst giue me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy secrets. O wise and worthy answere! read by many, and vnderstoode of few: For, if this Philosopher would not know the secrets of a King, much lesse would hee vnderstand them of his neighbours.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *Of the three Conquests of England, by the Saxons, Danes and Normans; occasioned by the sinnes, either of the Princes, or of tht People, or of both.*

IF wee consider the three diuerse Conquests of *England*, since it receyued the Christian faith, and the state thereof at the same time, together with the iudgement and testimony of the grauest Authors that haue written thereof; we shall easily see, that the same haue proceeded of no other cause, but by the sinnes of the Princes, or of the People, or of both. For, although the infirmitie of man is such, as there neuer wanteth matter for Gods Iustice to punish in Common-wealths (by reason whereof, we see, that in all Countries, the people are scourged more or lesse from time to time, not onely particularly euery one in his owne person, with misaduentures, sickenesse, losse of goods, death of children, and such like, but also generally, with plagues, famine, inundations and warres) yet the subuersion of Common-wealths neuer chaunceth, but for some great excesse of sinne, eyther in the Prince, or in the People, or in both: And commonly, after many warnings & admonitions giuen by gentle and sweete corrections. Such being the longanimitie and patience of Almighty God, that he layeth the Axe at the foote of the tree, long before he cutteth it downe, and trieth all means to cure the soares of his seruants, by lenetiues and fomentations, rather then by cauterisings and incisions, or by cutting off the infected mẽber, which hee neuer doth, but when there is no other remedy.

The causes of the three cõquests of England by the Saxons, Danes and Normans.

Great excesse of sinne in Prince, people, or both.

The proceedings of Almighty God towards his owne people, like to the course hee held with the Britaines.

This course (we see) hee helde with his owne people, for, though hee often chastised them with famine, pestilence, inuasions of enemies, and ciuile wars: yet (after a while) he euer restored them to tranquilitie, plentie and peace, vntill they prooued so incorrigible, that the Prophet *Ieremi* in the second chapter, and the thirtieth verse, lamented, in the person of God, that all his Fatherly corrections were lost vppon rhem, saying: *Frustra percussi filios vestros:* I haue beaten and chastised your children in vaine. And againe, the aforesayd Prophet in the fifth chapter and in the third verse, saith to Almightie God; *Percussisti eos, &c.* Thou hast beaten them (O Lord) and they haue not beene sorie; thou hast consumed them, and they haue refused to receiue correction. As who would say, there is no other remedy left, but reprobation, subuersion, and vtter extirpation of them. And therefore Almightie God

gaue

gaue them ouer into the hands of their enemies; first, the tenne Tribes in *Samaria*, as in the fourth booke of the *Kings* the seuenteenth chapter and eighteene verse, which were all taken with their King *Hosea*, and translated into *Syria*. And afterward also, the other two Tribes in *Iuda*, were carried into captiuitie by *Nabuchadonosor* king of *Babylon*, where they remayned three score and ten yeares. And though they were afterwards restored to their Countrey, and their Temple reedified; yet at length they were (for their extreame ingratitude, and peruerse obstinacie) vtterly ruinated.

The patience which God vsed towards the Britaines before their Conquest.

The like proceeding Almighty God vsed with *England*, in the time of the *Brittaines*, after they receyued the Christian Faith; for he chastised them, sometimes with dearth and famine, sometimes with pestilence, and other-whiles with incursions of their enemies, and with ciuill warres amongest themselues: so long as the same sufficed to reduce them vnto repentance, and amendment of their sinfull liues, as sometimes it did; which their famous Countrey-man *Beda*, and auncient *Guildas* called, the *Sage*, doe testifie: Declaring, that the *Brittaines*, being partly driuen by famine, and partly by inuasion of *Scottes*, and *Pictes*, eyther to abandon the Country, or to hide themselues in the Mountaines, Woods, and Caues; craued helpe and succour of the Romaines, writing vnto them that lamentable Epistle, whereof *Guildas* maketh mention; in the which they sayd: Our barbarous enemies doe driue vs to the Sea, and the Sea doth driue vs backe to them agayne: so that of two kindes of death we haue our choice; that is to say, Whether we will haue our throates cut, or else be drowned. Thus wrote they to the Romaines.

The miserable state of the Britains inuaded by the Picts and Scots. *Guildas de excidio Britan.*

The Britains destitute of humane help, had recourse to the diuine, and obtained it.

Beda Eccles. Hist lib.1.c.14. Guildas de excid. Britan.

But being not succoured by them, by reason of their great warres at the same time with *Attila*, they beganne to haue recourse to the mercie of God, and to relie wholly vppon his helpe (as the foresayd Authors haue reported) and so (with his assistance) assayled their enemies out of the Caues and Woods where they lay hidden, and not onely gaue vnto them great ouerthrowes, but also droue them out of the Countrey; and shortly after had such plenty of corne, fruite, and all kinde of victualles, that the like had neuer beene seene, nor heard of before in many ages. Whereuppon followed the effect, which *Moses* noted and lamented in the children of *Israel*, *Deuteronomie* the one and thirtie chapter and the three and twentieth verse; *Incrassatus est dilectus* (sayeth hee) *& recalcitrauit*: The beloued people of God was made fatte, and then they beganne to kicke: that is to say, (as hee expoundeth it euen presently after) *Incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus dereliquit Deum factorem suum*. Being become faire and fatte, they forsooke their God and Creator; so fell it out with the *Brittaines*.

Deut.31,23.

Ibid. The Britaines by prosperity became insolent and vngratefull to God.

For, they prooued so vngratefull for Gods great mercy towards them, that (as the aforesaid Authors doe affirme) they fell into the extreamitie of all mischiefe and wickednesse. *Non solum seculares viri, &c.* Not onely Secular men, but also the Ecclesiasticall; giuing themselues wholly to drunkennesse, to animositie and contention, enuy, cruelty, hatred of trueth, loue of lies, and all vice. Whereupon our Lord scourged them with such a pestilent mortalitie, that (within but a while) there were not men enow aliue (as these Authors testifie) to burie the dead.

Beda Eccles. Hist. lib.2.c.14.

The vices & sinnes of the Britaines.

Idem Ibid.

And when that sufficed not to reuoke them from their vicious liues; *Non multo post* (saith *Beda*) *acrior gentem peccatricem vltio diri sceleris secuta est*. Shortly after, a sharper punishment of such detestable wickednesse followed vpon that sinnefull people. For the *Pictes* and *Scots* beganne againe to make such irruptions vppon them, that (not being able to withstand them) they were forced to call in the *Saxons* to assist them. *Quod Domini nutu* (saith *Beda*) *dispositum esse constat, &c.* Which it is manifest was done by Gods disposition, to the end that their wickednes might receiue due punishment. For, within a while, the *Saxons* did confederate themselues with their enemies, and picking quarrells against them, destroyed all the Countrey with fire and sword, burning vp houses, villages, and townes, and killing all sortes of people: insomuch, that many fledde into forraine Countries, and others hid themselues amongst the hilles, mountaines and wooddes, vntill acknowledging the iust iudgement of Almightie God vpon them, they called to him

New inuasions of the Britaines by the Picts and Scots.

Idem Ibid.

The Britains called in the Saxons for their defence, which (by Gods iustice) turned to their ouerthrow in the end.

Idem. cap. 15.

Idem. cap 16

him for mercie. *Vnanimo consensu auxilium cœleste precante*; Crauing helpe from Heauen with vniforme consent, wherewith Gods mercie was mooued to giue them *Ambrosius Aurelianus* for their captaine, and diuerse notable victories, by his meanes. And especially at *Blackamore* in Yorkeshire (for so was called *Mons Badonicus*, as saith *Polydore Virgil* in his third booke) where they made such great slaughter of them: as that (for some certayne yeares) they did not further molest them.

The relapse of the Britaines into their former vices.

For, beeing (as *Guildas* in his booke *De Excid. Britann.* reporteth) mindefull of their former calamities, and of afflictions laid on them for their sinnes: all sorts of men spirituall and temporall, as well the Princes as their subiects, did euerie one their duetie in his vocation. *At illis* (saith *Guildas*) *decedentibus, &c.* But they being dead, and another Age succeeding, ignorant of the miseries past, and corrupted with present ease and pleasure; All trueth and iustice was so subuerted: that there appeared not so much as anie sight thereof, in all the aforesaid states of men; *Exceptis paucis, & valdè paucis*, Excepting a few, and those very few. For, the kings (saith he) were Tyrants, the Iudges most wicked and corrupt; the Priests negligent of their duetie. *Rarò sacrificantes, & nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes*; Seldome sacrificing, and neuer comming to the Altar with a pure heart. Ignorant, impudent, simoniacall, lasciuious; and all sortes of Lay men loaden with wickednesse, with murder, parricides, pride, adulteries, swearing, periuries, blasphemies, and all kindes of iniquitie.

The vices of the Cleargie and Laytie in Britaine.

The horrible sinnes of the Princes of Britaine, before the conquest thereof by the Saxons.

And now to shew some particularities of this, and how iustly the vengeance of Almightie GOD was powred out vppon the whole Kingdome: The same Authour, in the place before cited, toucheth briefly the liues of some of the Kings and Princes, which liued in his time: as of *Constantius*, *Aurelius*, *Conanus*, *Vortiporius*, *Cuneglasus* and *Maglocunus*, taxing them with tyrannie, periurie, sacrilegious murthers, and parricides (committed euen before holy Altars) adulteries, horrible incests, breach of vowes, of religion and chastitie; yea, and two of them with beastly Sodomie.

For the which enormities, and the generall corruption and wickednesse of the whole Kingdome, hee threatneth, or rather propheseth vnto them, vtter ruine and destruction; which (shortly after) worthily fell vppon them, as the *Brittish* Chronicles by *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* in the twelfth booke of his Historie and the fifteenth chapter, also acknowledgeth: For hee sayth, That King *Cadwallader* (who was the last of the *Brittaines* race) vsed these wordes, as hee fledde by Sea into *Fraunce*, with the reliques of the *Britaine* nation; *Væ nobis peccatoribus ob immania scelera nostra, &c.* Woe bee to vs sinners, for our grieuous sins, wherewith we neuer ceased to offend God, while we had time of repentance; and therfore now the punishment of God falles vpon vs, which roots vs out of our natiue soile. Thus said K. *Cadwallader*, and more to that purpose.

King Cadwallader flying in to France, acknowledged Gods iustice vpon himselfe and his people for their sins.

Afterward hapned the inuasion of the *Danes*, who first by piracies, & after by open wars, cruelly infested & troubled the realme at sundry times, for the space of almost 200. yeares. But the good king *Alured*, or *Alfred*, Founder of the famous Vniuersity of *Oxenford*, recouered all formerly lost, & droue the *Danes* out of *England*: except such as were content to become Christians, to whom he gaue the kingdomes of *Northumberland*, and of the *East-Angles*, who, during his time, neuer mooued warre. And they of the Easterne parts, stirring afterward against his sonne, called *Edward*, were by him vtterly ouerthrowne; as also the other in *Northumberland*, in like manner, and vpon the like occasion, were subdewed by his Grandchilde *Adelstane*, who made *England* a Monarchie, which so remained and flourished without further infestation of the *Danes*, during the reigne of four kings, the successors of *Adelstane*; to wit, his two brethren, *Edmond* and *Eldred* (who succeeded one another) and the two sons of *Edmond*, called *Edwin* and *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was (for his excellent vertues, and prosperous reigne) called *Honor & delaciæ Anglorum*, The honour and delight of *England*: or, as *Ingulphus* tearmeth him, *Honor & Rosa Regum*: The Honour and Rose of Kings.

The conquest of the English by the Danes.

King Alured expelld al the Danes that would not become Christians. Poli. Virg. hist. lib. 5. Ingulph. hist. Angl.

The mercie of God to the posteritie of the good king Alured, to the 4. generation. Guil. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 8. Ingulph. hist. Anglorum.

Of whom it is written, that in his time, all Ecclesiasticall Orders flourished, learned and vertuous men were highly esteemed, all ciuill and forraine warres ceased, and he was called the King of *Albion*, be-

ing no leſſe powerfull by Sea, then by Land. No yeare of his reigne paſſed, wherein hee built not a Monaſterie, or elſe did ſome great and notable good to his Countrey: And ſuch were his vertues, and great fame for felicity, that there came principall men from out of all the Countries adioyning, to ſee, and be acquainted with him.

The Danes returned againe into England, and conquered it. *Polyd. Hiſt. Angl. lib. 7.*

Now, whereas the *Danes* returned againe into *England*, ſhortly after *Edgar*, in the reigne of his ſonne *Etheldred*; and not onely moleſted it with incurſions (as they were wont) but alſo conquered and poſſeſſed it for a time: it may well be preſumed, that they were but the inſtruments of Gods iuſtice therein; and that this conqueſt made by the *Danes*, proceeded of the ſinnes, partly of the famous King *Edgar* (though hee were dead before) and partly of his wife *Alfreda*; and laſtly, of their ſonne *Etheldred*, in whoſe time the Countrey was conquered. For, although King *Edgar* excelled in all pietie and vertue in his latter dayes; yet he did an acte in his youth, whereof it may be thought, that his children and poſteritie payed the penaltie.

Polyd. Virg. Hiſt. Anglic. lib 6. What the offence was of King Edgar, and Alfreda his wife.

This I ſay, for that after the death of *Elfreda* his wife (by whom hee had King *Edward* the Martyr) hee fell in loue with *Alfreda*, wife to a Noble man called *Ethelwoolfe*, whom (with her conſent) he cauſed to be killed, to the end he might marrie her. How grieuous this ſinne was in the ſight of Almightie GOD, and how iuſtly puniſhed in his poſteritie, wee may well iudge by the like offence of King *Dauid*, who, to the end he might marry *Bathſheba*, procured the death of *Vrias* her huſband, for the which, the Prophet *Nathan*, in the ſecond booke of the *Kings*, chapter twelue, verſe ten, told him from Almightie God; that the ſword ſhould neuer depart from his houſe; and that his ſonne in the Cradle, ſhould die therefore. Beſide, Almightie God permitted (for puniſhment of that ſinne) that all his other children (except *Salomon*) died moſt vnfortunately. For *Amnon*, hauing defloured his ſiſter *Thamar*, was killed by his brother *Abſolon*; and *Adonias* by *Salomon*; and laſtly, *Abſolon* rebelling and fighting againſt his owne father King *Dauid*, was miſerably ſlaine, hanging on a tree by the haire of the head. And therefore no maruell, that the like ſinne of King *Edgar*, was alſo ſeuerely puniſhed in his children.

2 Reg 12,10

2 Reg 13,29
3 Reg. 2,25.
2 Reg. 18,9.

To this purpoſe, it is to be noted, that his marriage prooued moſt vnfortunate, not only to the fruit that proceeded thereof, and the whole Realme (as ſhall be declared hereafter) but alſo to king *Edward*, his ſonne by his former wife, who ſhortly after was killed, by the meanes of *Alfreda* his ſtepmother, for the aduaunce-ment of her ſonne *Eltheldred*. Wherein I cannot but note (by the way) the ſeueritie of Gods Iuſtice in puniſhing ſinne, ſeeing the ſayd young Prince, being very holy and innocent of life, could not eſcape the temporall puniſhment, due to his Fathers offence.

Polyd Virg. lib. 6. in fine.

The ſeuerity of Gods Iuſtice in puniſhing ſinne.

But to proceede, ſuch was the common opinion of the innocencie and holineſſe of this young King *Edward*, and enormitie of the ſinne committed by *Alfreda*, in the murder of him: that the conceit of moſt men at that time was (as *William* of *Malmesburie* witneſſeth) that the Conqueſt of *England* by the *Danes*, was a puniſhment of God for the ſame; which wel may be ſo preſumed, eſpecially, if we adde thereunto the offence, not onely of his father (whereof I haue already ſpoken) but alſo of his brother *Etheldred*, for whoſe cauſe hee was murthered; and in whoſe time that Conqueſt hapned. For it may be thought moſt conſonant to the Iuſtice of Almightie God, that *Etheldred* (being the ſonne of the wicked *Alfreda*, and fruit of the curſed marriage; yea, and withall, moſt wicked of himſelfe) ſhould beare the penaltie as well of his owne, as of both his parents ſinnes: As partly was fore-tolde at his coronation, by *Dunſtane* then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſaying: *That for his Mothers ſin in the murder of King Edward, both hee and his children ſhould bee ſeuerely puniſhed, and his Kingdome transferred to ſtrangers.*

Guliel. Malmſ. de geſtis Reg. Ang. lib. 2. cap. 9

Dũſtane foretold the conqueſt of England. *Polyd. Virg lib. 7. Ingulphus Hiſt. Aug.*

And if wee doe conſider the manner of his life, and the nature and qualitie of his offences; we ſhall find them to be the very ſame, which the Scriptures affirme to bee the cauſe of the tranſlation of Kingdoms from one nation to another; whereof *Eccleſiaſticus* ſaith: *Regnum de gente in gentem transfertur, &c.* Kingdomes are transferred from one nation to another, becauſe of iniuſtice, iniuries, calumniations and diuers deceits. In which kinde of ſinnes

Eccleſ. 10,8. The offences of King Etheldred, in whoſe time the Danes conquered England.

sinnes King *Etheldred* greatly exceeded; for he had his eares so open, and shewed such fauour to all kind of accusers and calumniators; that (as *Polydore Virgill* saith) *No mans life was in securitie*. Besides, on euery light occasion, spoyld & banished the richest and wealthiest of his subiects, beeing also addicted to all kinde of riot and dissolution. And therefore *William* of *Malmesburie* writeth of him briefely thus: *Eius vitæ cursus sæuus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu:* The course of his life was cruell in the beginning, miserable in the middest, and shamefull in the end.

Polyd. Virg. l. 7.

Guliel. Malsm. de gest. Reg lib. 2. cap. 16.

Furthermore, he was so cowardly and base minded, that hee was no lesse contemptible to strangers abroad, then hateful to his owne subiects at home. Whereupon, the *Danes* tooke courage to enter *England* againe, who made him graunt them a yearely tribute, wherewith they were content for a time; and after turning thither agayne, forced him to flie into *Normandie*, and to leaue his kingdome to *Sweno* their King, who exercised all kind of cruelty vpon the *English*, and enioyed the Kingdome as long as he liued. Which was not past fiue yeares. After whose death, *Etheldred* recouered it againe, and possessed it two yeares, whilest *Canutus* sonne to *Sweno* was held busied at home, with a rebellion of the people of *Norway*.

King Etheldred expelled out of England by Sweno King of the Danes, who reigned there fiue yeares.

King Etheldred after the death of Sweno, recouered England againe, & vsed his former cruelty and impiety.

In which meane while, *Etheldred* returned like the dogge to his olde vomite of cruelty and iniustice, especially against the *Danes* (who had beene for some yeares planted and marrowed in *England*) causing many of them to be killed with cruell torments. And amongst others, *Sigifredus* and *Morgandus*, two of the noblest of them) were falsly accused of fained crimes, and put to death for the same. Besides, Prince *Edmund* sonne to *Etheldred*, rauished the wife of *Sigifred*, being a woman no lesse admirable for her beautie, then commendable for her chastitie. All which when *Canutus* vnderstood, being mooued with desire, as well to reuenge these iniuries done to his Countreymen, as also to recouer the Kingdome of *England*, conquered by his father: hee passed ouer thither with an Armie, and put all to fire and sword; whereupon *Etheldred* dyed with sorrow.

Idem. Ibid.

Canutus, son to Sweno inuaded England.

And although his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* (after diuers conflicts, and a combate fought hand to hand with *Canutus*) possessed the one half of *England* by composition: yet within a yeare, *Canutus* enioyed the whole by the sodaine death of *Edmond*, slaine vpon a priuy as he was easing himselfe; and so he remayned absolute King thereof as long as hee did liue, which was about some twentie yeares after.

Edmond Ironside, Son to king Etheldred. Canutus king of England.

Herein neuertheless it is to be noted, how the mercie of Almightie God concurred with his Iustice, and moderated the rigour thereof; for that (of his infinite bounty) he determined by this conquest, as it seemed, rather to chastise, correct and redresse *England*, then to ruine and oppresse it. And therfore, after he had somewhat satisfied the seueritie of his iustice, not onely vpon the Realme, by the fiue yeares cruell reigne of *Sweno* (who ransacked and spoyled all sorts of men, aswell Ecclesiasticall as Temporall) but also vpon the persons of *Etheldred*, and his sonne *Edmund*: hee gaue them *Canutus*, sonne to *Sweno*, for their King, who, although he was a stranger, yet gouerned with all clemencie and good example of life, doing continually actes of pietie, making good Lawes and wholesome, easing the people of taxes and impositions, and deseruing well of all estates, by the meanes whereof *England* flourished (in his time) in peace and much plentie. Of whom I can not forbeare (this occasion beeing offered) to expresse and declare heere (by the way) a notable acte, which I wish all Princes would well weigh and consider, in the height of their prosperity and greatest fortune.

The mercy of God towards the English, in turning their conquests to their comfort.

The great vertue and piety of king Canutus.

It chanced once, as he was walking at *Southhampton*, by the Sea side, some of his noble men flattered him, and extolled (aboue measure) his great power, calling him the most mightie and potent King of all Kings, commaunding absolutely ouer men, land & sea. Whereupon, to correct their flatterie, and to shew mans infirmitie, he went to the very Sea side, and sitting downe, said to the waues (as the tide was coming in,) *I commaund yee, that you touch not my feete*. And beeing presently after well washed with a waue that came in vppon him; hee arose, and turning himselfe to his noblemen, said vnto them:

Polyd. Virg. Angl. Hist. 7. in fine.

A memorable acte of King Canutus.

Henricus Huntind. Hiſt. Angl lib. 6.

Loe my Lords, you call me King of Kings, and Lord of Land and Sea; though I cannot commaund one of theſe little waues : Therefore know yee, that the King of Kings, and hee that commaundeth Land and Sea, is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whoſe will and prouidence all things were gouerned. And hauing thus ſaide, hee returned to *Winchester*, and tooke the Crowne which he vſed to weare vpon his head, and put it (with his owne hands) vpon an Image of CHRIST crucified, which was in the Church of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, and would neuer after weare any crowne ſo long as he liued.

Though this may ſeeme a digreſſion from my matter, yet I thought good to recount it heere, as well for the raritie of the example; as alſo that it may appeare, how mercifully God dealt with the people of *England*, to giue them ſuch a King, by whoſe pietie their Conqueſt turned to comfort. And this his mercie appeared much more afterward, when it pleaſed his diuine Maieſtie ſo ſweetly to diſpoſe, that after the death of *Canutus*, and his two ſonnes *Haraldus* and *Hardicanutus*, or (as *Polydore* calles him) *Cunuæus*, which two reigned but ſixe yeares: the Crowne returned agayne to Engliſh blood; yea, and to ſo excellent a Prince, as was King *Edward* the *Confeſſour*, who reigned in all tranquility, peace and felicitie aboue three and twenty yeares.

Guliel. Malſm. de geſt. Reg lib. 2. cap. 12. Polyd. Virg. l. 8. Ingulphus Hiſt. Hen. Huntind. lib. 6. Roger Houed. Annal. par. 1.

Now, although learning, religion, and vertue had flouriſhed many yeres among the Engliſh, yet a little before the comming of the *Normans*, the ſame was vtterly deſtroyed and decayed. For (ſayth *William* of *Malmesbury*, who liued in the ſame age) *the Prieſts were ſo vnlearned, that they could ſcant pronounce truely, the very words of the Sacraments and diuine ſeruice.* And ſuch was the ignorance generally of all men, that a Grammarian was helde for a wonder; Religious men were wholly giuen to delicacie and kept no rules of Religion; the Noblemen and Gentlemen gaue themſelues to gluttony and laſciuiouſneſſe; there was no reſpect of Religion, nor care of Iuſtice: inſomuch that the common people ſerued for no other then as a prey to the Nobility, who ſpoyled and ranſacked them at their pleaſure. It was a common cuſtome when men had got their maid-ſeruants with childe, eyther to ſend them to the Stewes, or to ſell them for Slaues. Drunkenneſſe, and all the vices which commonly doe accompany the ſame, or follow thereon, were generally throughout the whole Realme; This reporteth *William* of *Malmesburie* in ſubſtance.

Guliel Malmeſ. Hiſt. Angl. lib. 3. de Wilbel. 1.

The enormous ſinnes of the Clergy Nobility, and people of England, at the time of the conqueſt thereof by the Normans.

Alſo holy King *Edward* himſelfe, declaring a Viſion which happened to him, ſayd, *That the Magiſtrates, as well ſpirituall as temporall, were no better then miniſters of the diuell; that God was euery where diſhonoured, lawes contemned, truth trodden vnder foote, pitty and mercy baniſhed, crueltie helde for a paſtime and enteriainement. And therefore* (layd he) *the wickedneſſe of the Engliſh is now compleate and growne to the height, and the reuenge and puniſhment thereof is ſhortly to follow.*

Alred. in vita Edwardi.

King Edwards words at his death, concerning the ſinnes of the Engliſh, & the Conqueſt to follow in puniſhment thereof.

This was proued true by the euent, which in a yeare after, when *William* Duke of *Normandie*, called the *Conquerour*, came into *England*, whom God made the inſtrument and miniſter of his Iuſtice, to chaſtiſe them. For, beeing admitted and crowned King (preſently after the bloody battell, wherein king *Haralde* and twentie thouſand men were ſlaine) hee beganne to tyrannize vpon all eſtates: hee ſpoyled the Nobilitie of their lands, goods, dignities and offices, to giue the ſame to the *Normans*. He oppreſſed the people with infinite and intollerable taxes and impoſitions; he depriued Cities, Biſhoppricks and Monaſteries of their immunities and priuileges, forcing them to redeeme them of him againe for great ſummes of mony. Hee tooke from Churches and Religious houſes, not onely ſuch mony as they had in ſtore, but alſo the holy veſſells, dedicated to Gods ſeruice. He aboliſhed the olde Lawes, and ordayned new, cauſing them to be written in the *Norman* tongue, which the Engliſh vnderſtood not: wherevpon there grew great confuſion in the exerciſe thereof in all ſortes of Actions and Pleas, as well criminall as ciuile, and many men wrongfully loſt their lands, and goodes, and many their liues, and a gate was (at that time) opened to all iniuſtice.

Polyd. Virg. lib. 8. in fine. Idem lib. 9. per totum.

The tyranny of William the Conqueror vpon all eſtates.

Olde Lawes aboliſhed, and new ordained in the Norman tongue.

Furthermore, he was not content onlie to ſpoyle the Engliſh of their wealth, but alſo depriued them of their pleaſures, taking from very many Noble men and Gentlemen

The English despoyled of their wealth and pleasures. *Polyd.Virg.l.9.*

Gentlemen, their Parkes and Chases for his owne vse; but also ouerthrowing houses, Churches, Villages and whole Parishes, to make Forrests. Insomuch, that (as *Polydore Virgill* reporteth) to make the Chase, which now is called *New Forrest*, hee dispeopled and made desert all the Countrey betwixt *Salisbury* and the Sea side, for thirtie miles space. And when diuers of his Nobilitie (by reason of his tyrannie) rebelled against him: he tooke occasion thereuppon, to vse all kinde of seueritie and crueltie, not only vpon their persons, when they fell into his hands; but also vpon whole Countries and Prouinces, which hee so spoyled and ransacked, that they lay waste for some yeares after. Finally, his gouernement, during the time of his reigne, seemed to ayme at nothing else, but to extirpate and extinguish the race and name of the *English*.

The extreme cruelty of William the Conqueror.

Whereto if we adde the frequent wars in *England* in his time, partly by rebellion of his Subiects, and partly by inuasion of Strangers; wee shall finde, that *England* had not one yeare, no, not one day of ease and repose, during the one and twentie yeares of his reigne. Which calamitie also continued, or rather encreased for thirteene yeres after his death, by the succession of his sonne *William Rufus*, who farre exceeded his father in crueltie, auarice, oppression of his Subiects, and contempt of God and man: by reason whereof, hee was so hated of the people, that when his death was knowne (which was so sodaine, and exemplary, for he was killed by chaunce with an Arrow, as he was hunting) the people were so transported with ioy, that they went euery where to the Churches, to giue God thanks therefore, as for the happiest newes that euer came to *England*, in hope, that the last day of his life, would be the first of their libertie. If therefore we consider all this, we shall euidently see, how true the prophecy of holy king *Edward* proued, when he said; *That England should be giuen (for a time) into the hands of euill and wicked spirits, for the sins of the Nobilitie, Cleargie and People.*

The English had not one day of ease, during the reigne of William Conqueror.

The cruelty and auarice of King William Rufus, sonne to the Conqueror *Polyd.Virg.l.10.*

The Prophesie of King Edward the Confessor.

Heere then I conclude, that whereas the first Conquest seemes to haue proceeded, of the sins as well of the People, as of the Princes; and the second, of the offences, rather of the Princes, then of the People; the last was (as good King *Edward* testified) in punishment of the peoples sins, rather then of the Princes. Whereby we may see the simpathy in the body politike, no lesse then in the naturall body, betwixt the head and the members in the participation for sinne, or reward for vertue. Which may serue for a motiue to all Princes and Magistrates, to haue especiall care, to auoyde the offence of God, not onely by their owne liues, but also by punishing and reforming their Subiects, lest negligence in eyther may draw GODS wrath vpon both, to the destruction of the whole Common-wealth.

The conclusion of this Chapter, concerning the 3. conquests of England, and the causes thereof.

An admonition to Princes & Magistrats.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell of Gaza, fought betweene Synanbasha, Generall for Selym the great Turke; And Gazelles, Lieutenant of Tomumbeyo, the Soldane, or Sultane of Egypt. 1516.

AFter the death of *Campson*, *Selym* intending to inuade *Egypt*, sent before (from *Damasco*) his Generall *Synanbasha* into *Iudea*, with fifteene thousand horse, and a very strong power of Harquebusiers, selected out of the Ianizaries and Asappes, only to surruey that Region, and to open a passage way to *Gaza*; which indeed was very molestuous & troublesome, in regard of the potent *Arabes*. The city is seated on the sea-coast, and in the confines of *Egypt*, neighboring vpon the hote sandy deserts; a very hard and painefull passage, for such as iourney to the remotest *Egypt*, and to the Citty of *Cayro*. The people of *Gaza*, being destitute of warlike garrisons of souldiers, to stead them in extremitie of armes, entertained *Synanbasha* at the very first view, although in craftie and dissembling maner, giuing him many thankefull gratulations, for vouchsafing to free them from the *Mamalukes* intollerable slauerie; in requitall of which benefite, they promised to continue loyall and seruiceable to *Selym* and his successors for euer.

Collected out of Paulus Iouius.

The situation of the Citty of Gaza.

Synanbasha deceitfully welcommed by the Cittizens of Gaza

Now, while *Synanbasha* lay encamped, within an Arrow reach from the Citty, in expectation of *Selyms* comming, and practising his best meanes of vnderstanding the course of the Region and Countrey, that should allow them passage into

Ægypt; endeuouring beſide, to compaſſe friendſhip with the *Arabian* Commaunders, and ſubborning certaine Spies, that went to *Cayro*, to vndermine the counſels of the *Mamalukes* and *Tomumbeyo*, whome (vpon *Campſons* death) they hadde made choiſe of to be their Sultane: the inhabitants of *Gaza* (beeing naturally extreame enemies of the preſent Turkiſh Armie) gaue *Tomumbeyo* intelligence of *Synanbaſhaes* comming; aduertiſing him withall, that this power of Turkes might eaſily be oppreſſed and deſtroyed, before *Selim* could arriue with his ſupplies: onely by ſending a ſtrong power of *Mamalukes*, vnder conduct of ſome skilfull Leaders, to venture vpon them at an expeditious aduantage, proiected in this maner. A time (in the dead of night) beeing concluded on, betweene themſelues and the Cittizens, the *Mamalukes* ſhould make a ſodaine inuaſion on the ſleeping Turks, and they likewiſe (at the ſame inſtant) would yſſue forth of the City, and ioyning with them, make vnauoidable ſpoile & hauock of the enemies Campe.

Intelligence ſent by the men of Gaza, to the new Sultane Tomumbeyo.

This aduiſe is allowed and embraced, betweene *Tomumbeyo* and the *Mamalukes*; and *Gazelles* ſent with ſix thouſand horſe or *Mamalukes*, and a ſtrong Armie of the *Arabes*. Scarſely was hee departed from *Cayro*, but (by certaine *Syrian* Spyes) *Synanbaſha* had aduertiſement thereof, and that (not ſtaying for any carriages) they would be there within two dayes. Now, as theſe newes preſerued the Turkiſh Armie, ſo was it of no meane moment, for compaſſing the intire victory of the whol warres. And although *Synanbaſha* had no intelligence at all of the *Gazans* falſhood, yet (being a man of great wiſedome and prouidence) ſuſpecting what Treacheries might circumuent him, and fearing leaſt hee might meddle with two enemies at once: reſolued to meet the *Mamalukes* by the way, and ſo try the fortune of fight. So, diſlodging after the ſecond watch, he ſilently marched away out of the Cities ſight, reaching fifteene miles on the way towards *Cayro*; arriuing neere to a ſmall village, which had the benefit of a plentifull Spring there ariſing, and therefore was the reaſon of Trauellers vſual lodging there.

Syrian Spyes ſend aduertiſement to Synanbaſha, and what he preſently did to preuent all danger.

It fortuned, that *Synanbaſha* purpoſed to ſtay in that Village, and *Gazelles* had the like intention of breathing there ſome few houres, to refreſh both his men and horſes, that he might the ſooner galloppe to *Gaza* in the night time: when, euen at one inſtant (as it were) both the Generals receiued intelligence (on either ſide) by their vant-currers, that a mighty duſt was raiſed, and the enemy neere approached. *Gazelles* became much perplexed in mind at this ſtrange and vnlookt for accident; perceiuing apparantly, that fayling of his purpoſed intent, hee was alſo vnable to match the enemy, if he ſhould encounter with him, becauſe his horſes vvere halfe ſpent and weary. Yet had he no diſmay in courage, although he was compelled (vpon ſuch a ſodaine) to deuiſe what inſtantly might be done, for generall ſafety of the Army. Whereupon, he aduiſed euerie man to make ready his weapon; and to conſider, that what could not bee performed by ſtealth and ambuſh, according to a precedent intention, required now courragious reſolution, and muſt be diſpatcht by manly valour.

One intentiō happened to both the Generals, of ſtaying at one and the ſame place

The reſolue of Gazelles in this vnexpected diſtreſſe.

On the other ſide, *Synanbaſha* hauing his men ſooner ſet in order, then *Gazelles* could doe, hauing formerly aduertiſed them, what was to be done on the fightes encounter; cheared all the ranks with honourable ſpeeches. And the iſſue of his Oration, was, That flight muſt vtterly bee forgot, becauſe all places round about thē would be ſhut vp, and iniurious to them, except they were victors. Moreouer, of one thing to perſwade themſelues eſpecially, that no man ſhould periſh that day, but he whom heauen had deſtinated vnto death, by the moſt certaine lawes of Fate; and that with equall perill, the Valiant ſhould finde ſafety in middeſt of the enemies ſwords, and alſo the fearfull, death in their very ſafeſt flight, through the power of ineuitable lot.

Synanbaſha his encouraging ſpeeches to his ſoldiers

The Harquebuſiers were in the wings, & were extended foorth in length with a ſingle array, and no man ſtanding nere to another, for handling their Harquebuſſes the more freely, and to compaſſe the enemy: but the Pikes were placed in the very midſt, to ſuſtaine the impreſſion of the *Mamalukes*. But *Gazelles* approching, ſent the *Arabian* troopes before, to diſturbe the Wings; and he himſelf (with a ſquare battaile) charged the middle regiment of the Turkes. The fight was very cruel, and long

The managing of the ſeueral battails, with great difficulty on eyther ſide.

long time doubtfull, becauſe the Turkes (though ſuperiour in number) were not able to endure the power of the Armed horſſe. And now being beaten from their ground; and diſperſed, ſome one way, and ſome another, by the *Mamalukes* that brake in vpon them, they looked rounde about for flight, fixing their eies and harts ſtedfaſtly for it. When ſodainly, by *Synanbaſhaes* commaund, the Harquebuſiers, who (with their firſt ſtorme of ſhotte) had driuen backe the *Arabes*: reducing in their wings, encloſed all the whole battaile of the enemy.

Synanbaſha releeued his army, beeing on the point of flight.

Now, both men and horſe, were (a far off) beaten down with deadly bullets, ſtorming vpon them in ſuch multitudes, as no place (to expreſſe valour) was left to the encloſed. For, when any troope of *Mamalukes* ranne in violently vpon the Turkes; they, by reaſon of their nimble lightneſſe (being accuſtomed to giue ground) did ſwiftly flye backe: and in all places this was their endeuour, not to encounter thē with their horſes, but onely to play vpon them with their Harquebuſſes. When *Gazelles* ſaw, that his horſſes were tyred with extreme wearineſſe, and that manie of his ſtouteſt men, were now either ſlain or hurt, and he himſelf greeuouſly wounded in the necke; he, with the reſt, making themſelues way with their weapons, fled vnto *Cayro*, through thoſe deſarts that he came, loſing all his Enſignes.

Victory inclineth vnto the Turkes, Fortune frowning on Gazelles, and his forces

There periſhed in this battel the Captaine of *Alexandria*, and *Orcomas* the gouernour of *Cayro*, men of great account; & beſides them, a great number of *Arabes*, and almoſt a thouſand horſmen of marke. Nor did *Synanbaſha* win a ioyfull and vnbloody victory, for hee loſt aboue two thouſand horſe; and (among them) ſome of his cheefeſt Captaines. But becauſe the fight had continued from noone to Sunſet, the Turkes were not able to purſue their enemies, their horſes beeing wellnere dead with thirſt, and they themſelues fainting through want of meate, and extreme labour: but encamped in the place where the battell was fought, neere to the Spring before remembred.

Synanbaſha could not greatly boaſt of his Victory, ſuſtayning a great loſſe.

CHAP. XXI.

Of three ſeuerall Battails, fought in the years 1516. *and* 1517. *betweene Selym the Great Turke, and Tomumbeyo, the great Sultan of Ægipt.*

Collected out of Paulus Iouius.

SElym hauing receiued intelligence, that *Synanbaſha* had ſurprized *Gaza*, ouerthrowne *Gazelles*, and had receiued a freſh ſupplie of men by Sea, from *Conſtantinople*, for his owne further ſeruice he marched with all his Army towardes *Gaza*, and (vvithin eight dayes more) recouered ſo farre as **Cayro*, reputed to be the Sultanes cheefe ſeat, *Synanbaſha* ſtill marching a daies iourney before him.

*A City in Egypt, not farre from the Iſle Delta.

About the diſtance of ſixe miles from the Citty, there was a ſmal village, named *Rhodania*, whereto *Tomumbeyo* (the newe made Sultane) had conueyed all his prouiſion and furniture of great Ordnance, hauing made alſo ditches, croſſe thwarting the plaine fieldes, and high wayes: which ditches were couered ouer vvith light earth, and ſmall ſtickes, artificially ſhadowing them. But himſelfe, with his *Mamalukes* (who were aboue twelue thouſand) and a great number of *Arabian* horſemen, fitted for the intent, kept in a place better beſeeming: that vvhen the Turkes Army ſhould drawe neere, they might be there entrapt and beaten downe by the vndiſcouerable Ordnance, ere they could come to reach the Ægyptians with their Harquebuſſes; and then this ſtratagem hauing round engirt them, hee had the aduantage of immediate fight, they being vtterly diſioynted, and faln into the ſnare prepared for them.

A cunning ambuſcado, prepared by Tomumbeyo, to entrap his enemy.

So cunningly and prouidently were theſe matters ordered, and perfected with ſuch anſwerable opportunity, that not a man in the Army could imagine, or vrge any doubt of the dayes victory. And queſtionleſſe, no meane diſaſter had mette with the Turkes: but that the giddie headed Goddeſſe Fortune, ouer-friendly to *Selym*, and cruelly vnkinde to *Tomumbeyo*, as

In ſtratagems of wars neuer ſo artificially ordered, Fortune ſtill will be a ſtickler.

as (had not the worthy paines of the *Mamalukes*, bin treacherously disappointed) onely through the meanes of a few perfidious Varlets, plainly had appeared.

Foure trecherous Mamalukes defeated Tomumbeyos hope for the ambush.

As in all Armies there neuer wantes Villaines, so in the Sultanes were foure *Mamalukes*, borne *Albanoises*, who stiffely stomacked, that *Tomumbeyo* (by suffrages of the contrary faction) was aduanced to the dignity royall. And they, either impelled by lewd disposition, or adducted by hope of rewarde, and more bountifull respect, foreseeing their owne side to fall on wracke, and wisedome aduising, to seeke for new and more assured Friends: fled to *Synanbasha*, as to their chiefest Turkish Captaine and Countriman. By these horsemen *Synanbasha*, and (soon after) *Selym*, vnderstood all the counsels & intents of the enemy, and what an Ambuscado *Tomumbeyo* had prepared for them, with singular subtilty and dexterious Art, vnauoidable from falling into, except they forsooke the high and direct way. Whereupon, beeing guided by these Fugitiues, they fetched a great compasse about on the left hand, and (before breake of day) recouered their old wonted way, hauing their battels ranged, their Ordnance ready mounted, to auoyde the least delay of fight, and so shewed themselues at the enemies rereward, and neuer coming neere the front of their Campe.

Preuention of perill is no meane helpe in accidents of Armes.

When *Tomumbeyo* saw this, he coniectured by his enemies march, that (by his owne mens treason) his prouided ambush was discouered. And albeit his mind was afflicted with matchlesse greefe, to see so painfull an employment of his men, and so full of expectation, to be in a moment vtterly defeated: yet notwithstanding, he being a man of vnconquerable courage, called all his senses and valour to sodaine counsell, and summoning his Captaines about him, gaue present order for those things which were to be done. And now was *Tomumbeyo* in so narrow a straite and necessity, that all thinges, and at one instant, must receiue order from him. Hee was to giue the signall to his Soldiers, for mounting on horse-backe, vsing theyr weapons, turning the course of his camp, ranging his battailes, encoraging his men, and conueying his Ordenance to contrary quarters, as the occasion required. All which things, as one Captaine could not performe alone, but very hardly and confusedly; so must they needs be effected as rawly, peruersly, and to halfes, by manie indiscreet vndertakers.

A distresse that would trouble the braine of the best soldier in the world.

But that which most hindered speedie performance, was the hudling of men together, for remouing the Ordnance from place to place, they being ill-fauored huge pieces, made of Iron, and sette in great stockes of Wood, with Iron ringes, after the rude and nauall forme of Workmanship, vsed in elder times: and so, by reason of their excessiue waight, could not be carried from their places, but by the draught of many beastes; besides, great heauing with iron Crowes and Leauers, requiring greeuous labour of men. And the other great Field-peeces, mounted on carriages with wheeles, being drawne by the witlesse and hasty multitude, with great clamor of such as haled and shoued them through all parts of the Campe: the tumultuous passage of them, disordered men mounted on their horses, and the Souldiers repairing to their ensignes: yet two maine helps equalled these hindering difficulties; namely, the chearefulnesse of the soldiers, and the singular constancy of them all, almost beyond the compasse of mans beleefe: because they had not conceiued so much as a thought of feare, nor failed in their hopefull hearts, as it commonly happeneth in sodain aduerse chances, whereby old tryed soldiers do manie times forget their ancient valour. For, being twice before vanquished in battel, yet they resumed the greater confidence and courage: perswading themselues, that not valour or skill in fight, but onely fortune fayled them.

Nowe, when *Tomumbeyo* had set his men in good order, and the soldiers (with earnest desire of fight) requested the signall: he commanded the multitude of the *Arabians*, to bring their winges about on the rere of the enemy, and to beginne the fight first, that the Turkish horsmen might be troubled and disordered with a doubtfull danger of fight, before himselfe would issue forth with his selected troops. Strait way he commanded the great Ordnance (which by this time was brought about, and directed against the enemyes) to bee shot off. And immediately the Turkes did the like; who had once discharged their smaller and greater peeces, when they

The best capacity of a Generall or Commander, is well tried in warre.

Many inconueniences happen thorough want of discreete and orderly Military discipline

A great comfort to a Generall, when his Souldiers contain their chearefull disposition.

Tomumbeyo prepareth his troops to giue the enemies battaile.

they were a iuſt diſtance off, and quickely re-charging them, had brought thē within an Arrowes ſhoote of the Ægyptians Ordnance, fighting a long time on either ſide, onely with diſcharging their Ordenance, while the Armies approched neerer. In which contention, almoſt all the Ægyptians Gunners were ſlain, and moſt of their Artillery diſmounted from theyr wheeles, beeing broken in peeces by violence of the enemies bullets.

The Egyptiās Gunners for their great Ordnance almoſt all ſlain.

The Turke had very skilfull Gunners in his Campe, whom he had allured (by his great rewardes, and rich entertainment) out of *Italy* and *Germany*, and eſpecially many out of the Iewes rable, who beeing expelled by the piety of King *Ferdinand* out of the *Spaines*; brought afterwardes ſuch rare and vnuſed deadly Artes into all the Eaſt, to ſpite our men withall. The Captaine or cheefe man of all theſe Gunners, was one *James*, borne at *Reggio* in *Lombardie*, a man of extraordinary skill in thoſe Artes, who being enticed by Turkiſh giftes: had (a little before) forſaken the ſeruice of Chriſt, and reuolted vnto *Mahomets* ſuperſtition. The fight beeing brought (on both ſides) to handy ſtrokes, the *Mamalukes* raiſed a cruel and horrible cry, and in three quarters, charged the Turkes with great valour: For *Selym* (keeping his old order) ſo marched, that hee approached in the forme of a Creſcent. The Captaine of the *Aſians* in the right Wing, was *Muſtapha*, and *Innubaſha* of the *Europeans* in the left: but himſelfe gouerned the middle battell, wherin was the ſquadron of the Ianizaries, with a great multitude of Ordnance.

The order & managing of Selyms army.

But *Synanbaſha* being made General of the fielde, had choſen for himſelfe a band of the valianteſt men, taken and pickt out of all the companies, to ſerue for all vncertaine euents of the battaile. Whereto hee added (out of *Selyms* ſquadron) fiue hundred foote of extraordinary valor and ſwiftneſſe, that hee being ready in all places of the battaile, and for all chaunces (were they neuer ſo ſodaine) might ſuccour that part of his fellowes, which was moſt preſſed by the enemy. So that almoſt at one time, when *Tomumbeyo* had ſtood in the middle battaile againſt *Selym*, and the wings of the *Mamalukes*, had encountred the Turkiſh with equall Front, and the *Arabians* had fought valiantly at their backes, as they had beene commanded; foure fights were very furiouſly and hotly attached at one time, and in diuerſe diſtinct places.

Synanbaſha General of the field, and his bande of men.

Foure fightes at one time in foure diſtinct places.

They that were preſent at this battell, do report, that thorough the cries of the Soldiers, the noiſe of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering of the Artillery, the clouds of duſt, and claſhing of Weapons, all mens minds were ſo amazed and confounded, that they, being al on both ſides alike blinded with furie, ruſhed on with ſuch deſperate madneſſe, that neyther could the voices and watch wordes bee heard or knowne one from another, nor the Enſignes ſeene, nor commaundes of Captaines be regarded; but euen (by mutuall error) they ſlew a great number both of their owne fellowes, and alſo of theyr enemies, without any reſpect at all. For neuer before that day, had any armies encountred together, enflamed with greater ſpleene and hatred; nor euer had two ſuch mighty Emperors, more conſtantly and feruently declared their valour both of body and minde; nor with leſſe care of life and ſafety. For, when both of them plainly perceiued, that with like daunger of themſelues and their Armies, they had ſet their liues and Empires vppon preſent ruine: they alſo well vnderſtoode, that there would be no other hope lefte to eyther of them, but that which victorie it ſelfe ſhould bring with it.

Credible reports concerning this dreadfull battell.

The mad and deſperate furyy of both the Armies, as the likd was neuer heard of.

Now *Gazelles* enflamed with deſire of honor and reuenge, to returne the *Europeans* a foile equall to that which hee had receiued at *Gaza*, charging *Innubaſha* with great violence, had ouer-run the formoſt and reſiſting troopes; had beaten downe the *Guidons*: and the *Arabes* purſuing on hard at his heeles, had made the vanquiſhing companies (euen thoſe of the *Thracians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Macedons*) to turne their backes, which neuer any enemie had done before.

The courage of Gazelles in hope of foiling his enemies.

Then *Synanbaſha*, beeing readie for all occaſions of victoty, flew vpon the ſide of the enemy, with a freſh and powerfull company of his men, re-enforcing the battell, which was much declined & foully ſcattered. But anon after, *Synanbaſha*, who had diſcontinued the manifeſt victory of the enemy, by exerciſing a ſupreme acte of proweſſe, was ſlaine, fighting verie valiantly before his men, after that the *Mama-*

Synanbaſha ſlaine fighting valiantly before his men.

Mamalukes (vnder their fierce Captayne *Bido)* had turned themſelues prowdly on their new enemy. And his horſemen ſtriuing to take vp their dead captaines body from the ground, were (a great number of them) ſlaine and put to flight by *Gazelles*, who had ſpread abroad his troups, that hauing the more ſpacious roome, they might the more freely vſe their ſwords; in which kinde of fight the *Mamalukes* doe moſt excell. And alſo that noble band of Ianizaries, being encloſed, were ouer-runne & ſlaine; after that they (being forſaken of the horſmen) had long time reſiſted very valiantly.

In another quarter, *Muſtapha* giuing a vehement charge with all his horſe, ivpon the left wing of the *Egyptians* (wherin cõmaunded the moſt renowned captaines *Heylius Diadarius* and *Giapall Orcomas)* very ſharply vtged them. A litle before they had receiued a notable detriment, by the Ordnance, which (by chaunce) was ſhot frõ *Selyms* middle battell thwart the field; which *Muſtapha* perceiuing, and being deſirous to trample on olde ignominy, they being once diſordered, conſtrained them fiercely, & bringing in his troupes freſhly vpon them, brake thorow, ouer-ranne and beat them downe. And being remarkeable all the battell ouer, both by his Armes and voyce: adhorted the *Aſians* to conſider, that their ancient martiall honor, they lately loſt at the battell of *Alepo*, muſt be recouered now by height of manhood, or (at vttermoſt) by an honourable death.

Heylius Diadarius and Giapall Orcomas, two famous Captaines of the Egiptians.

At the ſame time alſo, *Tomumbeyo*, hauing broken through the midle regiment of horſe, was come to the foot, and being a mighty man both in body and ſtrength, performed infinite actions of worth with his Cemitarie: the *Arabians* likewiſe encloſed the outer-wings of the *Turkes*, forcing them (in many places) to fight with double front. And *Selym* aduaunced forward his foote-ſquadron, which was his onely and aſſured helpe in this extremitie, whoſe charge, neither the fierce barded horſe, nor the victors men could abide: becauſe moſt part of his Souldiers being harquebuſiers, and beeing impaled with pikes, did much miſchiefe, for their immoueable force, being cloſed into the array of one body, bare downe all that they incountred. Yet they fought with variable euẽt on both ſides, from the fourth houre of the day, till Sun-ſet, neither was there any part of eyther Armie, but ſuffered ſundry alterations, Fortune being ſome while proſperous, and then againe aduerſe. For, both the vanquiſhed and victors, beeing madded with mutuall & implacable rage, fought with obſtinate & indurate hearts; the *Mamalukes* diſdaining, that victorie ſhould be taken from them, by men (of whom) they had ſlaine ſo many: and the *Turkes* chafing, that they whom they had before foiled in two ſeueral battels, ſhould make ſo long reſiſtance againſt them. Inſomuch, that their bodies, wearied and tired with wounds, and their armes faintly languiſhing, yet ſupported onely by furie & pertinacy of heart; ſeemed able to haue maintained another daies murdering, but that dark ſhut vp the violence of ſo great a ſlaughter.

Variable euẽt and ſucceſſe alike in both the Armies, from the 4. houre of the day till Sun-ſet.

Tomumbeyo, who (no doubt) was vanquiſhed, diſtruſting the entire loſſe of the field; firſt commanded retreat to be ſounded, that his men, who now could not match the other ſquadron, might ſeeme not to haue bin beaten backe, but onely to be led backe: which he conceiued to be of no meane moment, both for the eſtabliſhing of his ſouldiers, & maintenance of his owne authority. As one that being deceiued in his firſt hope, might promiſe himſelfe (as men in miſery commõly do) more proſperous ſucceſſe afterward, prouided, that he fainted not in corage. Whereupon, preſeruing thoſe few powers left him, he intended a freſh reparation of warre. The battell being broken off by the nights countermãd, the *Turks* being victors, won the enimies tents and Ordnance, purſued the *Mamalukes* ſtill very late in the night, albeit (almoſt in maner of flight) they marched towards *Cayro*.

Retreate was firſt ſounded in the Campe of Tomumbeyo.

The hope of Tomumbeyo for better ſucceſſe in a ſecond battaile.

In the flight were taken *Diadarius*, who could make no ſpeed, by reſon of his grieuous wounds, and with him *Bidon*, hauing one of his knees brokẽ with a falcon-ſhot, which alſo ſlue his horſe. But the next day, *Selym* cauſed them both to be ſlain, either in regard they could not be healed, or as thinking them to be acceptable ſacrifices for appeaſing *Synanbaſha*; for whoſe loſſe hee greatly lamented. Now albeit the *Turkes* had nobly vanquiſhed, yet was their ſtrength mightily empayred, and by the meanes of theſe fortunate battells, wherein the 4. part of them was ſpent with ſickneſſe

Diadarius and Bidon taken and ſlaine by Selyms command.

The vndaunted ſpirit of Tomumbeyo, in the thickeſt throngs.

sickeneſſe and wounds, and a great number of their Horſes vtterly foyled, eſpecially through the tediouſneſſe of this daies ſeruice.

Theſe were maine motiues, to hinder *Selym* in his wonted courſe of expedition, becauſe (as yet) he was ignorant, what deuotion the Ægyptian inhabitants of *Cayro* bare towards him; neither did rumour afford him any intelligence, where *Tomumbeyo* had beſtowed himſelfe, or what hee furthet intended. For, till he had deliberately conſidered on all theſe occaſions, he would not aduenture the ſafety of his owne perſon, and perill of his whole Armie, to the mercy of innumerable Cittizens, and in the greateſt Cittie of the world. Wherefore, abiding foure dayes ſpace in his old Campe at *Rhodania*, cauſing the wounded to bee cured, and his ſlaine ſouldiours to bee buried: but the bodies of his enemies, he left to be deuoured by Birds and Beaſts. And then diſlodging thence, and marching towards *Cayro*; he encamped on a plain, between old *Cayro* and *Bulach:* for the City of *Cayro* is diuided into three Townes; old *Cayro*, new *Cayro*, and *Bulach*, for their more commodious ſeruice of water.

Selym reſteth his weary Army four daies at Rhodania.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the ſecond Battell at Cayro, betweene Selym and Tomumbeyo.

The valiant corage of Tomumbeyo, notwithſtanding all his greeuous misfortunes & loſſes

TOmumbeyo, beeing all this while nothing bruiſed, notwithſtanding ſo many lamentable loſſes and diſaſters; ſtill aſſembled together the *Mamalukes* from all parts, and pitched his Campe in a moſt commodious place, betweene new *Cayro* and the riuer *Nilus*, wherein he had eight thouſand Æthyopian ſlaues or bondmen, which kinde of men he had not (till then) made any vſe of, in regard of an ancient Rebellion by them committed. Beſide, ſetting open the old Armory, he gaue armor and weapons to the *Mamalukes* ſonnes, and to Moores which were their retainers, as alſo to the Iewes and Arabians, preparing for farre ſharper warre againſt the Turks, then formerly had bene. But afterward, hauing intend d a ſodaine camiſado vpon the Turkiſh Campe, and the ſame againe vnluckily diſcouered to the Turkes (who beeing readily prepared for it, repelled (though with ſome loſſe) his formoſt rankes; he by the aduice of all his Captaines, entred the City of *Cayro*.

His proiectes and intentiõs alwayes were vnfortunately diſcouered.

The motiue heereto was, becauſe the *Mamalukes* (hauing bene foyled in all precedent battailes) conſidered with themſelues, that they muſt now make warre after ſome other manner of way: & in that regard, aduiſed him to fortifie the Cittie, placing ſtrong Courts of guard in the moſt conuenient parts thereof, to hinder euery way their enemies entrance. And being in this lamentable condition, that they muſt needes fight for their houſes, wiues, and children; they helde it highly honourable, aud anſwerable to the glorie of their ancient valour, to dye fighting in their ſight, and euen before theyr owne doores.

The Mamalukes reſolued to dye in the ſight of their wiues & children.

Heereupon, each *Mamaluke* going to his own houſe, furniſhed all his houſhold, and the very toppe of his houſe with all kinde of weapons: inſtantly alſo entreating the Egyptians in each ward & ſtreete to take Armes againſt the common cruell enemie, not ſuffering themſelues to bee ſlaine, and their wiues and children carried away as ſlaues. For (quoth they) if the ſauage and inſatiate enemy do winne the victory, as accidents of warre are alwayes doubtfull: no ſpare will bee made, no not of ſuch as beare themſelues but indifferently, leaning in help to neither ſide; becauſe victory ſwelles with ſuch inſolent licence, as he reſpects not any man, but ſuch as (without doubtful ſtaggering) run deſperately to aſſiſt his fortune, when war ſtands vpon vncertaine ſucceſſe.

Victorie admitteth no reſpect of perſons.

Moſt of the Egyptians that were rich and wealthy, as they did well foreſee, that alteration in the State and Empire would be very hurtfull, and bring great loſſe and hinderance to their wealth and Trafficke: ſo, in deuotion and helpe, they vvere not failing to the *Mamalukes*. As on the contrary, moſt of the poorer Citizens, and no meane multitude of the worſer ſort (who, being voide of danger, do euermore gaine by others loſſes) remembring all the villanies and extreme oppreſſions, which they had

The baſer ſort make their beſt benefite by fiſhing in troubled ſtreames.

had ſuffered (for the ſpace almoſt of three hundred yeares) vnder the *Mamalukes*, in very wofull and wretched ſlauery, they kept themſelues within doores, awayting for the fights ſucceſſe: iocondly hoping, that the time was now come, for puniſhing their proud oppreſſors, and that reuenge would be ſought by the bloud of ſtrangers; the iſſue ſorting ſo, that theyr eyes ſhould be ſatisfied, with a pleaſing & long expected ſpectacle.

Tomumbeyo fortified the gates & waies belonging to the City.

In the meane time, *Tomumbeyo* with moſt indulgent care and labour, fortified the gates, and all the waies of the Citties entrance, appointing Captaines for euery ſtreet. In euery market place, Court, and aſſembly of people, he made very witty and perſwaſiue Orations, permitting no idle loytering in the workes: and finally (which is ſaide to be the hardeſt matter in diſtreſſe and danger) he carried an vnappalled countenance, deliuering ſignes of extraordinary hope and valour no way to be daunted. But the *Mamalukes*, ouer and aboue neceſſity (which in extreamities makes men mad and deſperate; yea, kindleth courage in errant Cowards) being ſtirred vp by emulation: did ſpeedily and couragiouſly execute the duties and offices of worthy Captaines; for euerie one of them, as his wit and inuention beſt inſtructed him, made trenches thwart the moſt paſſable ſtreetes, laying alſo great Logges of Timber croſſe vpon them. Others, made priuy pits and holes, with ſharpe-pointed ſtakes ſurely faſtened in them, whereon the enemies vnwarily falling, might gore and ſplit themſelues. Others likewiſe fitted the houſes and Windowes of euery turning ſtreete, with ſuch plenty of ſhot as their ſtore and ability afforded; and all theſe thinges were performed with ſuch expedition, as no man (not the very *Mamalukes*) made it nice, or ſtrained courteſie, to take the pickaxe & ſpade, or to do any ſeruile ſeruiceable Worke: whereby it appeared, that nothing could be thought deuiſed, but it was as expeditiouſly effected.

The buſie imployment of the Mamalukes againſt their enimies, without any curioſity, or ſcorne of taking paines.

Now, although the Citty (being verie great and old) had no wals to encloſe it; yet there were Gates, and but certayne wayes for entering into it, one whereof was a direct and very broad ſtreet, leading from the Eaſt gate to the Caſtle, and into the middeſt of the Citty. The reſt of the wayes wer but very narrow ſtreets or paſſages, ſomewhat vnſightly and diſgracefull, where no Ordnance could be drawn, nor an aranged battell meete with his oppoſite. Into this maine way or ſtreete had *Tomumbeyo* eſpecially brought a power, becauſe he well perceiued, that their enemy would couet entrance, in regarde of the ſpacious admittance. But the other quarters of the City further off, hee kept with ſmall guards: yet the inner & middle part, where the Caſtle ſtood, was guarded with a ſufficient power, for the better ſupply of all other places, where the enemies cry, or their owne fellowes perill might call their aſſiſtance. For the Citie, being the greateſt of all other, with ſo ſmal a power, could not be defended round about, namely, wayes lying open into it in euery place.

One maine or cheefe ſtreete in the City, all the reſt but of ſlender paſſage.

The great City of Cayro was not encloſed with wals.

When *Selym* had receiued certaine intelligence, that *Tomumbeyo* vvas entred *Cayro*, and all the *Mamalukes* (gathering their ſtrength into one maine head) wold try the vtmoſt fortune of warre: hee marched with his Army neerer to the Cittie. All the way he encouraged his troopes, to conſider with themſelues aduiſedly, that now they muſt intend an entire conqueſt of thoſe Enemies, whom they had already ſo often vanquiſhed; and to take a little the more paines, that their victorious rewards, might be anſwerable vnto theyr braue endeuour, for which they had formerly coueted with immoderate deſires. So pauſing a while, and commaunding a Trumpet to ſummon general ſilence, thus againe he proceeded.

Selyms armie marcheth on toward grand Cayro.

A briefe Oration of Selym, *to his Souldiers.*

He encourageth them by their late receyued good ſucceſſe.

FRiends, and Fellowes in Armes, let mee intreat you to remember, that there remaineth now but a few wretched men, with a forſaken naked King; who, being lately ſpent with wounds and feare, were not able to endure the field, but flying thence cowardly, haue verily determined, to expect at home (in the ſight of their wiues and children) the ſupreme and laſt caſt of a miſerable life.

Moreouer the Egyptians *(of their owne accord) hane ſent for me: for they deadly hating*

ting the Mamalukes very name: doe with greedy desire expect their destruction, and promise to fight from their owne houses, vtterly to destroy the race of those wicked sauage men. Neuertheless, the absolute victory of the whole war, consisteth in vtter vanquishing the remnants of the defeated, & thorowly affrighted Army; because they cannot bee accounted as ouercome, that are yet hopefull in Armes, and possesse the seat of the Empire, euen the greatest Citie thereof.

The entrance of Selym into Cayro at Bassuel gate, and manner of his further proceeding.

The souldiers soules were on fire with desire of spoile, and being all readily ranked, wanted but the signall for irruption. Whē *Selym* entring at *Bassuel* gate, sent in his horse troopes at many places at once: but the Ianizaries entred at the broader passage, where the horse (on eyther side) meeting together, a cruell & bloudy fight began in the turning streets, and narrow lanes. The foot, haling out their Falcons and Culuerings before them in the front; flanked all the streetes with them as they went along, making them naked of anie defendants. But when they came to the munitions and trenches, labouring to remoue the logges and beames, which were great hinderances vnto their passage: the *Mamalukes* gaue them very valiant resistance, and either side shewed such rare corage and valour: as neuer (in our memory) did men encounter more fiercely & bloodily. For both the *Mamalukes* and Turkes stoode on their highest tearmes of manhood, vsing all their cunning slights & policies of war, in this one deadly dāgerous fight; neither part beeing ignorant, that this was the last hope of life and Empyre, Fortune equally and indifferently presenting them with honorable rewards for the Conqueror, and shamefull disgrace for the vanquished.

No fury comparable to fierce contention for victorie.

Mighty slaughter was made at the munitions, by reason that the Turkes rashly running vpon the couered trenches, pits, and downfals, were ouerthrown on heaps one vpon another, the hindmost thrusting them on that were before; others, beeing gored & spitted on sharpe pointed stakes: vpon which aduantage, the *Mamalukes* wiues and children (with man-like hardinesse) hurled and tumbled down tiles and great stones on them thus ouerthrowne beneath, beating out the braines of verie many. On the contrary side, the Turkes with their Harquebusses, fetcht off such as they saw in the windowes, & on the houses, breaking open the doores where any harmfull thing was throwne downe, and fighting in those houses with diuerse euents. Also the Egyptians, beholding fortune now on the one side, and then againe turned to the other; assayled both sides alike as equall enemies, leaning where the lot of victory was likeliest to happen, that they might appeare onely to haue assisted that part, and thought vtter enemy to the other.

A cunning crafty maner of fighting in the Egyptians

Many encounters happened in diuers quarters at once, and according to theyr confused running in the streets, now this company, then that, lighting vppon fresh and new troopes of enemies: & they that constrained the victors in the Front, were often intercluded by the aduerse part, and beaten downe in the Rere. It was a wofull sight to beholde, the distances betweene house and house, ouer-flowing with reeking blood, which ranne out of the slaine mens bodies, as there they lay mangled & dismembred on heapes: that the Dust, which rose like a thicke mist or dark cloud before, was now laide therewith, and not to be seene at all: Notwithstanding, the ayre was meerly darkned with the smoake of the Ordnance and lesser Artillerie, as also clouds of Arrowes shot from theyr bowes: and so great was the cry and clamour among the soldiers, the clattering of weapons, and thundering of the Cannons, that the very earth seemed to groan and tremble, and the houses were rent & torne in peeces. They fought continually two dayes and two nights, with doubtfull fortune, and slender apparence of aduantage on either side: but only that the *Mamalukes* (being few in number, and not able to endure labour and watching) had retreated themselues by little and litle, into the inner parts of the City, vtterly forsaking the formost munitions.

The extremity of a thicke rising dust allayed by the blood of slain mens bodyes.

They fought two dayes and two nightes continually.

The great harm done by the ambushed trenches and downfals.

The third day, when the *Mamalukes* were in the very pitch of perill of losing their whole estate, and all that they had, (which case vsually augmenteth supreme enterprizes) chearing vp the hearts and endeuours of all men, they renewed the fight with such surpassing valor, that they droue the Turkes a great way backe, and intercepted certaine of their Faulcons. Which accident, made *Selym* to despaire

Selym despairing of victory, commãded to set the houses on fire.

of victory, so that hee commanded to set the houses on fire in all places: iust wrath against the Ægyptians, compelling him to that cruell proclamation, because (in his very sight, and but a little before) *Innubasha* was greeuously wounded in the head, by a great stone thrown down from a window.

A sodain succesſe hapning to Mustapha, against the Mamalukes.

Now were the houses on a flaming fire, now was nothing heard but wayling and weeping of the suppliant entreating Ægyptians: and nowe the Turkes fighting somewhat faintly, expected that retreate should be sounded: when sodainly newes was brought by many men together, that in another quarter, the *Mamalukes* being beaten from their stand, and defeated by enforcing *Mustapha*, reposed theyr lateſt refuge in flight. For *Mustapha* thorough the intimation of certaine Egyptians, and fugitiue *Mamalukes*, came to a very large streete, where the *Mamalukes* had placed their horses ready bridled and sadled; intending, that if any ill hap befell thẽ, their recourse might bee thither, where taking their horses, they might escape to places of further determination. He got al those horses, and led them away, hauing chased their guides within a part of the citie, nothing suspected, which was very weake, & defended by none but boyes and horsekeepers.

The Mamalukes vanquished and enforced to flight.

Which accident (as commonly it happeneth in serious and vnexpected chances) did wonderfully weaken their valour and resolution, wherefore when they wer thus defeated in their hope of flight, and they so roũd ringed about, that the fight could be maintained by no other helpe or comfort, but onely meere manhood: being as men vanquished by their own confession, they turnd their backs. Many making hast to *Nilus* with *Tomumbeyo* (who had in vaine tried all Art of valiancie, wisedome, and policy, to auoide the foile in this battaile) passing ouer the riuer by boats, went into the Region of *Seiectica*. Another multitude hid themselues in the Egyptians houses, and in most shamefull lurking dennes. But aboue 1500. of the valianteſt *Mamalukes*, fled vnto the greateſt Temple of the Citty; where after they had long time defended themselues, as out of a castle, because they would not yeeld but vpon honorable termes: at length, beeing confounded with thirst, wearines, wounds

The great Temple could be no refuge for them.

and the Ordnance violently playing still vpon them, they submitted themselues to the will and pleasure of the Conquerour. Part of them were presently slaine before the Temple, by the angry souldiers of *Selym*, he politickly winking thereat; & another part (some few dayes after) were caried downe the riuer to *Alexandria*.

The victorie fauouring Selym altogether, he sendeth his souldiers to quench the flaming fires.

The victory thus standing for *Selym*, he sent two bands to quench the fires, and proclamations were made thorough all parts of the Citty, that all the *Mamalukes* which would come in and yeelde themselues, and within the limitation of twelue houres space, should be secured from any further harme. But all such as were found after that time, should dye for their refusall; and large rewards were promised to all the Egyptians, that could disclose the lurking *Mamalukes*. Contrarywise, such as hid or concealed any of them, were presently to be spitted vpon stakes, & selling their wiues and children as slaues, to burn their houses to the ground. Vppon the fame of this Proclamation, a great number of them came abroad, who were instantly put in yrons, & afterward all most cruelly slaine in prison; because they were said to haue practised an escape. But diuers, who would not violate the rites of faith and friendshippe by betraying their friends, being accused by their neighbors, suffered losse of life, dying very constantly for their friends.

A cruell murthering of the Mamalukes in prison, after that they had yeelded themselues.

After this, the soldiers encreasing their fury, vpon the pride of this victory, searching all places; drew violently out all such as were hidden, and presently slewe them, spoiling also the Egyptians houses where they were found, leauing no place shut or concealed from them. And the very same day it hapned, that *Gazelles* cam to *Cayro*; who had beene sent (a little before) into *Thebus*, to leuy Arabians, & to hire aides. But seeing the case to bee quite changed, and that he was able to do no good either by his person or aduice; hee came with three Arabian Captaines, and many horse with them, and yeelded himselfe to *Selim*; who entertained him and all his traine very honourably, euery man according to his degree and merit.

The coming of Gazelles to Cayro, & his submission to Selym.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the third and last Battell fought at Nilus, betweene Tomumbeyo and Selym, with the ill succesſe and diſgracefull death of Tomumbeyo, and hard fate of his Mamalukes.

BVT *Tomumbeyo*, being fled (as ye haue heard) ouer the Riuer of *Nilus*, into that region which is called *Seiectica*, lying towards * *Cyrenaica*; although with ſo many diſaſtrous miſhaps he had formerly bin vanquiſhed, yet ſtill hee made a couragious reparation of the war. For, there was come to him a potent ſupply of *Mamalukes* frō *Alexandria*, being ſent for by letters out of the Cittie Garriſons, and many more alſo followed him in flight. Beſide, the *Arabians* of *Affrica* repaired to him, and the Moores likewiſe which were inhabitants of that country, promiſing him their vttermoſt fauour and helpe. Nay more, diuers Ægyptians of *Cayro*, whoſe houſes and people had bin ſpoyled and diſhoneſted, by the couetous and luxurious Turks, gaue faith alſo, that they would raiſe a tumult and inſurrection, if he would ſpeedily come thither in the dead of night; wherby might be compaſſed, that ſuch Turkes as were lodged in the City houſes, might ſodainly be deſtroyed by inuaſion of all the people together. For the Citizens, hauing ſuffered by them all abhominable and enemy-like parts, could no longer endure the iniuries of ſuch proude and malapart oppreſſors. Further they alledged, that the Turks, being (before) a potent army, were now reduced to a contemptible number: for, a great part of them were ſlaine in the battels at *Rhodania* and *Cayro*, and well-neere all the reſt were ſpent with woundes and ſickneſſe.

While *Tomumbeyo* was thus buſied about his needfull preparations, *Albuchomar* the very greateſt man (for authority, lands, & riches) in all *Seiectica*, came to *Selym*: eyther to preuent the miſchiefe of imminēt warre, to the no meane peril of his country, or elſe to win the victors fauour by Treaſon: and acquainted him not onely with the new collected powers of *Tomumbeyo*, but alſo with the practiſes concluded among the Cittizens of *Cayro*. Which when *Selym* vnderſtood, he cauſed ſtricte and ſtrong watch and ward, to bee planted in all parts of the City; commanding alſo, that the ſuſpected Cittizens ſhould be kept in the Caſtle, which (vppon the Garriſons forſaking it) very eaſily hee ſurprized. Furthermore, in diuers places along the riuer of *Nilus*, he ordered a great number of veſſelles, well furniſhed with Ordnance and ſoldiers, to defend the further banke of the riuer.

Neuertheleſſe, conſidering aduiſedly with himſelfe, how perillouſly he had often fought with moſt valiant enemies, and how difficult it would be for him to intercept *Tomumbeyo*, who (by flight) ſtill into waſte and vnknowne Regions prolonged the Warre, ſtill getting freſh and newe ſupplies. Conſidering alſo, that his owne power was ſo ſmall, and ſo far from ſuccour, as it might eaſily bee oppreſſed in that mighty Citty, by huge multitudes of men of vncertaine Faith. Vppon theſe diſcreete conſiderations, hee deſired rather to conclude the Warre by ſome honeſt compoſition, then by forcible further contending, to entangle himſelfe in new dangers.

And ſo much the rather, becauſe hee had intelligence by them of *Seiectica*, that freſh Companies of Horſſe were leuyed from all partes by the *Mamalukes*, which had fledde into diuers Regions: and the Nauie likewiſe, which was ſent into the ſtreights of the Red Sea, in the Arabian Gulffe againſt the *Portugals*, ſtoode now vppon the hopefull expectation at *Porte Suezzia*.

In the Nauy were aboue three thouſand *Mamalukes*, and *Amyraſſes*, and *Ray Salomon*, all very expert Captaines: and a great number of braſſe Peeces: whereby it appeared, that *Tomumbeyo* might gather ability, to repaire his former receiued iniuries, and ſo returne againe to the Cittie, being ſent for thither by his friends.

But the maine motiue of all, was his care of the *Perſian* affairs, leſt *Humbracoſſa* (whom he had ſent before to the mountaine *Taurus*) ſhould not prooue able to match the *Perſian* power, whereby hee

* Called alſo Pentapolitana, of the fiue Cities, Beronice, Arſinoe, Ptolomais, Apollonia, & Cyrene.

The proud inſolence of the Turkes, vpon the Cittizens, made them very contemptible.

The coming of Albuchomar to Selym, diſcouering to him the intentions of Tomumbeyo.

Selyms prouiſion to withſtand Tomumbeyo.

Selyms ſerious deliberation concerning his owne dangerous condition.

Freſh companies of Horſſe leuied by the Mamalukes.

The cheefe matter that moued Selym to seeke composition with Tomumbeyo.

should be excluded out of the lesser *Asia* and *Syria*, before the Fleet from *Constantinople* could come to *Alexandria*, with new supply of Victuals and soldiers. Hereupon, he sent very honorable men of the Cleargy, and likewise certaine Ægyptians of great estimation amongst them, as Ambassadors from him vnto *Tomumbeyo*. The effect of their Commission was briefly thus. To counsell him for a cessation from Armes, and now (at length) to acknowledge the Victors great fortune, engaging their faith to him, that if (in suppliant manner) he would come to *Selym*; by humanity and fauour of the Conqueror, he should quietly enioy the kingdom, which he was not able to hold by power. But if hee would proceede and continue Warre, careleslely forgetting his owne weakenesse: then, when warres fortune was thorowly found and determined; according to his iust desert, he shold expect no condition of dignity or life, at displeased *Selyms* hands. These Ambassadors being come into *Seiectica*, were (with frantick and barbarous cruelty) all slaine by certaine *Mamalukes*, before they had any audience.

The effect of the charge giuen to the Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors barbarously murdred.

Which proud and cruell deede, brake off all further patience in *Selym*, who was a man by nature (though not otherwise mooued) extraordinarily vehement and fierce. Immediately he proclaimed a voyage into *Seiectica* against *Tomumbeyo*, cõmanding victuals and other prouision for it. Moreouer, he gathered Boats from all parts, causing a sure and a very broade bridge to be built ouer *Nilus* riuer: as allowing it neyther answerable vnto his dignitie, nor suting with the vrgent occasion, to make his passage ouer with Boats.

A bridg builded ouer Nilus by Selym.

When *Tomumbeyo* had intelligence by his Spies, as also from the Cittizens of *Cayro*, that such an intention was prepared against him, and so strong a Bridge made ouer *Nilus*; hee (doubting the vnfaithfulnesse of the Prouincialles, whose hearts he feared to be reuolted from him, by the treacherous departure of *Albuchomar*) determined to try the selfe-same fortune of battell, which had so oftentimes deceiued his hopes. For, he being inferior in all things, could not now lengthen out the war, nor make expectation of his enemy: neither did he hold it good for him, to fly againe with losse of his dignity, and thorough farther wildernesses of hazardous aduenture, and dangerous successe.

Tomumbeyo distrusted the Prouincials constancie to him.

His departure from Seiectica, to preuent the intention of the enemy, by a sodain & vnexpected stratagem.

Wherefore, consulting with his Captaines & Commanders, concerning this last attempt, which he and his *Mamalukes* were to make; by breake of day he departed frõ *Seiectica*, accompanied with 4000. horse, and twice so many Moores and Arabes foot, continuing trauel night & day til they came to *Nilus*, that (by a bolde and sodain aduenture) he might deceyue the Turkes, who (as he vnderstood) suspected no such forwardnes, in weake, vanquished, & more then halfe dismayed men, wheras celerity would forstall any fame of his vnlookt for comming; so to destroy ỳ part of the Turkish power, which first had aduentured ouer the riuer, before they could receiue succour by their following Fellowes. Nor did the space of time beguile his opinion, because the hours (being truly accounted) made iust agreement with his speedy march thither; and euen as hee formerly coniectured so fel it out, that the vaw-ward of the *Asians* had alreadie past the Riuer. But the Muleters and boyes of *Selyms* Camp, seeking for the pleasantest places for pitching their Tents, raunging ouer farre, were the first that descried the dust of the approching enemy: whereof *Mustapha* being certified, the allarum was presently giuen.

The discouery of Tomumbeyos neere approaching.

This rumour so danted all hearts with feare, both of them that had already passed the riuer, and theirs also which stoode ready to follow after them: that *Tomumbeyo* charging the *Asians* with incomparable valour, while they were making themselues ready, and resorting vnto their Ensignes, slew them in the Front, that durst endure the shocke of the assailants) dispersed the rest, and forced them to flight: and all the vantgard was wel-neere ouer-run, and trodden downe, beside the disorder of the rest: before *Mustapha* (albeit hee fought fearlesse in the van, & very chearfully encouraged his souldiers) was able to retaine them that fledde, or to repayre the other in array. For, in this sodaine and vnexpected chance, euery place was full of the peoples confused hudlings together, slaughter, flight, and feare: and all along the riuer banke both aboue and below the newe made Bridge, were diuers companies of men discerned, looking ruful-

Sodaine accidents in Armies may dãt a bold resolued Leader, especialy when the troops fall into disordered confusion

fully behind them, and crying out to their fellowes for ſuccour. Many alſo being enforced (by the vrging troope of the Enemy) to the very brinke of the banke, fell headlong downe into the riuer; and many alſo periſhed at the end or heade of the bridge, by reaſon they could not paſſe ouer it, beeing hindred by them that were continually ſent from the further ſide; beſide, many that would haue aſcended the bridge, being impeached by fear, & thruſt backe by their owne fellowes, were drowned in the riuer.

The Bridge was ſpacious and large for paſſage.

The bridge was ſo broad, that 4. horſe in rank might well paſſe ouer together, & a great number ſent ouer in an houres ſpace. But becauſe the Ordnance was to be drawne ouer, fewer horſe were ſent, then either the greatneſſe of the danger, or ſodainneſſe of ſuch a chance did vrgently require. Nor was there any helpe in the Ordnance, which could not ſpeedily bee drawne ouer, or ſhot off from the hither banke to the other againſt the Enemie, without great danger to themſelues, by reaſon that their owne men ſtoode in the way. In the meane time, *Selym* who ranne downe to the riuers ſide, at the beginning of this hurly burly, filled ſmall boates with Ianizaries Harquebuſiers, & ſent them ouer to ſuccour their diſtreſſed fellowes; commāding the horſe alſo to make what haſt they could ouer the bridge, the nimble Marriners vſing their beſt pains, in often paſſing and returning with freſh ſupplies; ſo that within a ſhort ſpace they had conueyed ouer many bands of Ianizaries, whoſe comming confirmed the diſordered *Aſians*, and now boldly they endured the enemies violence.

Selim maketh a notable ſupply by the help of his Ianizaries ſent ouer in ſmall Boats.

The Tartares paſſed the Riuer Niluswith their horſes.

Alſo *Canoglas*, ſon to a Tartar king, encouraging his troopes of Tartares to take the riuer with their horſes; attained to the further bank of the riuer, to the admiration of all men, and loſing but fewe of his men: for the Tartares hauing learned to ſwim ouer the violent and mightie Riuer of *Tanais* and *Volga* with their horſes, were the more apt for paſſage heere. At the ſame inſtant alſo, *Tomumbeyo* fore-ſeeing, that the ſpeedy victory conſiſted therein, endeuoured with his thickeſt troopes, to win the head of the bridge, that pulling away the formoſt boats, and cutting in ſunder the cables, which faſtened the reſt together, & to the bankes: the whole bridge being ſo let looſe at liberty, might be caried away with the ſtreames violence, & all the Turkes that were vpon it. This cauſed a very dangerous conflict, for the choſen and beſt armed *Mamalukes* conſtraining the front, fought with ſingular valor. And on the other ſide, *Muſtapha* perceiuing the preſent perill, brought vp the colours, and all the valianteſt of his ſoldiours, to make good that place: ſo that both ſides contended with ſuch ſurpaſſing manhood as the weightineſſe of the caſe required. For, the *Mamalukes* ſaw manifeſtly, that if they could winne that place, they ſhould (with very ſhort worke) ouerthrow all the enemies former victories: and the Turks as plainly perceiued, that except they kept and preſerued the bridge, the ſafety of thē-ſelues, the whole eſtate of the army, yea & the ruine of their Emperor, lay now at the ſtake, and all brought to vtter deſpaire.

A worthy policy deuiſed by Tomumbeyo, to cut away the bridg of boats

The maine aime on eyther ſide, in their hope & expectation.

Hereupon, *Muſtapha* ſo preuailed by his Harquebuſiers, & troops of Greek horſe, which in ſundry companies had paſſed the bridge: that the enemies were repulſed & forced to retire a great way backe. Now *Tomumbeyo* that he might giue ſome reſpit to his *Mamalukes* to breathe themſelues a while, being not able to fight fiercely, becauſe their horſe were ſpent and tired, & that after a freſh repairing of their ſtrēgth he might aduenture the extreme & lateſt fortune of the battell, encouraged the Moores and Arabians to maintaine the fight, vntill the *Mamalukes* had breathed a little. Which when they had valiantly performed, and the *Mamalukes* (hauing ſomwhat comforted their own bodies & horſes) making good their place, the battel was againe renewed with ſuch rigour on their behalfe, that *Selym* (diſtruſting the victory) doubted not to aſcend the bridge, and runne to ſuccour his men, although his friends earneſtly labored him to the contrary.

Tomumbeyo encourageth the Moores & Arabes to maintaine the fight.

His coming (which brought freſh hope into his Souldiers hearts, they coueting to win reward and praiſe, by doing ſome ſeruiceable action in their Emperours ſight) repreſſed all the enemies beſt endeuour, and were forced vnto flight, onely through the valiancie of the Ianizaries. Purſued were they ouer all the Fieldes, by thoſe Horſe which had beene at the fight, and likewiſe by the Tartares, who gaulled them very greeuouſly

The Ianizaries put the foe to flight, and win the honour of the day.

with their Arrowes. But afterward, *Mustapha*, *Cayerbey*, and *Gazelles*, were sent with a company of fresh and swift horse, to follow them that fled, and not to suffer *Tomumbeyo* to escape: who the third day after, was found by certaine Peazants, standing in a Marish vppe to the waste in Water, among Bull-rushes and Reedes; and they (for feare of death) deliuered him to the Captaines, who brought him to *Selym*, who would not vouchsafe to see him.

Tomumbeyo taken and brought to Selym.

After he had caused him to bee a long time in vaine tormented, to disclose the treasures of *Campson*; at last he gaue command, that he should be carried about all the famous streets of the Citty, riding on a vile Camels backe, and in poore ragged Garments, with his hands bound behind him; and then to bee hanged vp with an halter, for the murthering (as hee pretended) of his Ambassadors, although the Noble Prince was altogether guiltlesse thereof. The like fate also befell to all the *Mamalukes* that were in prison, or could be taken. After the shamefull death of *Tomumbeyo*, who was executed the thirteenth day of Aprill, Anno 1517. all the whole Empire of the Soldan yeelded, and likewise all the Princes that had beene tributaries to the Soldan, euen vnto the dominions of *Prestre Iohn*.

How basely Selym vsed Tomumbeyo, and afterward hanged him.

All the Sultanes Empire yeelded to Selym.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the first inuention of wearing Ringes: to what end it was. And of many ancient and admirable things, tending vnto the same purpose.

AMong all other Iewels and Ornaments, inuented by the spirite and industry, or rather by the vanity of man, to embellish & beautify himselfe withall: there is not any comparable to that of Rings: bee it for riches, or curiosity in workemanship. For, ouer and beside that they are made in a round and circular figure, which is the most perfect of all other: they are beside so subiect and light, that they may be worne on the least finger of the hand. Neuertheless, they are alwayes made of the very richest mettall of all, and accompanyed with stones, the most precious and exquisite that are to be had, and valewed to bee the onely esteemed things in the world. Behold then, what meanes the ambition of men found out, to weare a ring vpon one finger, valewing in price the worth of a Citty: for, it is not vnknowne, there are some such precious stones, that are esteemed as a world of Gold, and yet notwithstanding, they hinder not the hand from the vse of any exercise whatsoeuer. And albeit that Rings haue serued, and yet do, to some other more necessary ends & effects, then those before related: yet the very principall point which brought them into vse, was to glad and delight the eye, and to deliuer an outward testimonie of Nobility, and shew the persons estimation. But because they are now grown very common, and yet much esteemed, I will set downe certaine ancient Histories, incident to our present purpose, not greatly irksome to reade or heare.

Rinｇes made of the purest and richest mettall of all other.

The principal end that did bring Ringes into vse.

Rings were outward notes of riches and Nobility.

In the first place, it is not resolutely determined, who was the prime inuenter of Rings: and yet some do say, that the first Rings knowne to be worne, was in the remembrance of *Prometheus*, who (as the Poets faigned) beeing chained to a rocke by the appointment of *Iupiter*, was deliuered by *Hercules*, with the permission of *Iupiter*; with this condition neuertheless, that in perpetual memory of his imprison ment, the saide *Prometheus* stood obliged, to weare incessantly a ring of gold, enchased with a stone of the rocke whereto hee was prisoner; and thereby some hold, that the vse of rings tooke thence the first beginning. *Pliny* and many other authors reputed this discourse for a fable, as al Christians ought to do: and because it is a leasing, and friuolously feigned, I meane to insist thereon no further.

Concerning the inuention of Rings.

Prometheus deliuered frō the rocke by Hercules.

Concerning mine owne opinion, I am of the mind, that the inuention of Ringes came not by one man only, but from many, and in diuers times; considering, it neuer was any note of great cunning, to take the fingers bignesse by a thred, and with that measure to make a Ring of Golde or Iron: such as aunciently were worne by the very cheefest Lordes of *Lacedemon* and

Rings neuer the inuention of one man onely.

Rings inuented by the vanity of man.

and *Rome*, before they gaue themselues ouer to the superfluities and dissolutions, which afterwardes reigned in all things. And vndoubtedly, the custome and ceremonie continued long time amongst the *Romaines*, that the Ring of Honour, which the husband sent to his spouse on the marriage day, was made of yron. *Plinie* discoursing on the antiquitie of *Rings*, saith, That they were not in vse in the war time betweene the *Greekes* and *Troians*: considering that *Homer* (who wrote thereof very amply) maketh no mention at all of Rings, much lesse, that they sealed then with Rings. And yet notwithstanding, he speaketh sufficiently of Chains and Bracelets, which were at that time worne, and of the manner of closing and sealing Letters: so that if Rings had then bin in vse, *Homer* would neuer haue let it sleepe in silence.

The mariage Ring of Honour vsed among the Romanes.

Rings not in vse at the wars of Troy.

But the good olde man *Plinie*, cannot ouer-reach vs with his idle arguments and coniectures; for we reade in *Genesis*, that *Ioseph* (who liued aboue fiue hundred and fifty yeares before the warres of *Troy*) hauing expounded the dreame of *Pharaoh*, King of *Aegypt*, was by the sayde Prince made Superintendent ouer his kingdom, and for his safer possession in that estate, he tooke off his Ring from his hand, and put it vpon *Iosephs* hand. And surely, kings did not onely weare Rings in those times, because we reade that *Thamar*, desiring to haue issue by the race of *Iudah* her father in lawe (who was brother to *Ioseph*) had his company, vnder colour of beeing a common whoore, and receiued as presents from him, his Staffe and his Ring. In *Moses* time, which was more then foure hundred yeares before *Troy* warres, wee find Rings to be then in vse; for we reade that they were comprehended in the ornaments, which *Aaron* the High-Priest should weare, and they of his posteritie afterward, as also it was auouched by *Iosephus*.

Gen.41,42. Pliny reproued by greater authority.

Gen.38,18.

Exod.28,26.

Ioseph.in lib. Antiq.Iudaic. 4.cap.5.

Whereby appeareth plainely, that the vse of Rings was much more ancient, then *Pliny* reporteth them in his Coniectures: but as he was a Pagan, and ignorant in sacred writings, so it is no maruell, if these things went beyond his knowledge. According as himselfe apparently manifesteth, speaking of them of his owne Countrey: for hee sayth, the vse of *Rings* were anciently so rare in *Rome*, & specially such as were of gold; that there was no auncient Statue to be seen ringed, except those of the Kings, *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullius*, for all other Statues were without Rings. Hee sayth moreouer, that (ordinarily) no other Rings were worne in *Rome*, but of yron, and that the custome of the *Romans* was, to giue Rings of gold (by way of prerogatiue) to Ambassadours, which they sent to any King, or to some strange Nation. And yet notwithstanding, they that entred *Rome* triumphantly, wore no other Rings then of yron, although crownes of gold were allowed for their heads, & long time did this custome continue.

Plin.in lib 7. cap.18.

Statues of kings wearing Rings.

Triumphers in Rome, wore Iron Rings, but Crownes of gold.

Afterward, when the *Romaines* became more braue and sumptuous, yet did they expresly prohibite in *Rome*, to all mechanicall persons, and men of meane condition, to weare Rings of golde: except they were rancked with the Souldiers, or *Romain* Cauallerie, which was a third estate, betweene the Order of the Senators, and the common popularitie; as now-adayes is our Nobilitie. Whereuppon, Rings were so priuiledged, that in giuing licence to any one to weare a ring of gold, it was as much as to ennoble him, and to passe him for a Gentleman. For, as *Pliny*, *Dion*, and many other haue left in their writings, the *Roman* Knights were known, and those of the Military Order, amongst the common people, and distinguished from them by Rings, which they wore on their fingers: euen as euidently as Senatours were knowne by their long Purple Roabes, embroidered with large headed nailes. For this cause, the Poet *Horace* attributed Rings to the Cauallerie, bestowing on them the name of Knights, or Gentlemen.

No Mechanick or mean persons to weare Rings of gold in Rome.

Dion in lib 9. Plin. in lib. vbi supra.

Equester ordo.

This priuiledge then of wearing Rings of golde, might not be graunted, but to such as had accomplished some high enterprise, or that were men of power, and worthily deserued. And assuredly, this prerogatiue was so affected generally, that *Iulius Cæsar*, coueting to embolden his Souldiours by remunerations and promises: after a long Oration made to them, hee would lift vp his finger, in signe, that they should enioy whatsoeuer he promised. And all his Army conceiuing, that by this signe, hee would permit them to weare Rings of golde, which intimated asmuch,

Who onely were allowed to weare rings of gold.

Cæsars encouraging signe to his Soldiors.

asmuch, as that they should all be knights; were the more sprightly encouraged, and serued him with most chearful dispositiō.

Rings giuen to such as deserued them not, onely in the Emperors times.

Very true it is, that in the time of the Emperours, this preheminence was giuen to many that deserued it not, as wee may see in *Iuuenall* and *Suetonius*, as also in the Commentaries or Chronicles of *Iulius Cæsar*, and of *Vitellius*. Neuertheless, the Edict, whereby it was inhibited to Mechanickes to weare Rings of golde, was not in force at the second warre against the *Carthaginians*, and the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* which happened at *Cannas*: for, according as *Pliny* and *Titus Liuius* doe report, three bushells of Ringd (belonging to the *Romaines* slaine in the battell of *Cannas*) were found among the slaughtered bodies. In like maner, as *Cicero* alleadged in his fift pleading against *Verres*, he vsed these very words; *When a Generall of the Romaine Army, obtained any victorie, hee ordinarily gaue a Ring to his Secretarie, as a reward for his faithfulnesse.* Many other things were also in custome then, which wee will heereafter more at large discusse: after we haue proued by Examples and Histories, to what end Rings were worne in elder times, and in what manner.

3 bushells of rings found in the field at the battel of Cannas.

First then, our reuerend predecessours vsed to weare their Rings, on the next finger to the least vpon the left hand, according as it was obserued by the Statues of *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullus*, Romain kings; because that finger was called *Digitus Annularis*, The Ring finger. And certainely (as *Plinie* saith in his seauenth Booke and eighteenth chapter) the Ring worne vpon the left hand, was a meere expression of modesty: the *Romaines* imagining, that it was a matter ouer-curious and superfluous, to weare any Rings at al: and therfore, to make the lesser shew of them, they did euer weare them on the left hand. Nor can we say (according to *Plinie*) that this was done to any other end, but because the left hand was more at liberty then the right in the mannaging of Armes, it seruing then, but as a defence to the bodie, in carrying onely Shields and Targets, as Souldiers vsed then to doe, the right hand hauing no such ease.

On what finger our graue elders vsed to weare their ringa, & theyr reason for so doing,

The left hand more at ease then the right

Neuertheless, some do say, that Rings were worne on the left hand, for the more safetie and assurance, considering that it is the hand least employed; and that the Ring-finger was elected for the same respect: *For it is least set to labour of all the fingers*, as *Macrobius* saith. Pursuing the same case, and alleging *Pliny* for the point, he addeth these words; *There is a veine or nerue, comming from the heart, which taketh his ending in the Ring-finger for which cause and reason, that finger deserueth to be crowned with golde*. *Aulus Gellius* also is of the same opinion. Others affirme, that Rings are worne vpon that finger, for physicke, or physically: and that the vertue of precious stones enchased in them, doe penetrate to the heart, by meanes of the forenamed veine. *Macrobius*, grounding his conceit vpon the *Pythagorian* numbers, whereof the *Egyptians* made vse; alleageth many other reasons concerning Rings, which I passe the lightlier ouer, as seeming to bee matters of small importance. We will resolue then on the last opinion, appearing to bee the most receiuable: although we see rings to be worne indifferently, vpon all the fingers that are on the hand.

A veine in the ring-finger coming from the heart.

Rings worne on *Digitus annularis* only for phisicke, in regard of the veine leading to the heart.

Macrobius doth auouch, that the most principall cause of inuenting or finding rings, was to serue as Seales: for in former times, euerie man caused to be engrauen in Stones so enchased in Rings, what did best please his owne minde and affection, and wherewith to seale vp his Letters.

Rings deuised for the sealing of Letters at the first.

This was then the reason of bringing Rings in vse, although now-adayes they are that way least imployed: and assuredly, men (in elder dayes) were so curious for well keeping their Rings and Signets, that they would seale with them verie seldome. Which I thinke not to be so vsed amongst the *Romaines*, because they were so neare-handed, as not onely they sealed their Letters with their Signets, but also sealed therewith their Chests, Coffers, Ambries, Cub-boords and purses, that kept the housholde keyes; yea, and sealed their Cellers, wherein were their stored wines, for feare lest they should be stollen away from them; and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* himselfe sayth, that his mother did the same.

The grippleness of the Romaines in sealing vp all things.

Now cōcerning the vse of sealing with Rings, it is very ancient, according as we may reade in many Examples and Histories, especially iu the sacred Scriptures, where

The antiquity of sealing with rings.

where it is said, That Queene *Iesabel*, wife to *Achab* King of *Samaria*, sealed with the Kings Ring, the Commaund whereby she sent to haue *Naboth* put to death: and yet notwithstanding, this was fifteene hundred yeares before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

3 Reg 21,8.

Moreouer, when the Prophet *Daniel* (by the Kings commaundemenr) was put into the Denne of Lions; the stone which closed the mouth of the sayde denne, was sealed with the Kings Ring, and the rings of all the Princes in the kingdome: whereby appeareth, that Rings serued them to seale withall; as now they are vsed in any Kingdome, when the King confirmeth any especiall priuilege.

Dan,6,17.

And in these venerable elder times, Stones were enchased and fixed in Rings, vpon which stones were cut and engrauen diuers formes and figures, deuised onelie to seale withall. Heereupon did the Poet write:

Iuuenall

I knew the Letter, and the faithfull stone.

Asmuch to say, as he knew the partie from whence the Letter came, by the figure engrauen vpon the stone in the ring, implying, that he knew the Seale. In regard wherof, when men made their rings, they studied to exceede one an other in riches and costlinesse, especially Kings and other great Lords; witnesse the so much renowned Seale-ring of *Polycrates* a Tyrant in the Isle of *Samos*. And although many did suspect the narration of that Seale, as a matter meerely fabulous: yet notwithstanding, *Cicero*, *Plinie*, *Strabo* and *Herodotus*, doe holde it for a true historie, affirming it to be an Emerauld engrauen, wherewith this Prince vsed to seale his Missiues and Patents, as briefly wee will say somewhat of the discourse.

The famous Seale-ring of Polycrates. *Cicero de finit. bonct malor. Plin. in l. 14 c. 9. Strabo in lib. 4. Herodot. in l. 9.*

This Prince, hauing long time liued in great prosperitie, neuer finding Fortune any way contrary to him, knowing also in others her instabilitie to be such, as it was impossible for a man to passe through the courses of this life, without experimenting her variable trauerses; was willing to fal into a voluntary misfortune, as hoping (by that meanes) to satisfie whatsoeuer Fortune could inflict vpon him. Hereupon, taking the Ring which he so highly esteemed, he threw it into the very deepest place of the Sea, to haue the lesse hope for euer finding it againe; which yet he did, as *Herodotus* maintaineth, by the aduice of *Amasias* King of *Aegypt*, and his confederate. It hapned, that within some few dayes after, a Fisher-man presented him with a fish caught in the Sea, which was very great, and much remarkeable. As the Cooke belonging to *Polycrates* was in dressing the same fish, he found in the bowells thereof, the Ring which his Lord had throwne into the Sea; an accident very admirable, and fortunate to *Polycrates*. When King *Amasias* heard thereof, hee departed from the league of friendship which hee had long continued with *Polycrates*, sending him expresse word by his Ambassadours; that it was impossible for a man to be so fortunate, but ere long he must fall into farre greater misfortune, euen to the pittying of his best friends. As it hapned to him in short time after: For, King *Darius* making war against him, was taken in the said war by *Orandus*, Lieutenant generall to *Darius*, who caused him to be hanged and strangled. This came thus to passe, two hundred & thirty yeres before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

The history of Polycrates and his voluntary faling into misfortune.

Such accidents do not happen to many men, let them make triall neuer so often.

The fortunat man is alwaies waited on by misfortune.

Pliny sayth, that the Stone enchased in this costly Ring, was a Cornalline: yet *Herodotus* affirmeth it to be an Emerauld; but there appeareth some defect heerein, because *Pliny* sayth, *How was it possible in those times, that an Emeraulde could bee engrauen?* In briefe, it was an ordinarie matter among Princes, to seale Letters with their Rings. As we may obserue by *Alexander* the Great, who (according as *Quintus Curtius*, and many more beside doe auouch) being willing to acquaint *Hephestion*, his choice fauourite, with a secret which he had set downe in a Letter, shewing it to him, he tooke the Ring from his finger, and set it to *Hephestions* lippes, as a signe of sealing them vp with silence.

Plin. in lib. vbi supra.

An ordinary thing for Princes to seale with their Rings.

Suetonius sayth, that *Octauius* the Emperour vsed the forme of a * *Sphinx* in his Seale; whereupon the Poets fained, that the *Sphinx* was a monster like to a * *Harpiæ*, which demaunded many doubtfull questions of passengers, ouerthrowing and also killing such, as could not resolue their Riddles. Whereupon the *Romaines* emblazoning the Seale of *Octauius*, vsed as a commō saying; that his *Sphinx* might raise some such doubtfull cause, as would be very difficult to resolue. And this made

* A beast like to an Ape or Monky.
* The monstrous and rauennous birds Aello, Ocypte and Celane.

Octauius

Doubtfull figures in Signet Rings.

Octauius to alter his Seale, engrauing therein the Image of *Alexander* the great.

Mecœnas, a great fauourite of the sayde *Octauius*, had a Frogge engrauen in his Seale; and although that creature is naturally very timorous: yet notwithstanding, the Romains greatly feared the Frog of *Mecœnas*, because by vertue of the Mandations sent vnder that Seale, they payed great subsidies and tributes. *Pompey* the Great had a Lion in his Signet.

A signet ring caused the long war betweene Marius and Silla.

In briefe, Signets were so much respected, as it is well remembred, that the Signet Ring of *Silla*, moued that most cruell warre, which happened betweene him and *Marius*. In that Ring was engrauen the Image of *Bocchus*, King of *Carthay* or *Mauritania*, whom *Silla* tooke with king *Iugurthe*; which was so highly displeasing to *Marius*, to whom *Silla* was Lieutenant; as hee tooke occasion thereby, to enter open Armes against him. *Plinie* also saith, that the Sociall warre, which the Romaines waged against their confederates, was moued by the meanes of a Signet, which procured the enmitie between * *Drusus* and *Scipio*.

* Grandfather to Cato.

Mens figures engrauen in Rings, as in the time of the Romane Emperors.

But passing from these particular Signets of diuers Princes, we are to obserue, that the Romains caused their owne proper figures to be engrauen in their Rings. As is well deliuered by *Plautus*, who introduceth a Bawde in one of his Comedies, that by the impression of a Ring, knew the iests and countenance of a souldier her friend. Neuertheless, when the Emperours reigned in *Rome*; such as then were pleasing to them, carried their Images engrauen in their Signets. It may then be helde for certaine, that (almost) from the beginning of the world (by that which hath already beene said) Rings were in vse to bee worne, euen as now-adayes they are in many Countries, where Armes and other deuices, are ordinarily carried in Rings.

Rings onely deuised for brauery, and the eyes contentment.

Wee may conclude then, that Rings were made (at the first) for brauerie, and onely to giue delight to the eie; as also for some other reasons, whereof wee shall speake heereafter. And vndoubtedly, the custome of wearing Rings hath beene of long continuance; for, beside the Histories and Examples before related, wee reade of that couragious woman *Iudith*, who hauing sworne the death of *Holophernes*, shee put off her mourning garments, and to execute her intention, shee clothed herselfe with goodly habites, enriching hir comely person with Bracelets, Rings and eare-rings. The Romains likewise wore Iewelles, and Rings on all fingers of the hand, except on the middle finger, which is the greatest aboue all the other, and which they holde to bee infamous; for a reason, whereof I purpose not now to speake.

Iudith 10,4.

All fingers ringd except the middle finger.

Pliny saith, that after the victory which *Pompey* obtayned in *Asia*, the Romaines greatly inured themselues to weare rings; and brauery grew then into such request, that in Winter they vsed to weare bigge rings: but those appoynted for Summer, were much more light, subtile and ingeniously made. Also, they named theyr Rings according to the fingers whereon they wore them, as is affirmed by *Iulius Pelagius*. *Plinie* saith, that the second finger, or that whereon the Romaines beganne to weare their rings, next vnto the Ring-finger, was the first finger, which is neareste to the pulse; and then afterwards they wore them on the litle finger. Moreouer he saith, that many (in his time) wore three Rings on ech finger: neuertheless, such as were most dainty and curious, would weare but one Ring only vpon the whole hand.

Rings for Winter and for Summer.

Plin. in lib. 7. cap. 18.

From hence it ensued, that euery Nation beganne to seeke very diligently for stones that were of greatest price and value; onely to serue in Rings as Signets, and thereon to engraue their deuices. Notwithstanding, among the stones of choicest esteeme, that of *Pyrrhus* (who waged warre against the Romaines) in auncient times was accounted to be most excellent. For, in that precious stone, (without any helpe, inuention or arte of man) was naturally discerned, the figures of nine goddesses, and a yong naked child standing by them: so that they were censured, by graue opinion, to bee the portraits of the nine Muses, and of *Apollo*. A matter very strange, and somewhat difficult to be credited: neuertheless, many Authors (worthy beliefe) doe auouch it for a true historie, especially *Plinie*. And questionles, according to the iudgement of Philosophers, this might happen thus naturally, by the great and immeasurable heate of matter consisting in the sayde stone;

Rich stones sought for by all Nations to make Signets.

The rare precious stone belonging to King Pyrrhus.

Plin in lib. vbi supra.

ſtone; or elſe by ſome correſpondencie, or celeſtiall influence, with the Stars and Planets, euen as a woman may produce a monſter, wholly different from humane kind, and by the ſelfe ſame influences.

Albert. Magnus in lib. de prop. Rerum.

Albertus Magnus ſaith, that he ſawe at *Collen*, in the chappell of the three Kings, a Stone, wherein was naturally figured and diſcerned two mens heads, placed vpon a Serpent. *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour of precious Stones ſayth, that this may be ſo, naturally; affirming moreouer, to haue ſeene ſeauen trees, all of one forme, naturally portrayted in a Stone. And not to tie my ſelfe to other mens teſtimonies, I haue obſerued in Columnes of Marble and Iaſper, men naturally figured, and many other ſhapes beſide, very remarkeable, both for the diuerſitie of colours, and ſingularitie of ſhadowes naturally thereto belonging. And therefore, ſeeing ſo manie credible perſons haue written, concerning the precious Ring-ſtone of King *Pyrrhus*: it might very well be, that the Nine Muſes were therein naturally figured, and appearing to the life.

Leonard. Camil. in Mir. Lap. pre.

Liuely figures diſcerned naturally in Marble and Iaſper pillars.

Now, for that which is reported, as touching the Ring of *Giges*, King of *Lydia*, (which *Plinie* attributeth to King *Midas*) it ſeemes a matter ſtrange and incredible. This Ring had ſuch a property, that being on the finger, and turned to the in-ſide of the hand, the wearer went inuiſible; but turning it to the out-ſide, then he was viſible againe, and to be ſeeue of all men as before; all which was made ſo publiquely knowne, that men tooke it offenſiuely, when they were demaunded, if they had ſeene *Gyges* Ring, or no. *Plato* the diuine Philoſopher ſayth in his Booke of Common-wealth, that by reaſon of a certaine tempeſt and earthquake, the ground opened, and a great deepe gulfe was publikely diſcerned. *Gyges*, being then a Sheepheard, but a man of bolde ſpirit, deſcended downe into the gulfe, and found there a great horſſe, which was of Braſſe, and hollow; within which horſſe was a dead body, of a Giant-like and prodigious ſtatue. He looking conſideratly on the huge body, eſpied a Ring vpon his finger, which he tooke off, and hauing put it vppon his owne, found himſelfe ſodainely returned to his fellowes: where they (as then) were keeping Cattell.

The wonderfull Ring of Gyges king of Lydia.

Plato in lib. Reipub. Concerning the hiſtory of Gyges, and in what manner he found his Ring.

It came to paſſe, that *Gyges* (accidentally) turned the ſtone in the Ring toward the palme of his hand, and then heard his companions talking of him, as if hee was abſent from their company: whereupon, beeing wiſe and ingenious, hee preſently conceiued, that this proceeded from ſome hidden vertue in the Ring. So, finding it to be true; and truſting to the ſecret vertue thereof, he went to the Court of *Candaules* King of *Lydia*, where hee preuayled ſo fortunately, that he obtained the loue of the Queene. Afterward, hauing ſlaine the King, by meanes of his wife, he poſſeſſed himſelfe of the kingdome, and ſo became King of *Lydia*. *Cicero* taketh this narration of *Plato*, no otherwiſe then as a morall Fable, applyed by him to colour what he ſayd. *Philoſtratus*, diſcourſing of Serpents and dragons in the *Indiaes*, ſaith, That in certaine Stones, the heads of Serpents and Dragons are to be ſeene, naturally figured; and that this may be proued by the Ring of *Gyges*. Seeing then, that ſo many famous Writers make mention of *Gyges* Ring, we may well allow it to be a true Hiſtorie, and no Fable.

How Gyges found out the inuiſibility of the Ring.

In what manner Gyges became king of Lydia.

Philoſtratus diſcourſing of ſtones in India.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ *Of the properties and vertues, ſecretly concealed in precious Stones: And whence the vertue proceedeth, which is ſayd to be in Magicall Rings.*

AS touching the before remembred Ring of *Gyges*, albeit I will not reſolutely affirme, that it had (indeede) any ſuch propertie (as elſewhere in other places, according as hath beene obſerued by experience, and as may be gathered by the writings of diuers credible authors, cõcerning precious ſtones, hauing wonderfull and vnſpeakeable qualities and vertues:) yet notwithſtanding, making no ſuch ſtrange reckoning of that ring, Magitians haue promiſed to execute far greater matters, then the ring of *Gyges* was able to do. Therefore, if that which is written of *Giges* be true, I am of the mind, that he did it by the Art of Magick, rather then any other vertue elſe: as all they doe, that

The Author refuſeth to iuſtifie the hidden vertue of Gyges ring

Magicall matters performed by Astrologie.

that compasse all their intentions, by the power of Astrologie, obseruing times, as also the aspects and influences of Starres and Planets, whereunto they ascribe peculiar rules, whereof we purpose to speake somewhat.

But, returning to the vertues and properties of precious stones; It is very certayne, that our graue Ancients did place such stones in their Rings, and wore them vpon their fingers, onely to be sensible of their properties. Neuertheless, although they should be indued with great vertues, yet I am perswaded, that theyr qualities are not so precious, as proclamation is made of them. Wherefore, not to stand on desciphering their virtues particularly, I will direct my Readers to such Bookes, where their natures are at large described; contenting my selfe, to speake of some few, as they haue beene (in some measure) related to me.

More vertues reputed to be in precious stones, then the Author crediteth.

Of the Diamond, and his properties

First then, it is saide of the Diamond, that it is very singular against sorcerie, charmes and enchauntments, naturally strengthening the heart by his vertues: but especially against illusions of phantasies and spirites, which terrifie by sodaine affrightings. Also I reade, that it is exceeding good for women with child, for the conseruation of their fruit.

The Amethyst.

The Amethyst serueth as a counter-poyson, and likewise is a defensatiue against drunkennesse.

The Rubye.

The Balais or Ruby, restraineth the inordinate appetites of the flesh, and is a soueraigne help to the health of any body.

The Carbuncle.

The Carbuncle is very preseruatiue against pestilentiall and infecting ayres, and asswaging luxurious or carnall desires, doth greatly comfort and delight the heart.

The Corall.

The Corall contayneth in it diuers especiall properties; for it stencheth or stayeth bleeding; it is a preseruatiue against gastly visions, and dreadfull dreames; it is likewise very chearefull to the heart and vitall spirits.

The Crystall.

As concerning the Crystall, it is soueraigne against such persons or things, as can enchaunt or charme by their looks or sight: and it also is a restriction and defence, from dreaming of offensiue matters.

The Iacinth.

The Iacinth, is cordiall and comfortable to the heart, in like manner as the Corall is; and is also a soueraigne preseruatiue against the pestilence.

It is credibly reported and written, that wearing an Emeraulde on the finger, it maketh the partie chaste and continent, as hating and despising the lusts of the flesh. And some holde it for certaine, that if it be worne on the finger of a Maide, that hath lost her virgin-honour, it will break immediatly. It is also greatly auaileable against euill spirits, against tempests, and against the falling sickenes.

The Emerald called the stone of Chastity.

The Cornalline moderateth all wanton appetites, and glads the heart wonderfully: this stone is the best of all other to seale withall, because waxe will neuer cleaue vnto it.

The Cornalline or Cornixe.

The Topaze doth appease the passions of the mind, asswageth the impetuous tempests of choller and phrensies, quite ouerthroweth the melancholy humour; and finally, it purifieth the blood. Behold what seuerall vertues remayne in the fore-remembred Stones.

The Topaze

Many other there are, of great and extraordinary vertue, which I let passe the lightlier, referring the Reader to *Aristotle* (although the booke of Stones, and bearing his name, was none of his worke, by plaine appearance;) and to *Albertus Magnus*, in his Treatise of Minerall matters; to the Poet *Marbodeus*, in his Booke of precious Stones; to *Serapion*, in his Booke of Simples; to *Isidorus*, in his sixt Booke of Etymologies; to *Bartholomeus* the Englishman, in his Tract of the Properties of naturall things; and (aboue all) to *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour or Glasse of precious Stones. *Plinie* also hath written of them in many places; likewise *Vincentius*, and many other, whom I spare to name for breuities sake.

The ingenuity of men, by enchasing precious stones in Rings.

But I pray you, let vs bestow a little consideration, on the perspicacitie and ready apprehension of mans spirit, in finding out the maner and meanes to set and enchase precious Stones in Rings, thereby to enioy their proprieties and vertues. Nay, there were some that conueighed poison into their rings, to compasse their owne speedy death, if any misfortune did throw them into any dangerous disaster: notwithstanding it ensued from the instigation of the diuell, inducing diuers auncient Pagans to despaire, as may be obserued in sundry olde Histories.

Poysons put into diuers Rings in elder times.

Especially renowned *Hannibal*, who vsually caried poyson in his Ring, whereof he dyed in *Bythinia*, because he would not fall into the hands of *Titus Flaminius* (Ambassador from the Romaines) his capitall enemie; he

The ring of Hanniball. bearing poyson in it.

he hauing ſlaine (before) the father of *Flaminius* in *Italy*: to whom *Pruſias* King of *Bythinia*, would haue deliuered *Hannibal*, thereby to winne grace with the *Romanes*. *Plinie* ſayth, that the great *Athenian* Oratour *Demoſthenes*, imitated the very ſame example.

Heliogabalus the Romane monſter.

Heliogabalus, a very vile conditioned prince, ordinarily carryed poyſon in his Ring, and to the ſame end: albeit as *Lampridius* ſayth, in reporting his life, he deſerued not ſo honourable a death, as impoyſoning. *Pliny* ſpeaks of this matter, and maner of carrying poyſons in rings, to bee an ordinary obſeruation, and very common in his time.

Aſpects and influences of the ſtars enchaſed in rings, and greatly truſted vnto.

Moreouer, thoſe ancient fore-goers did ſingularly obſerue the aſpects, & influences of Starres, as well by forging them into their rings, as alſo by engrauing them in ſtones, when they were to be enchaſed, by thoſe meanes to giue them vertue: a moſt wicked, vile & vnworthy action, not meet to be remembred amõg Chriſtians. And aſſuredly there are many Authours, which diſcourſe on thoſe Images & Carracters, made by obſeruation of Aſtronomicall Conſtellations, and which made promiſe of mountaines and meruailes by thoſe meanes. Affirming, that ouer and beſide the naturall vertue of the ſtone; it attained to a new ſtrength and quality, by the Image engrauen thereon, as alſo by the alliance and propinquity, which it had with the mettall wherein it was placed. And they would maintayne, that thoſe Planets and Starres gaue influence, and communicated their virtue to thoſe rings, forged in that ceremonious manner; euen as to the things ſubiected to their influences; and ſo by this means, the naturall vertue of thoſe ſtones, was fortified by the Magicall vertue thus attained vnto.

Magical rings made vnder the obſeruation of Starres and Planets.

Rings baptized by naturall Magicke, and in what maner, being applyed for the curing of ſundry infirmities.

In this manner, they baptized (by the name of naturall Magicke) this colligation or connexion, which they performed by hearbs, mettalls, perfumes and carracters, and which they vnited or combined together in one ring, ſaying: That rings compoſed in that maner, were ſoueraigne againſt the Apoplexie or dead palſie, and anguiſh in the ſides. Some there were made proper to reioyce the heart, to heale and mittigate the rage and fury of a madman; and alſo that they ſerued as preſeruatiues againſt poyſon, and for many other diſeaſes; as to conſerue a man, euen for the encreaſing of his naturall ſtrength. In briefe, they attributed many admirable proprieties to theſe Rings, wherein breuitie conſtraineth me to be ſilent. Notwithſtanding, whoſoeuer deſireth to be heereein further informd, may make his recourſe to the Mirrour of precious Stones, ſet downe by *Leonardus Camillus*, and to *Cornelius Agrippa*, in his Booke of Secret Philoſophie; to *Albertus Magnus*; and *Tabitheus*, a Philoſopher highly renowned, diſcourſing on this Argument; as the like doth *Iuſtinatus*, *Soſſerinus* and diuerſe other. Neuertheleſſe, I doe not greatly rely on what they haue ſayd; becauſe I neuer experimented the vertue of Magicall Rings.

Helps for further informatiõ to ſuch as are deſirous.

Rings to be made vnder each ſeuerall Planet, and their ſecret infuſed vertues.

True it is, that ſuch as make profeſſion heereof, do ſay and auouch, That by obſeruing the Conſtellations, requiſite as well for forging the mettall, as for engrauing the ſtone enchaſed in the Ring, and vnder the Planet named *Mars*; that ring doth fortifie the heart, and hath the retentiue vertue, working many other great effects, almoſt incredible. Likewiſe, ſuch Rings as are made vnder the influence of *Mercurie*, doe adorne the ſpeaking of a man; and maketh him a ſingular Orator, as alſo apt to deale in merchandiſe. And ſo the like may bee ſayde of ſuch, as are made vnder the obſeruation of other Planets.

Carracters of the Zodiack engrauen in rings, & their vertue.

Others engraue in their Rings, the carracters belonging to the ſignes of the *Zodiacke*, and according to their triplicities, ſaying; that they of the firſt triplicitie, as namely, *Aries*, *Leo* and *Sagittarius*, doe ſerue for colde diſeaſes, for Feauers occaſioned by phlegme, and for dead Palſies. Alſo the caracters appertaining to the ſecond and ayrie triplicitie, as *Gemini*, *Libra* and *Aquarius*; are ſingular againſt corruption and putrifaction of the blood. And ſo doe they ſay of other triplicities of the ſignes, according to their Elementarie qualitie. And indeed, this obſeruation is very auncient, and was practiſed a long time amongeſt the oldeſt Philoſophers, as well *Chaldeans*, and *Aegyptians*, as the *Iewes*.

Of rings tearmed fortunate rings.

Some alſo affirme, that the ſeauen fortunate Rings, which King *Iarchas* gaue to *Appolonius Thyanæus* (according as *Philoſtratus* ſayth) were of the ſame temper.

Farther affirming, that the sayd Prince did daily weare a Ring, answerable to the Planet that day reigning: by the which meanes, he preserued himselfe for an hundred yeares, being alwayes as in the floure of his age. The grand-father to this King *Iarchas*, liued an hundred and thirty yeres, by vertue of the afore-sayd Rings, beeing continually in manly verdure. And hereupon, the *Greekes* made great vse of these Magicall and sophisticated Rings, as may be seene in the Comedies of *Aristophanes*, where hee bringeth in a man-Bawde, peremptorily contesting against *Diseus*, who had threatened him, and these are his words: *I care not for all the threatnings that can be vsed against me, hauing this Ring vpon my finger, which his Mistresse solde for a Drachma.* And shewing the Ring, he proceedeth thus: *With this Ring I wil keep my selfe from his teeth, and from his barking.*

Iarchas was cheefest of the Indian Philosophers.

A man liued 130 yeares by vertue of a Ring.

Aristophanes in Pluto.

Erasmus, speaking of these Magicall Rings, hath these words: *Some daily vse to weare Rings, wherein are certayne caracters engrauen, vnder obseruation of constellations and aspects of Starres, and firmely holde, that they serue for diseases in the sides, and are proper (also) for diuerse infirmities. Others, imagining this to be true, do counterfeit these Rings; but all is meerely abuse. For, to giue them such vertue; the course of the Starres must be diligently obserued, and the constellations when they are made. Notwithstanding, many regarde not the influences of the Starres at all; but onely respect the nature of the stone enchased in the Ring, and the carracter there engrauen.* This may bee seene in the Bookes of the wings of *Rogerius*, and in the writings of *Leonardus Camillus*, as also of *Tetellus* and *Caclus*, in those bookes which are attributed to *Salomon* for their credite, and which amply doe discourse thereon. For, according as *Tetellus* sayth, a Iaspar stone enchased in a Ring, hauing the Image of a Maiden engrauen thereon: preserueth the wearer from ill spirits, and from water. If a Lambe be engrauen thereon, the Ring defendeth from the Apoplexie, and cureth also the feauer quartane. A Cornalline also, hauing the shape of a man figured thereon, holding in his hand some goodly and respectable thing; doth stench the fluxe of blood. In briefe, they speake of so manie matters, pleasant to heare, and very hard to be credited: as I can say nothing in the case; but let such as please, make their own experience of them.

Erasmus Rotterodamus, concerning Magical rings

Clauicules de Salomon.

Diseases cured by images engrauen vpon stones.

But returning againe to Rings & Signets, in *Spaine* they serue in all contracts, instead of full determination: also in matter of marriage, the two parties giue rings to ech other, as a signall and confirmation of the mutuall promise, which they haue made one to an other. In like manner, when religious women doe vndertake the veile; in signe of their profession, Rings are giuen them, as well from the religious house, as from their Parents, in testimony of this true and chaste marriage. There is yet an other poynt, concerning this case in question, and though of small importance, yet it doth diuers needfull seruices. Many will change their Rings from one finger to another, for better remembring some occasion to be performed, which otherwise might remayne forgotten. Wherefore, if we consider well the vse of rings, they are not so much to be blamed, as *Pliny* and some others doe: For, (in all times) men of vertue and honour haue vsed them. Hereto we may adde, that God created golde and precious stones, for the seruice of man, and to maintaine him in health; enduing them with such sundrie proprieties, to the end they might be the more commodious for men. Finally, Rings are particularly attributed vnto Bishops, in signe of dignitie.

What vse is made of rings and signets in Spaine.

Rings necessarily vsed for mens remembrance, and haue bin respected by men of honor and vertue.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ Whence it came at the first, that the name of Gentleman was giuen, aswel to Knights, as to the sonnes of Presidents & Councellers. What Armes the ancient Romans carried: And whence came the inuention of emblazoning Armes first in Escutchions.

THE custome ordinarily obserued in *Fraunce*, *Italy* and *Spain*, is to call him a Gentleman, that is a Knight extracted of a noble house; especially such a one, as is a Gentleman by name and Arms. Also, when a King sends a man of noble house in Embassie, he stileth him so in his Patent, by these words: *I send you a Gentleman of my house*. Kings and Princes, as well in these dayes, as in times past, vsed to haue (ordinarily) in theyr Courts, men of learning, and Knights, who

Customes for the stile of a Gentleman.

Knights and Gentlemen of the kings house.

who were named Gentlemen of the kings house, or Gentlemen seruants. And these Gentlemen were discended of great houses in the Kingdome, as well Schollers as Souldiers, and they remained continually in the Court, attending on the King in times of peace and warre. Wherefore, the name of Gentleman, signifies asmuch as Noblemman, and extracted of a noble linage. Neuertheless, it appeareth not much differing from our purpose, to say somewhat, concerning whence came the name of Gentleman, or of Gentillitie, together, with the custome of bearing Arms in Escutchions.

Gentleman signifieth Nobleman.

Whence the name Gentle or Gentile came at the first.

As touching the first point, the name of Gentile came from the *Latines*, who called such men Gentles or *Gentiles*, as were of one and the same race, and of one selfe same name; being at libertie, and of free condition from all Antiquitie: and those houses also were tearmed Auncient Gentiles, euen as now-adayes wee call them houses of Noble race, houses of Gentlemen. Which *Cicero* well witnesseth, in his *Topickes*, speaking thus: *We call them Gentiles, that are of one name, and who from all times haue beene of free condition: so that no part or parcell of their race, was euer seruant or slaue, and much lesse, degraded from honour, and of the Romaine Burgesship.* And *Bœtius* also sayth in his *Topickes*, *We call ancient Gentiles, all such as are issued of one ancient house and race, franke and free: as were the Scipioes, the family of Brutus, & other noble houses of Rome.* *Cicero* likewise taketh this name of *Gentile*, *For one that is of our race, and that beareth the same name and Armes as we doe.*

Cicero. in l. Top.

Bookes of logicall inuention.

Bœtius in Topic

Cicero de Cl. Orat. et Act. 1. ver

The learned *Budeus*, speaking of deuoires or duties of parentage, obserued among the Romaines, sayth: *They were three in number: Duetie of consanguinitie; Dutie of bloud and linage in direct line; And duety of Gentilitie, as much to say, as when a man is discended of the same name & Armes.* The title then of Gentle or Gentility, was and should be attributed onely to Noble houses. And therefore the name of Gentleman among the Romaines, valued as much as a Nobleman among the Castilians and French. And assuredly, the Romaine Gentlemen did (ordinarily) shew the Images and Deuices of their predecessors, that had illustrated their memorie by their worthy deedes: and this representation of Nobility, was highly esteemed among the Romaines, euen as yet to this day, are ancient Armes, and Penons and Standards, belonging to the predecessours of Gentlemen, who would not forget any thing of Antiquitie (concerning their linage) in funeral orations, made at the obsequies of their parents, thereby to haue the man accounted so much the more Noble.

Budeus, his 3. degrees of Romane duties.

The name of Gentleman among the Romanes.

Ancient arms in Penons & Standards belonging to Gentlemen.

In this respect *Cicero* reproued *Piso*, in the change and pleading he made against him, saying; *The honours and estates which thou hast obtayned, were giuen thee, onely for respect of the smoakie images of thy predecessours, of whom thou tarriest the colour onely; so that thou canst not be denied to be a Gentleman.* And in another place, speaking of himselfe, he confesseth: *To haue no Images of his race; for by his excellent knowledge, admirable wisedome and highly esteemed eloquence, he so much ennobled himselfe; that he came to be Consull of Rome, enioying other degrees and prerogatiues, euen as if hee had beene a Gentleman of race, and issued from the house of a Senatour.* Which himselfe also further confesseth in his last pleading against *Verres*, saying: *Thou beeing great Surueyour of Rome, for some especiall seruices done by thee to the Common-wealth, hast a place appoynted for thine Image, and enioyest the priuiledges of a Gentleman.*

Cicero cont. Piso

Cicero in Orat. lib. 3.

Cicero in Declamat. cont. Verres.

I reade, that the Romaines were verie careful of those images, which were called *Stemmates*: for commonly they were made of waxe, and placed ouer the portalles of their houses; or else prouidently kept in aptly contriued boxes, and so preserued in places appointed for theyr standing, as witnesseth *Iuuenal*, *Martial*, *Seneca*, *Plinie*, and many more.

Images made of waxe, and crowned with Garlands of Flowers.

And when there was question of some publique ceremony or of funerall pompe, the people of the houses would make a goodly shew of the Images belonging to their Auncestours, with their names fixed vpon them, according as *Plinie* reporteth. He also declareth in his ninth booke and fift chapter, that the Romaines would place before their houses, the Ensignes, Penons and other Coates of Armes and spoyles, which they had wonne from their enemies in war, and remained there to perpetuitie: so that if the house were solde, it was not lawfull for the buyer to take them away, because they serued for

Plin. in lib. 9. c. 5

Ensignes and Coates of Armes fixed before the Romans houses.

an honour and preheminence vnto their houſes.

The original of bearing Armes in an Eſchutchian.

From hence came the cuſtome of bearing Armes in a Eſcutchian, as now-adaies Gentlemen vſe to do. Notwithſtanding, it ſeemes that the emblazoning of Armes, receiued their originall from thoſe deuices, which were on the Banners and Enſignes, as well of the Romaines, as other ſtrange Nations, and carried by them in warre. As at this very day, the Emperors beare an Eagle in their Armes; becauſe *Iulius Cæſar*, the firſt Emperour of *Rome*, carried an Eagle in his Enſignes. As much may be ſaid cõcerning the Flowers de Luces, which the Kings of *France* carrie, and of diuers other.

The Romane Eagle borne by Emperors.

Now, concerning mine owne opinion, I finde, that long time before the *Romains* were, the Armes of Gentlemen were in vſe. For, it is ſaid, in the firſt Booke of the *Macchabees*, that *Simon*, Captaine generall of the Iews armie, made a very ſumptuous ſepulcher for his father, mother and brethren, which was enriched with Pyramids and Pillars, whereon was engrauen Ships, in maner of a Deuice; and thereon were fixed coats of Armes, wherewith he had vanquiſhed his brethren. *Meſſala Coruinus*, in the Oration which he made, to honour the linage of the Emperour *Octauius* (although the Oration deſerued not the title of *Meſſala*, alleadging *Virgil*, vpon that he wrote; affirming *Antenor* the *Troian*, to be the founder of *Padua*) ſayth; *The Troians Armes were placed by Antenor, on the Temple of new Padua*; and that the emblazon of the Armes, was a Swine in a field golde. So that, if *Meſſala* do ſpeake truely, the vſe of Armes is very auncient. Heereupon I conceiue, that the emblazons of Gentlemen, took name of Armes or Armories, becauſe they were continually engrauen neare to their Armes. For, as *Meſſala* ſaith; *Our Auncients, after they had obtained any victorie, ordinarily placed in their Temples, the Armes and Enſignes, wherewith they wonne the victorie from the enemie.*

1 Macchab. 13 27, 28. 29.

Armes in vſe long before the Romaines time.

Meſſala Cor. in Orat. Octa. Imperat.

The Troyans Armes vpon new Padua.

Meſſala in lib. vbi ſupra.

Wherefore we may well ſay, that the name of Gentleman, and the manner of bearing Armes in Eſcutchions, is no moderne matter, but very auncient; and that the name of Gentle or Gentile, came from thoſe ordained and appoynted for horſſemen in the Romaine Cauallerie: who were of the third eſtate or degree amongſt the common people. And they that wore the long robe or Gowne, were the Order of Senators, and their ſonnes aunciently called *Patricians*; aſmuch to ſay, as iſſued from fathers. For, in the time of *Romulus*, according as *Titus Liuius* auoucheth: *The Senatours were called Fathers, and their ſonnes Patricians, and this degree was the moſt noble and chiefeſt in Rome.* Other Gentlemen, that were not of this rancke, were ſtiled Knights: from whence inſued, that Gentlemen in *Spaine* are called *Cheualiers*. The like wee ſay of the long gowned men, who commaund ouer the people, as Senatours; and yet notwithſtanding, they come after the other. Briefly, the name of *Knight* is come to ſuch credite, as the very greateſt doe holde themſelues honoured to bee called *Knights*: albeit the name of *Knight* was but the proper title of a Souldier of the ordnances, or of the light horſe.

Senators Fathers, & their ſonnes Patricians.

The name of Knight.

The name of Gentleman, & bearing Arms very ancient.

CHAP. XXVI.

¶ Of the Septuagint, or Seauentie Tranſlatours of the olde Teſtament, out of Hebrue into Greeke: At what time it was done, and for what occaſion.

EVery man is very briefe, concerning the traduction of the Seauentie perſons, who tranſlated the Olde Teſtament out of Hebrew into Greek; but yet very few do know, whence it came, and wherefore that tranſlation was ſo appointed: wherein aſſuredly, many Diuines, in their publique preaching, haue declared ouer-much ſloath & negligence. Firſt then it is to be obſerued, that this Tranſlation of the Seauentie men, hath beene only in the Church holily and religiouſly reſpected: but in the time of Pope *Damaſus*, Saint *Hierome* conuerted it into Latine. And to ſpeak ſeriouſly, the traduction of the Septuagint hath beene of ſuch authoritie, that it is alleadged for diuine: for ſo it appeareth by our bleſſed Sauiour and his Apoſtles, in often alledging Scriptures, according to the ſaide Tranſlation.

Negligence in many, concerning the Septuagint.

The credite & authority of the Septuagints Tranſlation.

And

And becauſe the hiſtorie of that Tranſlation is very worthy and famous, I will ſet downe that which is ſayd by Saint *Auguſtine*, in his Booke of the Citie of God, *Ioſephus* the Iew, *Euſebius*, *Irenæus*, *Iuſtinus*, *Ruffinus*, and many other.

Aug in Ciuit. Dei lib 4.

Here is to be noted, that the fiue books of *Moſes*, the Prophets, and other Hiſtories of the holy Bible, were firſt of al written in the Hebrew tongue, which was the firſt vſuall tongue among men; before the confuſion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babylon*. In that tongue and language God ſpake firſt to his Prophets; as the like our bleſſed Lord and Sauiour did, when he was conuerſant among men. This language then being particular to the Iewes, and the myſteries and prophecies (as alſo the coming of Chriſt) being concealed therein: it was very requiſite, that ſuch myſteries ſhould bee written in a tong more common then the Hebrue: as that was then among the Greekes, who were ſole Gouernours of the wide Vniuerſe, by the freſh and recent victories of *Alexander* the Great. So that, by the frequentation and traffique of men, the Greeke tongue had courſe generally, and was eſteemed the moſt common of all other Languages whatſoeuer.

The hebrew tongue the firſt generall tongue.

God ſpake to his Prophets in the hebrew tongue.

The Greeke tongue eſteemed the moſt frequent tongue.

To the end then, that the myſteries of ſacred Scripture, might bee vnderſtood of euery one, before the comming of Ieſus Chriſt; it was requiſite of neceſſitie, that the Scriptures ſhould be traduced into a common and vulgar tongue; for feare leſt the Iewes at the *Meſſias* his coming, ſhould ſuppreſſe them, or elſe falſifie them (for that race of people was of bolde and moſt wicked inclination) becauſe it might not be ſayd, that the Chriſtians had added or diminiſhed any thing from the Scriptures, according to their owne humour and phantaſie. And therefore, about two hundred and ſeauentie yeares before the Incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt, it pleaſed the goodneſſe of Almightie God, to inſpire *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, to procure the tranſlation of the holie Bible. But ſeeing we are fallen into diſcourſe of that Prince; we will reach into his Hiſtorie ſomewhat higher.

The neceſsity of the Scripture in a vulgar language.

The Tranſlation of the Bible, 270. yeares before Chriſts incarnation.

After that *Alexander* the great had ſubdued *Aſia* (which he performed in ſmall compaſſe of time) and that he had ranged a great part of *Europe* and *Affrica*: he died without any lawfull heire, that might ſucceede him in ſuch great Empires. He being dead, the Princes and Captains of his Court, who were all moſt valiant and famous men: laboured by force of Armes to poſſeſſe themſelues of what they poſſibly could: So that the kingdomes appertaining to *Alexander* onely, became diuided into many parts: for *Antigonus* poſſeſſed himſelfe of *Aſia*; *Seleuchus* of *Chaldea*, and of many other Prouinces. By the ſame meanes alſo *Ptolomie*, the ſonne of *Lagus* made himſelf king of *Egypt*, of *Phœnicia*, of *Cyprus*, and diuerſe other Countries; among which *Iudea* then was one. Being Lord of *Iudea*, he made there many great booties, leading away ſtore of Iewes captiues into *Egypt*, where hee had ordained the chiefe ſeate of his Kingdome. So that he was the firſt King of *Egypt*, that called himſelfe *Ptolomie*: which name remayned hereditary to the ſucceſſours in the ſayd Kingdome; for, before that *Cambyſes*, ſonne to *Cyrus*, King of *Perſia*, had conquered *Egypt*, all the Egyptian Kings called themſelues *Pharaohs*.

The death of Alexander the Great.

Alexanders Kingdome diuided into many parts.

The firſt Ptolomy King of Egypt, after the Pharaohs.

But returning againe to our *Ptolomie*, after he had reigned a long time, he dyed, and then ſucceeded him *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, who likewiſe reigned peaceably in *Egypt*.

This Prince gaue leaue, and ſet at libertie all the Iewes, which his father led priſoners into *Egypt*. And then it came to paſſe, according to the pleaſure of Almightie GOD, that this King erected a goodly Librarie, in *Alexandria* the capitall Cittie of *Egypt*, by the meanes of *Demetrius Phalareus* the *Athenian*; a man much renowned for his knowledge, and to whome hee gaue full power and commiſſion. So that, by the diligence of *Phalareus*, hee compaſſed the finiſhing of the faireſt and moſt compleate Librarie, that euer was ſeene in the world, as well for number of Bookes, as the qualitie of Authours, and diuerſitie of diſciplines.

Demetrins Phalareus, a Noble Philoſopher and Oratour, Scholler to Theophraſtus, for his excellent vertues gouerned the Athenians ten yeares.

This King, vnderſtanding that the Books of the Iewes, contained admirable and vnexpreſſable myſteries, reſolued to haue them reduced into the Greeke language. And to effect this his purpoſe, he diſpatched an Embaſſie to *Eleazar*, Prince of the Iewiſh Synagogue, with great preſents; intreating him, in memory of fauors

Ptolomies Ambaſſage to Eleazar the Iew.

by him to thoſe of his Nation, and for the good neighbourhood betweene them, to ſend him a Bible in *Hebrue*, as alſo ſuch lerned and skilfull men, as could tranſlate it into the *Greeke* tongue. *Ioſephus* and *Euſebius* haue ſet downe the forme of the Letter, which was as followeth:

Two men of great honour and worth, ſent by the King.

The Tenour of the Letter, ſent by King Ptolomy Philadelphus, to Eleazar the High-Prieſt.

Ptolomy a King, to the High-Prieſt Eleazar, health.

The Iewes were diuers times broght as captiues into Egypt, by ſeuerall kings conqueſts ouer them.

NO man can be ignorant, that manie Iewes haue dwelt in this kingdome of *Egypt*, being brought thither priſoners by the *Perſians*, at ſuch time as they ſubiugated *Iudea*. And againe, when the late deceaſſed king my father brought diuers hither alſo, to whom (neuertheleſſe) my ſaid Lord & Father truſted ſo much, that they did him ſeruice in his warres: yea, he planted them in ſtrong forts, by way of Garriſons, to keep the *Egiptians* in awe & feare. As for my ſelfe, from ſuch time as I came to the Crowne, I haue alwaies vſed humanity towards your Nation, and haue ſent home more then 100000 that were detained here as ſlaues, paying their ranſome & charges to them that held them priſoners. Such as deſird to follow the wars, to them I haue giuen wages, euery one anſwerable to his worth and merit. Many of them I haue lodged in mine owne houſe ordinarily, as hoping by this means, to do ſomewhat acceptable to God, who deliuered this Kingdome into my hands.

King Ptolomy vſed great kindneſſe and humanity to the Iewes.

And the better to declare the affection I beare in doing all pleaſures that I can to you, and all the reſt of your nation, aſwell for the time preſent as to come: I haue determined, to cauſe your Bookes in the Hebrew language, to be tranſlated into the Greek tong, becauſe I would not haue my newly erected Library, to remaine vnfurniſht any way. And therefore you ſhall do me a great fauor, to chuſe ſixe auncient men out of each Tribe, that are expert in your Lawe, and well verſed in the Greeke for this intended tranſlation. Not doubting, but that it will redound to our great honour, and ample contentment of mind. For this purpoſe, I haue ſent vntoyou *Andreas* and *Ariſteus*, who more at large will informe you of mine intention: to them haue I deliuerd large ſummes of gold and ſiluer, to fulfill the Sacrifices as I haue appoynted them, deſiring you to ſend mee by them, ſuch as may further this negotiation. Aſſuring you, that you cannot doe me a greater pleaſure, nor more, to maintaine the friendſhip begun betweene vs: if (as I intreat you) this may be done with ſome expedition. *Ptolomie.*

He deſireth the full furniſhing of his goodly Lybrary.

After that the High-Prieſt *Eleazar* had receiued the Kings Letters, and vnderſtood the further truſt referred to the Ambaſſadors; he entertained them very honorably, receiuing (with chearefull looks) the golde and ſiluer ſent by king *Ptolomie*, which (according to *Ioſephus*) was a mightie quantitie. And hauing aſſembled the principall men of the twelue Tribes of *Iſrael*, hee acquainted them with the Kings intention, and to what end he had ſent the Ambaſſadors. Wherein, to ſatisfie his deſire, they elected out of each Tribe ſixe aged men, well experimented in the Lawe, and expert in the Greek language. For the *Iewes* had a cuſtome to ſend their people into *Aſia*, to learne the Greek and Latine tongues, as alſo the Artes and Sciences compriſed vnder thoſe languages, euen as yet to this day they obſerue the ſame; ſo that all the men made choice of, were ſeuenty two. After they were thus choſen, they were ſent with the Ambaſſadors to King *Ptolomie*, and the Bookes of the Old Teſtament with them, written (as *Ioſephus* ſayth) in moſt places all in golden Letters, and vpon ſuch parchment, the moſt ingeniouſly made that euer was ſeene. Moreouer, he ſent diuers great gifts to the ſaid Prince, returning him anſwere in maner following.

Eleazar entertained the Ambaſſadors very honourably.

The Iewes by frequenting Aſia, learned the Greeke and Latine Languages.

The Anſwere of the High-Prieſt Eleazar, to great king Ptolomy Philadelphus;

Eleazar, to his friend King Ptolomie, health.

The High-Prieſts vſed to write very familiarly to ſuch kings, with whom they were leagued in amity

I Am very glad of your preſent welfare, and the health of Queene *Arſinoe* your wife, with the young Lords your Sonnes, or any thing you can wiſh to your contentment: certifying you likewiſe of my inſtant

instant healthfull condition. By the Missiue you sent vnto mee, I vnderstand the faire loue and affection, which you beare to our Nation, and haue caused your letters to bee publikely read before all the people, and to let them fully vnderstand, what holy deuotion you declare towards God; I haue exposed to open view, the twenty Vessels of gold, and thirty of siluer, together with fifty Cups, and a Table of siluer for the sacrifices, beside forty Talents of gold, and as many of siluer, sent by you to furnish the Ornaments of our Temple. All which I haue receiued from the hands of the Noble Lords *Andreas* and *Aristeus*, your faithfull Counsellors and Ambassadors, who haue amply enstructed vs in the cause by you required. And therefore, we haue sent them backe againe vnto yee, offering our selues by them, to accomplish your good pleasure.

The royall gift sent by Ptolomy Philadelphus.

And because the extraordinary great fauours which you haue done to them of our Nation, are such, as it is impossible for vs to vse or return any condigne requital: wee must make our recourse to solemne prayers and sacrifices, for the prosperity of you, of your Queene, and of the Noble Lords your sonnes. In which holy action, all our people very voluntarily desire to imploy their vtmost paines, in craving of God, to further and finish your desires, as may best stand with the conseruation of your Estate, and maintainance of your Kingdome in glory and honour.

A confession of the Iewes vnablenes to requite so great & gracious a kindnesse.

Now concerning the Translation of the Bookes of our Law, by you so greatly and earnestly desired; we haue elected six Auncients out of our seuerall Tribes, whō we send vnto you, with the Bookes of our Bible. But when the Translation shall be perfected; according to the office of a iust and louing king, wee desire that they may be sent back againe to their natiue Country.

Eleazar, and the people of the Iewes.

The 72. translators separated one from another, and yet differed not one syllable in al their labours.

When King *Ptolomy* had receyued the Letters of *Elazar*, with the Books of the Bible, and such Presents as were sent by *Eleazar*; he most royally welcommed the seuenty two aged men, and (as *Iosephus* saith) ioyed not a little for their arriuall. Their lodgings being prepared, & all things necessary for their imployment, they setled themselues to the Bibles translation: wherein happened an admirable and miraculous case; for the seuenty two men being placed separately, according to the kings Commission, without any meanes or power of conferring one with another: after they had thus diuidedly finished their Translation, they all appeared before the King with their seuerall labours, and were found therein all so cōforme and agreeing, that one man had not a sillable more then another; which doubtlesse could not bee done, without the power and especiall grace of the holy Ghost, according to the saying of S. *Augustine*, *Ireneus* and *Tertullian*; who auoucheth in his time, to haue seene at *Alexandria* in *Egipt*, the written Bookes of the seuenty two Translators, vnder their own hands, which were in Hebrew and in Greeke.

Aug. in Ciuit. Dei lib. 8. Ireneus cont. Valent. Tertul. cont. Gentiles.

As much is said and maintained by *Iustinus* the Philosopher, in the book of Aduertisements, which he wrote to the Gentiles and Pagans, where he speaketh thus. *King Ptolomy caused to bee builded without the Citty of Alexandria, seuenty two Halles, to lodge therein separately, the seuenty two Translators, and there prouided for them all things necessary, in most honourable manner. In which places the Translators remained, without seeing one another; vntill the translation was perfected.* Nay more, he affirmeth to haue seene the ruines and olde wals of those buildings, which were esteemed as reliques and sacred things. And although S. *Hierome* and *Ruffinus* do disagree concerning the number of those Halles or Chambers: yet notwithstanding, that is no matter of any moment, cōsidering (according to S. *Augustine*, and many other Authors) each Translatour wrote his bookes alone by himselfe, not any way conferring one with another, and yet neuertheless, all the Translations were found conformable.

Iustin. in Aduer. ad Gent.

The diffrence of S. Hierome and Ruffinus about the buildings.

And assuredly, when I consider aduisedly on this mystery, I hold it for a mighty miracle, that they should agree in such a conformity of stile, order and method, traducing matter so long and diuers, although they had beene admitted altogether, and had begun the worke with their owne agreement, because we see it a matter of no meane moment, to finde two mē agreeing vpon one and the same point, when

The admirable conformity of stile, method and matter, in so long a labour.

when they are to intermeddle with one argument together. But, after the translation was finished, the Iewes which dwelt in Egypt, and were very learnedly skilfull in their Law, commended these Sacred writings to the King, wherewith hee was most highly pleased. And according as *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* do maintaine, King *Ptolomy*, beeing amazed at those Scriptures, and the holy mysteries in them comprized, demanded of *Demetrius Phalareus*, who had the charge of his Library, how it hapned, that *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and other Law-makers, were silent in this law of the Iewes? Whereto *Demetrius* thus answered.

King Ptolomy amazed at the sacred Scriptures.

Sir, this Law, as your selfe haue sufficiently seene, came from God; and no Lawyer euer durst be so bold, to meddle with it vnreuerently, or misuse any text therein contained. Theopompus was smitten with the hand of heauen, with an extraordinary perturbation in his senses, and mighty paine at his hart: because he medled with the holy Histories of the Hebrues among his owne, beautifying thē with borrowed words, and rhetoricall phrases. But vpon his true repentance and humiliation to God, committing himselfe wholly to his mercy, it was reuealed to him in his sleep: that this disaster happened to him, because he durst be so bolde, to embellish and enrich the sincerity of holy Scripture, with curious and adorning words; and thereby to impart them to Pagan and Infidell Nations.

Theopompus punished for prophaning the Sacred Scriptures.

Gods sacred word hath no need of mens vaine adorning.

I remember also to haue read, that Theodorus a Tragicall Poet, lost his sight sodainly for taking a place of Scripture to maintaine an argument in his Tragedy: and yet vpon his vnfeigned repentance, his sight was restored to him againe.

The punishment of Theodorus a Tragicall Poet,

King *Ptolomy* wondering at this discourse of *Demetrius*, placed the translated Bible in his Library, and hauing thankefully respected the ancient Iews, he licensed their departure, giuing to each man sumptuous gifts; thanking likewise (by his Letters) the Prince *Eleazar*, to whom he sent Kingly presents. Thus you see, how the translation of the Septuagint was performed, they being men (as S. *Augustine* and Saint *Hierom* saide) that then had the spirit of Prophesie: which appeared plainly, in that our blessed Lord and his Euangelists, alledged Scriptures according to their translation. And if perhappes any thing is found in the Hebrew Bible, which is not in the translatiō of the Septuagint, wee may well say, that the holye Ghost would not reueale it by their means. And contrarywise, if some thing bee in their translation & is not in the Hebrue text: we must verily beleeue, that the blessed Spirite reuealed the passage by their meanes. For the selfesame Spirit that directed the Prophets, when they set down their Propheſies in writing, gouerned the seauenty two Translatours in traducing the holy Bible; so saith S. *Augustine*, concerning the version of the Old Testament.

Aug. in Ciuit. Dei. l. 7. Hier. in Præfat. Bibli.

One and the same blessed spirit guided the Prophets and Septuagint.

This was the first, before the comming of Iesus Christ; for, after our Sauiours Passion, *Aquila* the Iew wrote another. Two other translations were afterwardes performed, but by whom it was not knowen: notwithstanding, they came to the hands of Saint *Hierom*, as *Eusebius* maketh mention in the sixt booke of his Ecclesiasticall history. By these translations the Bible was reduced out of Greeke into Latine: but Saint *Hierom* did his out of Hebrew into Latine, without staying on the Septuagints labour, nor the other Greeke translations. Beside, Psalmes and other thinges are sung and sayde in the Church, whereof no disputation neede to be made, whether they were of S. *Hieroms* writing or no.

Aquila the Iew wrote the second translation.

Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. lib. 6.

CHAP. XXVII.

¶ *Of the admirable vertues and proprieties, which God and Nature hath giuen vnto the Ant, Emmet, or Pisse-mire: And what worthy examples haue from it bin deriued.*

YOu may well say, that it is no difficult matter for mee, to speake of the Nature and properties of Creatures, hauing for my Patrones, Maisters, and Guides, *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Aelianus*, and many other, writing on that argumeut: but because my desire extendeth it selfe beyonde ordinary compasse, coue-

Arist. in l. Anim Plin. in lib. 5. 6. Elian. in hist. Anim.

coueting things curious, and knowne to few people; I purpose to say something of the Ant, Emmot, or Pisse-mire, albeit in regard of the creatures smalnesse, some may thereby take occasion to condemne my discourse. Neuertheless, let their humors serue them howsoeuer, I cannot exclude this creature out of our rich & spacious Forrest: for there is not any garden how warily or closely soeuer it bee kept; but the Ant will make his entrance, euen in despight of the Master and Owner. And how little in our iudgement and substãce of the creature, it seemeth to vs; yet many renowned Authors haue written wonderfull things thereof.

The Ant will haue roome in all mens places.

Very true it is, that *Pliny* sayeth; *This creature is vnprofitable, and of no worth at all, but onely for it selfe: when contrariwise, the Bee, as little as it is, doeth (neuertheless) giue a pleasing taste to our food, by the sweet saucur of his hony, whereas the Ant doeth gnaw and eate them.* But yet in another place, he speaketh wonders of the Ant, & extolleth it extraordinarily. For, concerning the blamefull imputation hee imposeth on this little creature, it proceedeth from a certaine kinde of Couetousnesse, whereunto man is so inclined for his own particular profit, that he would deriue benefit from all creatures, how small soeuer they be, being greatly offended, that our Ant should prouide it selfe of one poore graine of Corne. But if we would consider things, in such kinde as duly appertaineth to them, we should finde more profit from the Ant, then from the Bee. For the Ant serueth vs as an example of industry, prouidence and friendship, and of many other vertues beside, related at large by *Salomon* in his Prouerbes, who sendeth the sluggard to the Ant, to consider what paine and solicitude she taketh, and to learne discipline and direction of her. *For, hauing neither guide or Captaine, or any to command and direct her: shee prepareth her food in the Summer for Winter.*

Plin. in l. 5. c. 3. The Ant good for none but it selfe.

The couetousnesse of men to gather benefite from all kind of creatures.

Prou. 6. 6, 7, 8.

From hence it ensued, that Saint *Ambrose* (speaking of this silly little creature) vseth these words: *The desseignes and enterprises of the Ant, being iustly considered, do farre exceede her power and strength. And although she haue none to incite her to labor: yet notwithstanding, by a certaine kind of dominion or authority, she prouideth for afterclaps and future necessities.* Behold what Saint *Ambrose* hath saide, who speaketh much more amply concerning the proprieties of this little Ant; whereon *Cicero* likewise discoursing, sayeth: *That the Ants Commonwealth is to be aduised to euery City.* For, not onely they haue vnderstanding like other Animalles: but also they haue sense, reason, and memory.

Ambros. in Homil. Trinit sect. 4.

Cicero in Tusculan. Cap. 19.

Pliny, Aristotle and *Elianus*, are verie stayed in iudgement, for their consideration of the Ant, and not without great reason: for in duly obseruing her forme, her dreadfull aspect, her hardnesse, her liuely colour, and her piercing snowte; there is not any Lion so fierce as this creature, were it but as great as it is little; it is so strong, bold, and dreadfull.

Pliny, Aristotle, Elianus.

First, there is not any animall, that can carry the weight of himselfe: but the Ant carrieth and draweth ten times a heauier load then it selfe, so that if this smal creature were as great as a horse, it would easily beare the burthen of foure Waggons. Other beasts can hardly defend thẽselues against her assaults; for, although shee is so small a worme, yet notwithstanding, her teeth are so strong, as the very hardest graine of Corne is not able to withstande them. Nay, she wil carry hard stones in her teeth, and howsoeuer she fasteneth vpon them, shee will squash and bruise them, holding them so forcibly: that no pincers are able to open her mouth. And so opinitiue is she is of her power, as shee will rather suffer her selfe to be rent in peeces, then to forsake whatsoeuer shee holdeth: which strength would be farre greater, if her body were equiualent thereto.

No beast able to beare so great a burthen as the Ant.

The wonderfull & great strength in her teeth.

But leauing her strength (whereof so small account is made, in regard of her litlenesse) let vs somewhat consider the naturall instinct, together with the vertue & wisedome abiding in her. For nature (thoroughout the whole wide world) hath not produced any other creature, making more demonstration of vertue, then the Ant: nor such profession of amity, industry, prouidence, and diuers other singular vertues, as wee shall haue occasion to speake of heereafter, in theyr apte places.

What vertues are in the Ant by naturall instinct.

In the prime place, Ants haue the form of a Commonwealth among themselues, according as *Pliny* saith; for they haue neither King, Lord, nor any Commander; as much is affirmed by *Aristotle* and *Salomon:*

mon: And yet their Commonwealth is ſo well policied and ordered, as they haue neuer any Warre or ciuill contention among them. Likewiſe they are neuer ſeen to fight or kill one another, as men doe: but, as hath bene obſerued, all labour for the Weale-publike, without laying aſide any thing for priuate vſe, as other Creatures do, that fight for feeding of theyr bellies.

Hnw they ſupply one anothers weakeneſſe in liking their prouiſiõ.

Ants helpe and aſſiſt one another, in conducting home their ſtore, and make their prouiſion generally for all together; and if any one be ouer-loaden or wearie, his fellowe giues his ſupply, and in ſuch decent manner, as one is no hinderance to another. And if there be any thing ouer heauy to bee carried away with their prouiſion, they take ſo much thereof as is needfull, and eaſie to bee trained along, going on together ſo chearfull and dexterioufly, that they may well be ſaid, to bee creatures fit and apt for portage. Other creatures haue their neſtes and retreats a part by themſelues, ſo that (oftentimes) they neceſſarily war againſt them of their kinde, for their neſts and lodgings: whereas the like ſilly Ants haue but one roome or receipt for them all in general, without any diuided chambers or Parlors for particular perſons: by which meanes, they maintaine loue and friendſhip one vvith another, therein giuing vs a familiar example, to vſe the like ſociable vertue as they do.

Antes haue their dwelling in frendly maner altogether.

Moreouer, the induſtry which they declare in their Caue or roome, is a matter maruellous; becauſe if it bee poſſible for them, they will alwayes make their dwelling nere to a riuer, or ſome little running brooke, and plant the earth which they bring to the mouth of their caue, to ſerue as a rampier againſt rough winter, as fearing leaſt water ſhould winne entrance: & within the entry, they winde and turned diuers wayes, to the end, that their maine abiding ſhould not eaſily be found, & the mouth or doore is very narrow, in regard of the ſpaciouſneſſe within.

Their caue is commonly nere to ſome Brook or Riuer.

Beſide, they haue three roomes or ſtages within their Caue; one whereof is for the males, the ſecond for the Females, where they produce their yong ones, for there are male and female of theſe ſmall Creatures. In the third ſtage they make their Garner, wherein they beſtow theyr food and prouiſion, according as *Ariſtotle* affirmeth. Vſing their ſtore ſo meaſurably, as they neuer haue any want of victuals. And becauſe the moſt part of their purueyance is Corn, to preſerue it in ſuch ſort, that moyſture may not make it ſprout; they bite and nibble the Graine within the midſt, where the ſprouting yſſueth foorth; a thing moſt admirable and miraculous in Nature, notwithſtanding, *Pliny*, *Ælianus*, and many other good authors, do auouch it to be certaine & true. If they finde their Corne to bee wette and moiſtned with winter raines, they haue a naturall vnderſtanding, to dry and refreſh it againe in the Sunne, to preſerue it from putrifying: ſo that the little poore Ant is neuer idle either day or night, for then ſhe vſeth the helpe of the Moone, when the Sunne-ſhine is denied her, which enſueth from incomparable prudence.

Ariſt in Lib. de anim. 4. cap. 6

A miraculous induſtry in the Ant for preſeruing her prouiſion.

Such as haue written on this argument, and daily experience confirmes the ſame, that the Ants are well inured to theſe labors; for they dayly rome abroade from their Caues, to bring home freſh and new nouriſhment. And after that ſuch nouell prouiſions is brought in, whether theyr knowledge conſiſteth in the ſmelling it, or by a naturall inſtinct giuen from God, enſtructing how to order and vſe it, all come forth together, to refreſh both their olde and new prouiſion, and following theyr guides in great crowds, conuey their ſtore in all by one way, without the leaſt iniury one to another: becauſe in doing a kinde of courteſie, they make way for each others free paſſage, and ſometimes walk on in couples together.

Daily care & endeuour for freſh ſupply of food.

Courteſy don each to other in the portage of their prouiſion.

Now here is a further matter to be obſerued, what order they keepe, when they come to the place, where they do charge themſelues with their prouiſion. For ſome get the Corne out of the ſtraw; Others, carry it to the Caue, at the entrance whereof, there ſtand diuers other readie to receiue it, and ſo conuey it into the garner, euery one doing his duty according vnto his office and degree. And when they cary a Peaſe, a Chiche, or ſome other grain, more weighty then a graine of Wheate; three or foure vndertake the burthen, or ſo many as the caſe requireth, pacing on very gently together, without any crowding or diſorder.

The maner of carrying their prouiſion to the garner, & in what mutuall order they are helping one to another.

And if by chance they come vnto any place,

place, irkesome or offensiue to their passage, the order is admirable which they obserue therein. For, some raise vp the loade aloft, and others labour to thrust it forward, by stepping vnder to ease theyr fellowes: and if any meete them accidentally by the way, they all lay helpe to get home the burthen. And being come vnto the Caues entrance, if the graine be greater then the mouth thereof will admitte: they cut it in quarters, and so carry it into the Granary. In the while of this their busie toile, others are not negligent, in bringing home purueyance beside: so that wee may say (in conclusion of this point) all generally labour for the Weale-publique.

These admirable qualities in the Ant are auouched by many good Authors.

After their prouision is thus made, and their Garner well stored for the season, they fortifie and fast close vp the Caue, against the iniurie of winters stormes and raine: norishing themselues all the while, with their plenty formerly brought in. Which naturall instinct is denied vnto all other Animals, man onely excepted: and yet there are many men, scarsely prouided for a morrowes necessity. Moreouer, that the Ant maketh a double prouision for her age, is very considerable; for, according as *Virgil* saith: *She prouideth for her aged yeeres, which ensueth to her by instinct of Nature, preparing still (euery yeare) for a following Winter, implying the Winter of her age.*

Many meleste prouident then the Ant, that maketh prouision for her age.

Virgil in Bucol.

This creature, hath also a naturall inclination, quite contrary to all brutish behauiour. For, she seemeth to haue some knowledge of God, and a kinde of religious vnderstanding. For as *Pliny* and *Ælian* do both affirme, they obserue Religiously certaine festiuall daies, as all the newe Moones; a matter somewhat hard to bee credited, and yet possible neuertheless. The same authors say also, that they haue a naturall kind of charitie amongst them; because they will bury their dead, euen in meere compassion.

The Ant deuout and religious.

The Ant charitable.

Cleanthes reporteth an admirable history, which by *Aelian* is maintained to bee true. *Cleanthes* beeing a learned Philosopher, and sitting one day by an Ant hillocke, to consider their naturall disposition: he espied two Ants bearing a thirde Ant that was dead, and comming neere to the Caues entrance, which belonged to the other dead; they set downe theyr load, and two other Ants came out of the Caue to them, seeming to confer & talke together by outward action. The last two returned into the caue againe, & brought foorth a little Worme betweene them, which the other receiued of them, as in payment for their paines, and returned backe, leauing the dead Ants bodie, that they of the Caue might giue it buriall, the which they presently did, so soone as the other were departed.

An admirable history recorded by Cleanthes and Elianus.

Vndoubtedly, it is a matter maruellous, that these creatures, being so smal, as som of them can scarsely be seene, should thus serue as an example to mē, to study peace and concord, and to be good house-keepers, laborious, prouident, and charitable; aptly therein enstructing the spirit & vnderstanding of men; not reputing the Ant to bee so vnbeneficiall, as *Plinie* did, thogh it produce no hony or other food. Yet it is greatly auaileable for the health of man, especially her Egges, which (as *Pliny* saith) being incorporated vvith the milke of a Bitch, healeth all paine and anguish in the ears. If they be beaten in pouder, they make an Vnguent, which mixed with salt, taketh away all pimples and pushes in the face: and Ants beeing eaten, dooth cure all diseases incident vnto the eyes.

What an example the Ant is to men in many matters.

The Ants egs helpefull for paines in the eares.

Neuertheless, because this poore Animall feeds on graine, herbes, and fruits of trees, onely to conserue her selfe in her being, and to perpetuate her generation, whereby some damage may redounde to the fields: reuengefull man, finding himselfe offended at so little harme, hath inuented a thousand wayes to worke her death. For (as *Pliny* sayth) the power of Origan, incorporated with sulphure, and a little vnslaked Lime, killeth Ants. He sayth moreouer, that damming vppe the mouth of their Caue with Sea-mud and Ashes, they can neuer get forth. Notwithstanding, there is not any thing more proper to kil Ants, then the Hearb called *Heliotropium*. And beside, *Auicenne* studied in a whole Chapter, how to be the death of this poore Creature, taking as much paines therein, as if it had beene to expel the plague, or the feauer quartane.

The malice of man against the poor Ant, onely to destroy it.

Meanes wherby to kill beds of Ants.

I reade of certaine Ants in the Region of the *Dardæs*, who doe inhabite the *East Indiaes*, toward the North seashores, which are as grosse and great as Wolues, and

Ants in India, as big as our Wolues, that cast vp Golde in the fieldes.

and the people feare them as they do Lyons, according to the testimony of diuers Authors. And some say, that in digging and turning vp the earth, they throwe vp great quantities of gold; which the country people go to gather, when these dreadfull Ants are retired; which they dare not do, if they but sent them in the fields. For sometimes, these Antes hauing winded those seekers for Gold, rush foorth vpon them, and kill as many as they can meete withall.

Riding on light Camels, to escape frō those Ants.

And they haue no other means to seek for gold with safety, but by comming thither mounted vppon light Camels, for their better expedition in flight. And if (by mischance) these Ants do winde those Gold-finders; they haue some peece of flesh hanging about them, which sodainly they let fall, and so escape away. Finally, it seemeth a thing monstrous, that our Ants should be charged with wings: Neuertheless, there is a common Prouerbe, saying: *To the damme of the Ant, wings are proper.* Whereby it appeareth, that some further meaning is hid therein: because such creatures as haue Wings, the winds will carrie them whether they please.

CHAP. XXVIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that some men liue long, and others farre lesser vvhile. And what complexion is the best for liuing long. Also how we are to vnderstand the place, where it is said, that The dayes of a man are numbred.

Though all men are subiect to death, yet the number of their dayes are not alike. Iob. 14, 5.

THE Apostle S. *Paul* sayeth, *That all men are subiect once to dye*, and therein all men are equall and alike. Notwithstanding, there is a difference in the tearmes of life; because som liue long, and other lesse space. Neuertheless (as *Iob* saith) *The time of our life is compassed, and no man can passe the boundes which God hath limited and determined to our life.* These things then standing thus (as in truth they do) it is not ill or amisse, to vnderstand that which causeth the life of man; wherefore one liueth longer then another; what complexion is most proper for long life: and lastly, how it ought to be vnderstood, when it is said, that our dayes are counted and determined, being no way able to passe on further, which are points sufficiently obscure, and comprehended by few people.

The hermony of the foure elementarie qualities gouerne the body of man.

To vnderstand therefore the cause of long life, it behooueth vs to presuppose in the first place, that the life of man, and maintenance of this his humane bodie, consisteth in the concord and hermony of the foure Elementary qualities whereof it is composed, as namely heate, colde, moysture, and drinesse. But expressely in the proportionable hermony of heate and moisture, which *Aristotle* well declareth: who onely maketh mention of the conueniency of these two qualities, for the support and continuance of man. In like maner, we perceiue by experience, that man hath little care of his owne failing, so long as he keepeth his naturall heate: for that heate is the principall instrument, to conserue the vegetatiue soule.

Wherein the life of man mainly consisteth: naturall heate being the chiefe instrument.

Now, to speake vprightly, the life of man consisteth in nothing else, then in maintaining the instruments and organes of the soule; among which, naturall heat (by right) holdeth the prime place: for this heate is so necessary to support mans body, as whensoeuer it is failing, the soul is constrained to forsake the body, & giue a period to the life of man. And because this naturall heate holdeth of fire, which (of his owne nature) consumeth whatsoeuer it meeteth withall: it was truely conuenient, that another contrarie qualitie should be opposed against it, for conseruation of the inferiour bodies. Vppon which occasion, God placed the radicall or naturall humor, with this natural heate, onely to nourish and maintaine it, euen as fire feedeth it selfe by Oyle. And, in regard that this radicall humour consumeth and diminisheth it selfe daily; to supply & defend it, it was necessary, that all Creatures should browse and feede, and that by meanes thereof, the humor (being the cause of digestion) should supply the naturall defect.

Of the radicall or naturall humour.

But seeing that (according to *Aristotle*) the humor which is cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall and naturall, although it serueth much for maintenance: of necessity the radicall humor decayeth

The humour which is cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radical humor.

cayeth it selfe dayly (for the accidentall humour, cause of digestion, is neuerso perfect as the radicall, which vanisheth away) and by this meanes of intirely vanishing, naturall heate looseth it selfe, and the body takes ending. For, if the humour radicall, and cause of digestion, were so perfect as the naturall humor vanished away, a man should liue infinitely, according as Diuines say. Who maintain, that the propriety of the Tree of life, which God placed in the terrestriall Paradise, consisted in this principally: that eating the fruite thereof, it should re-establish the radicall humor, that else would vanish & be lost. From hence it ensued, that this tree was prohibited to *Adam* and *Eue*, after they were excluded out of terrestriall Paradise. For, if our first Parents had kept themselues in their originall righteousnes; they and their successors, feeding on the fruite of that tree, had liued eternally in the flower of their time, without euer tasting corruption, or old age: vntill such time as God had glorified theyr bodyes, without enduring the passage of death. But seeing that humane Linage hath lost this prerogatiue by sinne, which brought death into the world; it is no wonder, if this defect sheweth it selfe in vs all.

The Tree of life in the terrestriall Paradise, preseruing from corruption & old age.

Proceeding nowe to our former purpose, I say, that life endureth more or lesse, according as the radicall humour is concordant and proportionable: for they in whom these qualities are most temperate and best proportioned, liue longest, and not such as abound in those qualities. From thence it cometh, that wee see many small animals, who haue least heat and humidity, to liue (neuertheless) longer then they that are of bigger and greater bulke, and abound more in the saide qualities; which likewise commeth so to passe in trees, as well as in men. So that we may say, and say truly, that long life consisteth in the temperature and iust proportion of heate and moisture: which wanting their kind companion life, dissolueth it self. For when heate ouer aboundeth humidity, it consumeth the body in little time, as may be discerned in chollericke men. Where contrariwise, by excessiue humiditie, heat feeleth it selfe to be quenched, as in Flegmaticke persons it happeneth in the same maner. Neuertheless, we do not by these examples vnderstand, that hee must also

Life lasteth longer or lesser time, according to the proportion and temperature of the radicall humor.

Life dieth, losing her companions heate and moysture.

faile, who hath as much of the moyst humor as of heat, because it is necessary, that a proportion should be obserued therein: that is to say, heate to exceed humiditie proportionably. For, one thing beeing agent, hath no great vertue in working on the other, if it surmount not the part patient. And this did *Aristotle* couertly declare, when he said; *Among those two qualities before remembred, there ought to bee a little coldnes mingled, to moderate the heat of the radicall fire, to the end, it may not whollie consume the humour naturall. And drinesse also is as requisite, to dry vp the radicall humour, so that it may not extinguish the naturall fire.* As we often see to happē in yong children, that dy by ouermuch humidity; notwithstanding, among these foure qualities, heate and moisture are held for the principall, as being vitall complexions, & causing life. As for the humors cold and dry, although they serue greatly to the conseruation of life: yet neuertheles these two qualities are held for the doore & entrance to death. Because cold is enemy to heate, wherein principally consisteth the point of life: and drinesse is opposite and contrary to moisture, which yet is the norisher of naturall heat. According as wee see in aged people, who grow to be colde and dry, when they draw nere to death; as chiefly in dead bodies, which ordinarily are dry and cold. A man then (according to the good temperature of heauē) ought also to temper his complexxion by these foure qualities, and that in such sort: as, to maintaine his heate in the first place, and humidity next after, causing cold and dry to do seruice, according to their offices & quarters. By which meanes, they that finde not themselues thus proportionably temperated, are naturally of short life: thus then you see the causes of long life.

Heate ought to exceed humidity proportionably.

Arist. in Anim. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Yong childrē dying by ouer abounding moisture.

Concerning the diuersitie of contrarieties.

By the good temperature of heauen, a man should gouerne his own complexion in those foure qualities.

Now remaineth that somewhat should be saide, concerning the best complexion of all other, for the maintenance of long life. First of all then is to be noted, that of the foure complexions, as Choler, flegme Blood, & Melancholy, blood is the best, to help him in the length of life; for blood is hot & moist, which qualities are the aptest to prolong life. But the humidity must not be watry, but airy, being hot & moist; and so the sanguine complexion, participating of some temperate heat and moisture sufficiēt to norish the heat, it is most

Blood the best of all the four complexions in man.

The Cholle-rick complexion.

proper of all the complexions to make long life. As for the Cholerike cõplexion, it is of leſſe continuance, becauſe the viuacity and force of his fire, and alſo of the heate, cannot long endure with his dryneſſe. The Phlegmaticke & watrie complexion, cannot bee digeſted by heate, in regard of his exceſſiue humidity: & therefore falleth eaſily into corruption, which (in the end) procureth death.

The Phlegmatick & watrie.

The Melancholy.

The melancholy complexion, beeing earthie, abridgeth life by his coldneſſe & drought, which are qualities contrary to heate and moiſture: and therfore it is not to bee wondred at, though they ſhorten life, by ouer-abounding in ſome bodyes.

Choller and Phlegme.

Notwithſtanding, if Choller mingle it ſelf with Phlegme, and that it ſurmounteth proportionably the Phlegme; that Complexion alſo is very apt to maintaine long life.

Blood and Melancholy.

When likewiſe blood ſurpaſſeth Melancholy in a good proportion, that complexion is good: for the heate and humidity of the blood do beguile themſelues, with the cold and drineſſe of melancholy.

Compounded Complexions

Whereby we may gather, that there are compounded Complexions, which are much better then the Sanguine ſimplie, to preſerue and proſper the length of life.

The life of man limited by power of his complexion.

By that which formerly hath bene ſaid, wee may perceiue, that the life of man is limited by power and vertue of his Complexion, and by the proportion of Elementary qualities: ſo that the diuerſitie of proportions doe cauſe the diuerſity of tearmes of life in man. And ſome hold, that a man may liue ſo long as naturall heate laſteth, and the radicall humor giueth maintenance. Alſo, whereas ſome ſay, that the life of man hath his limit, beyond which, it is impoſſible for him to paſſe; it is to be noted, that although the complexion and naturall vertue of man, may ſupply and maintaine vnto the lateſt point; yet notwithſtanding, of a thouſand men, hardly one attaineth to that point, becauſe there are ſo many diſaſters which happen accidentally, or elſe by ſome diſorder; that the moſt part die, before nature failes in them, either by hunger, peſtilence, poiſon, gourmandize, whoredome, bad victuals, or by diſeaſes, cauſed thorow infinit exceſſes in mẽ, by them daily committed, and ſo the true naturall tearme of mans life, is, when nature faileth, being thẽ vtterly impoſſible for them to paſſe that point.

Many men dy before nature faileth in thẽ through theyr owne extremity of exceſſe.

Thus are we to vnderſtand that place in *Iob*, where it is ſayde: *Lord, thou haſt eſtabliſhed the bounds of mans life, which is impoſſible for him to go beyond.* Whereby may clearely be diſcerned, that a man may very eaſily ſhorten his life, but not lengthen it. So that we ſee many of good complexion, and likely to liue a Worlde of yeares: who neuertheleſſe are of ſhort life, by ſome exteriour cauſe, which haſtens on the expiration of their daies. Notwithſtãding, that paſſage in *Iob* may bee otherwiſe vnderſtood, in regard of Gods preſcience or foreknowledge, who giueth to euery one his terme of life; be it by his naturall complexion, or by ſome other meanes, which he hath aſſigned to the life of man. And becauſe ther is nothing hidden from the wiſedome of God (for, hee knoweth all the cauſes and accidents that can happen to man) it is impoſſible for man, to haue any power of lengthening his life, beyond the ordination of God, although there were contingent cauſes.

Many men likely to liue long, haue yet their dayes ſhortned.

Two termes in the life of man, and how they are attained vnto.

In this reſpect it may be ſaid, that there are two tearmes in the life of man, one whereof, dependeth vpon the hermony & proportion of the Elementary qualiries; and the other is according to the preordination and preſcience of God. Between which tearmes, there is onely this difference, that a man may come or proceede ſo farre as the firſt, and yet without paſſing it; but all men attaine to the ſecond. And although that (by courſe of nature) ſome one may paſſe on to his ſecond terme: yet notwithſtanding, there is not any that can go beyond it; as the like may bee ſayde of other creatures and plants.

CHAP. XXIX.

How the life of man hath beene abridged and ſhortned from the beginning of the World, & that in diuers times. Of the diuerſity of termes allotted to men: With many hiſtories tending to that pnrpoſe, eſpecially of ſuch as haue liued longeſt.

HAuing ſhewne how to maintaine this life, & declared alſo the reaſons, why ſome liue long, & others leſſe time; it may appeare

Concerning the naturall hermonie of Elementarie qualities, supporting mans body.

peare good to vnderstand, at what times the naturall hermonie of the Elementary qualities (which support the body of man) began to grow into decadence; which, from the beginning of the world, euen to this instant day, hath kept alwayes in diminution, concerning the temperature of Complexions, with the quality of foode, which do conserue and establish life, and yet mans life daily waxing to be lesse and lesse in continuance.

The long life of our forefathers in the first world.

In the first world, men liued eight hundred and nine hundred yeares, according as we haue already declared in our former volume, and the eight Chapter; where is amply related the yeares of our auncient fore-fathers, farre differing from ours. Our present intention and purpose, is to speake concerning the decadence of the age of man; a matter very remarkeable, & whereof the sacred Scripture doth make mention. For it is written, that the first declining of mans yeares or age, was ruled and limited to an 120. yeares, immediatly after the flood, according as we read in Genesis, where the Lord God himselfe said, *The life of man shall be an hundred and twentie yeares.* Not that hee saith, that a man cannot out-liue six score yeares; but as if that the rest or ouer-plus of his life, will be but wearisome and insupportable old age.

Gen. 6,3.

Gods owne limitation for the life of mã.

Genesis 25,7.

Abraham, who was long time after the deluge, liued an hundred seuenty and fiue yeares. *Iaacob* was an hundred and thirty yeares olde, when he went down into Ægypt, where hee yet liued ten yeares longer. And so of many other to bee alledged, that liued many happy yeares. Since then, the life of man became shortned againe, euen in the time of *Dauid*, who speaketh thus in one of his Psalmes. *The dayes of our age is threescore yeares and ten, & though men be so strong, that they attain to foure score yeares; yet is their strength then, but labour and sorrow, so soone it passeth away, and we are gone.* Now a dayes we see, that such as are of feeble Complexion, passe not aboue fiue and fifty yeares, and (very strong men) but three score & fiue (I meane in lusty disposition, for operations and actions to be in men) & therefore the life of man in these our daies, lasteth not the twentith part; of those men liuing in the worlds first Age, and howe much shorter they will be, God only knoweth.

Genesis 46,6.

Psalme 90,10.

The yeares of weak & strong men in these our instant times.

The ancient Philosophers labored very seriously, in seeking a reason for this difference and decadence in mens yeares. Some attributed it to the celestiall influences. Others alledged farre contrarie reasons, as *Plinie*, and many more beside, that limit the life of man to fixe score yeares. *Berosus* alloweth no more then an hundred and seauenteene; *Petosiris*, an hundred twenty six: but *Censorinus* (following the opinion of the Philosopher *Essatius*) assigneth a man to liue but foure score yeares. *Dioscorides*, imitating the Egyptians, and speaking of the life of man, saith: *It is long or short, according vnto the poise or weight of his heart.* Euen as wee haue more at large deliuered, in the precedent part to this Volume, where manie reasons are alledged, making to this purpose, without presuming into any secret, concerning the will and prouidence of God.

The search of Philosophers for the reason of mans short life, as is to be seene in their seuerall writings.

In the first place, God ordaind al creatures to eate and drinke, for maintenance of the naturall and radicall humor, graunting them means also, to perpetuate their seuerall kindes, by the acte of generation. But, as eating & drinking is not sufficient enough, to re-establish the radical humor, which diminisheth and vanisheth away of it selfe daily, so that life may likewise be lost as soone as it; so is it not possible also, to yeeld a body by the act of generation, of such compleat perfection, as others were, that liued in the first age of the world. For the vertue and power of the radical complexion (which is called the principal complexion) is mightily decayed: & from hence it ensueth, that the life of man became abridged and shortned dayly more and more.

All creatures appointed to feede for maintaining the humor rddicall and naturall.

The radicall complexion, the principall Complexion.

Another reason, which neuertheles dependeth vpon the former, is this; that the food wherewith man sustaineth himselfe, hath lost, and commeth far short of such vertue, as it had at the beginning of the world. So that it is vtterly impossible, to haue mankinde in such bodily perfection, as the men of the first worlde had. And therfore the vertue of complexion failing in man, and the hermony of the Elementary qualities beeing adulterated and bastardized, and foode likewise decayed in goodnes; it is no maruel, if our present life be become so much shortned. And thogh those times then obserued, euen as an

A second reason concerning foode and sustentation.

ordinarie limitation to the life of man: yet notwithstanding, diuers personnes (among them) haue bene noted to liue longer then some other, by being of a strong and good complexion; and, in regard it pleased God that it should be so, whose hand is neuer tied, much lesse subiected to any law or limit. Neuertheless, because we may not complaine, concerning our little time of life, and also to comfort vs in the breuity thereof: I will set downe certaine examples of some men, that haue exceeded others in length of life, though not speaking of any in the first age, because such as I purpose to discourse on, liued long since that large extent of life came to be shortned.

The life time of men after the generall deluge. Gen 11,12,13 14.

Arpachshad, sonne of *Sem*, and Nephew to *Noah*, liued two hundred yeares after the flood; and yet notwithstanding, he attained to foure hundred and thirty yeares before he dyed. *Shelah* also his sonne, liuad foure hundred and three yeares. *Heber*, the son of *Shelah*, (of whome the Hebrewes took their name) liued foure hundred sixty and seuen yeares. In his time happened the confusion of tongues: but he safely preserued the Hebrue (which was the first language of the worlde) because he consented not to the proud building of *Babels* Tower.

When the confusion of tongues was.

Terah, the Father of *Abraham*, liued two hundred and fiue yeares, and *Abraham* liued an hundred, seauentie and fiue yeares; as also *Iaacob* an hundred seauenty fiue yeares, after which time, the life time of men beganne greatly to diminish. Neuertheless, *Moyses* liued six score yeares, and *Aaron* sixe score and three yeares: *Sara*, that ancient matrone (so much renowned) liued sixe score and seuen yeares, and that valiant woman *Iudith* who smote off the head of *Holofernes*, lyued an hundred and fiue yeares, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures, which render true testimony of all that hath hitherto bin said.

At what time mens liues began to shorten.

The liues of renowned women.

Now, as concerning prophane Histories, many are recorded to liue long time: as *Nestor*, who liued so faire and large an extent of life, that our reuerend predecessors, when they desired the long life of any man; they wished, that hee might liue *Nestors* yeares, hee being three hundred yeares old, when he went with the *Greekes* to *Troy*. For *Homer* sayeth: *Prince Nestor being about three hundred yeares of age, went to succour the Greekes against the Troyans, with a potent army by sea.*

*Son to Neleus & Chloris.

Nestors years

Homers words of Nestors going to the Troyan warre.

The same is also auouched by *Ouid*, *Iuuenall*, and *Tibullus*, with many other Authours besides. *Arganthonius*, King of * *Andalouzia* (anciently called *Turditania*) liued an hundred and fiftie yeares, according as *Strabo* affirmeth, from the Poet *Anachreon*: Neuertheless *Herodotus*, and *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet do auouch, that this Prince liued the space of three hundred yeares.

* Now Granado.

Arganthonius king of Turditania.

Valerius Maximus, and *Pliny* also say, that he reigned fourescore yeares, and liued sixe score yeares. *Pliny* likewise maketh a large Narration, of certaine Kings in *Arabia*, and many other (as well men as women) that liued multitudes of years: but because matters fecht so farre off, may raise doubt and suspition, I will insert other histories, which are maintained to be true and certaine.

Kings of Arabia that liued long.

Valerius Maximus Coruinus, did liue an hundred yeares, at it is auouched by *Valerius Maximus*, hauing beene sixe times Consull of *Rome*: and further saieth, That there were sixe and forty yeares betweene his first Consulship, and the last yeare of his honor in the same dignity, and that he liued the rest of his age in abledispositon, so that hee could make good vse of all the dignities and Offices impoſed vppon him.

The life time of Marcus Valerius Coruinus, six times Consull of Rome.

Stephanus the *Romane*, beeing farre entred into yeares, serued as dancer before the Emperour *Octauius*, in those Secular pastimes which he ordained in *Rome*: and seuenty three yeeres after, hee danced againe in the sports of the Emperor *Claudius*, and yet liued long time afterwarde. *Titus Fullonius*, borne in *Bologna*, liued an hundred and fifty yeeres, as appeared by the numbering and accounts, made from fiue yeares to fiue yeares in elder times, & wherein the Emperour *Claudius* tooke great paines to be informed in the trueth, for he was very curious in such matters.

These were sports vsed from one 100 yeares to another hundred.

And, not to estrange or barre women, from the benefite of our instant discourse, but to blesse them also with hope of long life; it is obserued that *Terentia*, the wife of *Cicero*, liued an hundred and seuenteen yeares. *Claudia*, the Wife of *Offellus*, attained to an hundred and fifteene yeares of age, hauing had fifteen male children.

The long life of diuers Roman ladies

Valeria Capriola a famous Ladie Dancer.

Samura a *Romane* Lady, was an hundred and ten yeares old when she dyed; who being aged an hundred and foure yeares, yet serued as Lady dancer, in the secular sports of the Emperor *Octauius*; hauing formerly danced in other secular pastimes, when she was fourescore and eleuen years old.

Plin.in l.10.c.7

Pliny reporteth a matter very admirable, and yet true, that in the accounts and numberings made by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, then Censors, there liued three men at *Parma*, each of them being aged six score yeares, and two that were sixe score and ten yeares old; beside a woman, that was aged sixe score and twelue years. He saith moreouer, that in *Romania*, there were foure and fifty men, each of them beeing an hundred yeares olde: fifty seauen men being aged an hundred and tenne yeares: foure men, aged an hundred and thirtie yeares: and other foure men, who were seuerally aged sixe score & fifteen yeares: beside foure men more, each of them being seauen score yeares old, a thing not vsuall, and hardly to be seene in these daies of ours.

A note well worthy obseruation.

But leauing *Italy*, let vs looke vpon some further strangers, that liued long. *Gorgias Leontinus*, a Philosopher greatly renowned, who liued (in very healthfull disposition) more then an hundred yeares. Hee hauing attained to an hundred and seuen yeares, was demanded, why he tooke so great delight to abide in the world; whereto he thus replyed, *I thanke God, I neuer did any thing, whereby I deserued to bee blamed in mine Age.* An answer very excellent and singular, for such as are able to make or speake it truly.

*A Rhetoritian, scholler to Empedocles. and Master to Isocrates.

Seneca the Philosopher, borne at * *Corduba*, liued an hundred & fourteen yeeres. The famous *Appollonius Thyaneus* hadde passed an hundred yeares before he dyed. *Democritus*, by the testimony of *Diogenes*, liued an hundred and nine yeares; and dyed, hauing neuer felt Feauer, nor any other disease. *Galen*, the Prince of Physitians, liued (in absolute and able disposition) an hundred and forty yeares: and dyed by defect of Nature, without the sense of any sickenesse.

* A Cittie of Bætica in Spaine.

Galen, Prince of all other Physitians.

* *Attyla*, King of the *Gothes*, who (in his time) was most cruell, and of great power liued an hundred and foure years, seruing as a scourge to mankinde, and making lamentable waste and spoile by his warres, and infinite cruelties. *Massinissa*, King of *Gninea*, liued fourescore and seauenteene yeares, hauing reigned threescore. This Prince neuer had his head couered, neyther from the Sun, windes, or raines, or greatest Tempests, but continued so (bareheaded) to his very latest dayes: marching alwayes on foote in his Armour, and as lightly as the youngest souldier in his Armie. When hee was fourescore yeeres of age, he begate a Son, and left (after his death) foure and forty sonnes, by him begotten.

*A valiant Scythian Prince, who subdued Pannonia, &c.

He was also King of Numidia.

As for Hermites and ancient Fathers, many are recorded to liue long, onely by their abstinence; as Saint *Paule*, the first Hermit, who liued sixe score yeares; Saint *Anthony* the Ægyptian Hermit, who liued an hundred and fifty yeeres; and *Creonius* (his Companion) an hundred. Now a dayes, wee finde few, or none at all, to liue so long, for (day by day) the life time of man groweth shorter and shorter; whereby it appeareth, that the end of the world approacheth neere. Neuertheless God hath declared his wonderful workes in all times; for in the life of the Emperour *Conrade*, which was in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, and forty, or nere thereabout, a man dyed, who had serued the Emperour *Charlemaigne* in his warres, so large a time, that this man was founde to haue liued three hundred and threescore yeares, and was called *Iohn of Time*. Which name was giuen him (as I thinke) in regard of his great age; and I am halfe perswaded also, that of him was raised the old Prouerbe, when men commonly saide, *Iohn, Iohn, trust thou in God.*

The long life of Hermits & holy Fathers.

Iohn of Time hadde liued 360. yeares.

CHAP. XXX.

A briefe Chronologicall Suruey, concerning the Netherlands, diuided into seuenteene Prouinces: with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry (who was the first Earle of Holland and Zeland) to this instant time.

CONcerning the Originall of the people inhabiting these coũtries, wee finde, that two Brethren, sonnes to the king of *Cathes, the one being named *Battus*, or *Batton*; and the other *Zelandus*, were the first Fathers of them, and that (from them) they deriued their Names. For these two Princes, being too extreamly pursued by the hatred of a Stepmother, and no way pitied or supported by the King their father (escaping many traines and machinations, of poysoning, murthering, and diuers other dangers by her daily deuised and put in practise against thẽ) were forced to forsake their natiue abyding, & fly to an Island within the *Rhine*: where *Battus* determining to make his stay, called it *Battauia*, after his owne Name; and that is (in plainer vnderstanding) *Holland*.

*A people neere to the Scythians.

Battauia is Holland.

Zelandus, not liking to liue so neere, or with his brother (least pursute should surprize them both, and reuenge there fasten which in more desperate place they had auoyded) he trauelled on to the vttermost confines of the *Rhine*, and liking there to set downe his rest, imitated his Brothers example (in styling the country) and called it *Zeland*.

Zelãd, named by Zelandus.

Concerning their building of Cities, Townes, Castles, and Forts, which afterward came to be ruined & defaced againe by warres with the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, &c. or to what order of life the people disposed themselues, and through how many and infinite encumbrances (from their originall) they passed, for no meane store of yeares together: these are matters meerely exempt from our intended breuity, and may more amply be seen in the history at large, whereunto I refer any such desirous Reader, and borrowing fauour for so large a leap, I instantly proceed to the yeare, 863. when *Holland* first became to be an Earledome.

In the yeare before mentioned, *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*, at *Bladell* in the Prouince of *Campaigne*, hauing there (in his company) a generall assembly of his Princes and Barons, for consultation of many important matters; pleased to aduance the two sonnes of Count *Haghen* (who was Vnckle to the King) for theyr great deseruings, and for the farther encouragement of the like vertuous minded Gentlemen. *Walger*, who was the eldest sonne, he made Earl of *Teysterbaudt*; and *Thierry* the yongest son, or *Theodor*, as some tearme him, beeing formerly called *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*, he made earle of *Holland*.

863.

The two sons of Count Haghen.

This gift of the kings, especially that to *Thierry*, was much withstood by the *Frizelanders*, as scorning to be commanded by any new Lord or Ruler: wherefore they consulted with the *Hollanders*, and a plot was laid to expell this new Earle. But it proued to no effect, for the king comming thither (in person) with a powerful army, made such an example on the Ring-leaders in this rebellion, that the rest (in very great humility) submitted themselues, casting their Weapons not onely at the Kings feete, but likewise at the Earles, and (vpon pardon) they vowed their continuall bounden duty to *Thierry*. His authority was then further strengthened, in the year eight hundred sixty eight, by the letters Patents of King *Charles*, as also by them of *Lewes* King of *Germany*, confirming him to bee Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Frizeland*.

Thierry Earle of Holland, Zeland, and Lord of Frizeland.

This *Thierry* married *Genna*, or *Ienna*, daughter to *Pepin* the Bald, king of *Italy*, sonne to the Emperor *Charlemaigne*. Hee worthily foyled the Danes, that then possessed the Towne of *Vtricht*, the Wiltes and the Slaues, disabling them from any further footing in *Holland*, which made them presume to meddle in *Zeland*, but thence they were repulsed likewise. By which meanes, he remained afterward in peace, beautifying his Countries both with faire buildings and good Lawes. He dyed very old, hauing reigned 40. yeares, and after him succeeded

The Frizelanders rebell againe.

2 *Thierry* his son, second of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Frizeland*, who married with *Hildegarde*. daughter vnto King *Lewes* of *France*, the Stammerer, and Sister to King *Charls* the Simple. The *Frizelanders* did twice reuolt from their obedience, and would not allow Earl *Thierry* to be their Lord, slaying very many of them that obeyed the Earl, wasting, spoiling, and burning all the way as they went. But at length they were iustly repayed for their insolencie, and such a slaughter was made of the *Frisons* (without any mercy) that few or none of them returned home to their dwellings. Afterward, he forced them to make the doores of entrance into their houses, so lowe and narrow, that they must stoope verie lowe before they could get in; and this he did, to make them the more humble and seruile, receiuing a new Oath of allegeance of them. And hauing reigned about fiftie yeares, being then aged 88. yeares old, he dyed, leauing two sonnes behind him, the eldest whereof (being named *Egbert*) became Archbyshop of *Treues*, and *Arnold* his yongest son succeeded him.

3 *Arnold*, or (as others will haue it) *Arnulph*, yongest son to Earle *Thierry*, followed in rule as his fathers successor: but he held the Earledomes of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lordship of *Frizeland*, no longer of the crown of *France*, but of *Otho* the third, Emperour; and so became in fee to the Empire. A very fearefull Comet appeared in his time, with straunge Ecclipses both of the Sunne and Moone, beeing as red as blood, and terrible Earthquakes: a fire also fell from heauen, in similitude like an huge Tower, burning for a long time: after which ensued so violent a pestilence, that the liuing died burying the dead. The *Frizons* reuolting again from obedience, made all his reigne a continuall warfare, and the Armies (on either side) meeting neere vnto *Winckell*, so dreadfull a battaile was fought betweene them: that the *Hollanders* sustained the worst, Count *Arnold* being there slaine, and a great number of his cheefest Nobility. This battaile was fought the eighteenth of October, the morrow after S. *Lamberts* day, in the yeare 993. So this Earle *Arnold*, hauing reigned fiue yeares, and being thus vnfortunately slaine, was buried by his Father and Grandfather, in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

A dreadfull Comet, ecclipses and earthquakess

4 *Thierry*, third of that name, and son to Count *Arnold*, succeeded as fourth Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lorde of *Frizeland*. Being desirous to reuenge his Fathers death vpon the *Frizons*: hee was much impeached therein by *Adelbold*, Byshop of *Vtrecht*, against whom (neuertheless) hee preuailed in two foughten battailes, in the yeare 1018. and (with great slaughter of the *Frizons*) brought them vnder obedience to his youngest son *Floris*, whom he made Lord of them. This Earle *Thierry*, liuing afterward in verie peacefull dayes, vndertooke a Pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, with the Lord of *Arckell*, his loyall subiect; who died at *Hierusalem*, & was there very honourably buried by *Thierry*. After whose return home, and some yeares passed in peace with his Wife and Children, hauing reigned 46. yeares, hee died in Anno 1039. and was buried by his father in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

Adelbold byshop of Vtrecht.

1309.

5 *Thierry*, fourth of that Name, was the fift Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, & Lord of *Frizeland*, after the decease of *Thierry* his Father. In a Tourney of Princes and Lords, performed (for pleasure) in the Citie of *Liege*, it was this Earles hard happe, to kill a Brother of the Byshops of *Cullen* and *Liege*: whereby ensued such discorde and mollestation, that, after many aduentures of reuenge, vndertaken by the *Germaine* Gentlemen, albeit therein they sustained much losse of men, the Earle was shot into the thigh with a poisoned dart, of which wound hee dyed the fifteenth of May, one thousand foure hundred and eight, after he had gouerned nine yeares, and was buried by his father, in the Abbey of *Egmont*. He was neuer maried, and therefore left not any childe to succeede him.

The Byshops of Cullen and Liege.

1048.

6 *Floris*, who (as you haue heard before) was Earle of *Frizeland*, now after his brothers death, became the sixt Earle of *Holland* and *Zeland*. The former mishappe at *Liege*, could not as yet be forgotten by the Byshops of *Cullen* and *Liege*; but they wold needs prosecute fresh reuenge on Count *Floris*, who being a man of vndãted spirit, defeated his enemies in two attemptes. Once by a cunning stratagem, causing ditches and pitfals to be made in south *Holland*, couering them with straw and grasse, so that they could not be easily discerned. At this time a bloody batell being fought betweene

Two militarie Stratagems.

betweene them, there was forty thousand of the Earles enemies slaine, beside twenty sixe thousand more, who were drowned and smothered in those ditches, *Anno Domini* 1058. The second foyle of his aduersaries, happened foure yeres after this, when the *Hollanders* (putting the *Germans* to flight) returned with rich spoiles, and great store of prisoners; this was in the yeare of our Lord 1062. Yet was it this Earles ill fortune, to be afterward slayne vnarmed, as he sate vnder an Elme, taking the ayre, his enemies preuayling by this aduantage. He had ruled in *Holland* foureteene yeares, and in *Frizeland* 21. yeares, and lyeth buryed at *Egmont*.

1063. Robert the Frizon.

7. 8. *Gertrude*, widow to Earle *Floris*, in regarde that *Thierrie* her sonne was in his nonage, gouerned those Countries in his right. And in the yeare of our Lord, 1063. she re-married with *Robert* the *Frizon* (sonne to *Baldwine* of *Lisle de Bucke*, Earle of *Flaunders*) with the good liking of all the States and Nobilitie. Hee also was made Guardian of young Earle *Thierrie*, and (had by this *Gertrude*) three sonnes, *Robert*, surnamed the Yong (who went with *Godfrey* of *Bullen* to the holie Land, and was (after his fathers decease) Earle of *Flaunders*;) *Philip*, father to *William* of *Ixt*, and *Baldwin* Bishop of *Teroanne*; beside three daughters also, which he had by the said *Gertrude*. This *Robert* was called the *Frizon*, not in regarde of his birth, but of his bigge stature, strength and courage. For, hauing preuailed against the *Frizons*, and hearing of his Brothers death, *Baldwine de Mons*, Earle of *Flaunders*; hee layd clayme to the sayde Earledome, and (notwithstanding the opposition of *Richild*, widow to Earle *Baldwine*: by meanes of the *Flemings*, he ouerthrew the King of *France* in battell, and she with her sonne *Baldwine*, remayning satisfied with the Countie of *Henault*, *Robert* became quietly Earle of *Flanders*. For eight yeares space, hee carried himselfe with great wisedome and valour, and dying in the yeare of our Lord 1077. was buried in the Cannons Church, founded by himselfe at *Cassell*. *Gertrudes* time of rule by her selfe, and *Roberts* after, are reckoned as two seuerall gouernements.

Robert Earle of Flanders.

1077.

9. *Godfrey*, surnamed the crooke-backed Duke of *Lorraine*, in this time of yong Earle *Thierries* minoritie, was made an instrument (in regard of the former quarrel of *Count Floris*, and the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*, as yet not reuenged to their mindes) to suggest a false information to *Henry* the fourth, Emperour, whereby the sayde *Godfrey* became an vsurper of the young Earles right, for the space of foure years. But as he was sitting on the draught to ease his body, a seruant of young *Count Thierries*, did thrust a Iaueline vp into his fundament, whereof he died (not long after) at *Maestrecht*.

The crooke-backt Duke of Lorraine.

10. *Thierrie*, the fift of that name, who (by crook-backt *Godfrey*, and other strange oppositions) had long time beene debarred from quiet possession of his right; at length, by an absolute conquest of the *Frizons*, in two seuerall great battells, recouered all, and returned home as a Conqueror. Afterward, he married *Whithilde*, daughter to *Fredericke*, Duke of *Saxonie*, by whom he had a sonne and daughter: *Floris* that succeeded him, and *Mathilde*, married to the Duke of *Orleance*. Earle *Thierrie* hauing gouerned fifteene yeares, dyed, and was buryed in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

The Frizons conquered in two battels.

1119. Didier Duke of Saxony.

11 *Floris*, the second of that name, & surnamed the Fat or Grosse, succeeded next after his father *Thierry*: he greatly fauoured Church-men, whereby the Abbey of *Egmonts* reuenews were largely encreased. He being a man of very peacefull inclination, little or no disturbances happened in his time: but onely by the *Frizons*, who, for their rebelling, were seuerely punished, and forced to submit themselues to his mercy. This *Floris* married *Petronilla*, or *Parnell*, daughter to *Didier*, Duke of *Saxonie*, and sister to *Lotharius* the Emperour: By her he had three sons, *Thierrie*, *Floris*, called the Blacke Prince of *Kenemerlandt*; and *Symon*, also one daughter named *Hadewicke*, who was Counteste of *Gueldres*. Hauing gouerned his Countries very honourably, for the space of one and thirty yeares; he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundred thirty and three, and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*,

1133.

12. *Thierrie*, sixt of that name, succeeded his father *Floris*, and was much molested by the *Frizons*, in regard that his brother *Floris* the Blacke Prince, enuying the happines and quiet of *Thierrie*, went and tooke part with them against him; vntill such

such time as the Emperour *Lotharius* (being theyr vnckle) had reconciled them, and made them friends. *Conrade* beeing ioyned as competitor in the Empire with *Lotharius*, causeſd a freſh quarrell between *Thierrie* and the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, he ratifying the former graunt of *Henry*, which causeſd very long contention, and much bloud to be ſhed on either ſide. *Thierrie* hauing gouerned his Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* fortie yeares, died in the yeare 1163. and lieth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

Lotharius & Conrade Emperors.

1163.

13 *Floris* the third, eldeſt ſonne of *Thierry*, as heyre to his father, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*. The *Frizons* (pretēding their former freedomes and imperiall liberties) made ſtill their reuoltes from time to time, imboldned thereto by the often ſuggeſtions of *Godfrey* of *Rhemen*, Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, who (as his predeceſſors had done before him) ſtill queſtioned the Earledomes of *Oſtergo* and *Weſtergoe* in *Frizeland*: but the Emperour *Fredericke*, went himſelfe in perſon, and made an agreement between them. All which notwithſtanding, much hurt was done on eyther ſide, as time and treachery fitted them with apt opportunity. A great controuerſie happened betweene the Earles of *Holland* and *Flaunders*, for the Iſle of *Walchren*, and *Count Floris* (in triall of fight) became priſoner to the Earle of *Flaunders*: who neuertheleſſe vſed him princely, and they beeing accorded by the Archbiſhop of *Cullen*, and the Biſhoppe of *Liege*; the great hole neare to the damme or ſluce; was recouered with much adoe, by caſting a dogfiſh thereinto, and ſpeedy filling it vp with earth, whereon they named it *Hondidam*, that is, *Dogs-ſluce*. This Earle *Floris*, aſſiſting the Emperour *Fredericke*, *Phillip* King of *France*, *Richard* King of *England*, with many other Dukes, Chriſtian Princes and Earles, at the ſiege of *Damieta* in *Soria*: fell there ſicke in the Army, and died 1208. hauing gouerned his prouinces twenty ſeuen yeares.

Earledomes of Oſtergo & Weſtergo.

1168.

The Dam or Sluce, called Dogs Sluce.

1208.

14 *Thierrie* the ſeuenth, hearing of his fathers death in *Paleſtine*; ſucceeded as his heire in all his Earledoms. The whole time of his regiment, was in war and continuall combuſtions. Firſt by his brother Lord *William* of *Holland* (who was with his father *Floris* in *Paleſtine*, and performd there many honourable ſeruices) thorow diuers diſagreements that happened betweene them; notwithſtanding, as many laboured reconcilings, and pacifications. Next, *Baldwine* Earle of *Flaunders*, he was as moleſtuous to him likewiſe, for the Iſle of *Walchren*: beſides the *Frizons* rebellions, and his trouble with the Biſhops of *Cologne* and *Liege*, as alſo his impriſonment to the Duke of *Brabant*, and then the intruſion of the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, after which, enſued a peace and vnited amity on all ſides. This *Count Thierrie* had no heires male, but two beautifull daughters; *Adella*, marryed to *Henry* of *Gueldres*, who dyed without anie Children, and *Ada*, meanly marryed by her mother (after her fathers death) to *Count Lewes* of *Loos*, that ſo the gouernement might be diſpoſed at her pleaſure. In the yeare of our Lord, 1203. Earle *Thierry* dyed, hauing gouerned his Countries thirteene yeares, and and lyeth buryed in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

1198.

1203

15 *Ada*, daughter to Earle *Thierrie*, was Counteſſe of *Holland* and *Zeland*, after her fathers death; which mooued a great heart-burning in the Lordes and Gentlemen, that they ſhould liue vnder a Woman, and a poore Earles command. Therefore, they ſent into *Frizeland* for *Count William*, proteſting to aſſiſt him in attayning the gouernement of *Holland*. The young Counteſſe *Ada* was ſurprized in their firſt attempt, and her husband the Earle of *Loos* driuen to flight; who yet wunne the Biſhop of *Vtrecht* (by money and other promiſes) to ayde him, and by this means he had ſome ſmall ſucceſſe for a while. But the Counteſſe *Ada* dying without any children, Earle *William* was then the true and onely heyre to *Holland* and *Zeland*. In which right of his, hee went with his power againſt the Earle of *Loos*, and ſuch was his ſucceſſe, that the Women did beate his enemies with Diſtaues and Stones, they beeing glad to caſt away their Armour for lightneſſe, to ſaue themſelues by flight; yet many were drowned in the Ditches, and a great number taken priſoners, with all the Earle of *Loos* Tents, Pauillions, Plate, Iewelles, and Munition, which Count *William* royally diuided amongſt his *Hollanders*, remayning abſolute Prince of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*.

The gouernment of a woman deſpiſed

Women beat Men with Diſtaues and Stones.

L. William of Holland.

16 *William*, firſt of that name, ſucceeded

1128. ded rightfully in all his Earledoms, by the death of his Neece the yong *Counteſſe Ada*. He had ſome ſtrife with *Didier* Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, and *Gerard Vander Are* his brother: but (vpon certayne Articles) all diſpleaſures were qualified. By his firſt wife *Alix*, daughter to the Earle of *Gueldres*, he had *Floris*, that next ſucceeded him, *Otho* Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, *William* Lieutenant of *Holland*, and two daughters, the one was Abbeſſe at *Rhynsbourg*, aud the other at *Delfte*. His ſecond wife was named *Mary*, daughter to *Edmund* of *Lancaſter*, ſon to *Henry* the third, King of *England*, by whom he had no iſſue. He gouerned 19. years; and dying, lies buried at *Rhynsbourg*.

Edmond of Lancaſter, ſon to the King of England.

17 *Floris* the fourth, ſucceeded his father *Count William* in his Earledomes. He took great delight in Iuſts & Turnaments, and the Earle of *Clermont* proclayming a publike Triumph for all commers, at the Counteſſe his wifes requeſt (who greatly deſired to ſee this *Floris*, of whom ſhe had heard much commendation:) this honorable Erle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *&c.* was there treacherouſly ſlaine, onely through iealous ſuſpition of the old Erle of *Clermont*, who was there likewiſe preſently ſlaine himſelfe, and the Counteſſe (grieuing for this great miſhap) died ſoone after. This Count *Floris* had a daughter named *Mathilde*, or *Margaret*, as ſome call her, who was married to Count *Herman* of *Henneberg*. She deſpiſing a poore widdow, that deſired her almes vpon vrgent neceſſitie, holding in either arme a ſweet yong child, both which, God had ſent hir at one birth; gaue hir very reprochful words beſide, as, that ſhe could not be honeſt of her bodie; and (by her husband) haue two children lawfully begotten. The poore woman, grieuing to be reiected in ſuch extreame want and need, but much more, to heare her reputation ſo nearely touched, knowing her ſoule cleare from al diſhoneſt detection: made no further ſuite to the Lady, but (falling vpon her knees) appealed to God for defence of her Innocencie, and earneſtly deſired, that as ſhe had cõceiued and borne thoſe two infants lawfully by her husband; euen ſo, if euer that Ladie ſhould be ſubiect to the cuſtome of Women, that it would pleaſe him, to ſend her as many children at one birth, as there are daies in the yeare. Not long after, the Lady conceiued with childe by her husband, & (for her deliuerance) went into *Holland*, to viſite the Earle her brother, taking vp lodging in the Abbey of religious women at *Loſdunen*, and grew ſo exceeding great, as the like had neuer before beene ſeene. When her time came, on the Friday before Palme-ſunday, in the yeare of our Lord God 1276. ſhee was deliuered of 365. children, the one halfe being ſonnes, and the other daughters; but the odde childe was an Hermaphrodite, and they were all well ſhaped and proportioned in their little members. Theſe children were layd in two baſins, and were all baptized by *Guydon*, Suffragan to the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, who named all the ſonnes *Iohn*, and the daughters *Ellzabeth*, but what name hee gaue the Hermaphrodite, it is not recorded. They were no ſooner baptized, but they all died, and the mother alſo. The two Baſins are yet to bee ſeene in the ſayde Church of *Loſdunen*, and a memorie of them, both in Latine and Dutch. The Latine beginning thus: *Margareta, Comitis Hennebergiæ vxor, & Florentij Hollandiæ & Zelandiæ filia, &c.* Vnderneath are theſe verſes:

En tibi monſtroſum & memorabile factum,
Quale nec à mundi conditione datum.

The wonderfull birth of 365. Children

This Count *Floris*, being ſo treacherouſly ſlaine, as yee haue heard before, had his body brought backe into *Holland*, by the Earle of *Cleues*, and other noble Lords, who buried it in the Abby of *Rhynsbourg*; he hauing honourably and vertuouſly gouerned his Countries twelue yeares. He left but one ſon named *William*, ſix yeares old, who was in the tutelage of his vnckle *Otho*, Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, during his minoritie.

This Hiſtory is auouched for a truth by diuers good Authors.

18 *William*, ſecond of that name, ſucceeded his father *Floris* in all his dominions, being all the time of his vnder yeares, in the gouernement of *Otho* Biſhop of *Vtrecht* his vnckle, who was a very worthy & carefull Guardian to him. The Pope hauing depoſed *Fredericke* the ſecond, and *Conrade* his ſonne from the Empire: the Princes Electors (in deſpight of the Pope) made this Earle *William* King of the *Romans*, and crowned him at *Aix le Chapelle*, he hauing then attained to the age of 20. yeares. A long & tedious trouble hapned, betweene him, & *Margaret* Counteſſe of *Flanders*, a very high-minded and proude woman,

Earle William King of the Romans.

woman, for the country of *Walchren*, wherin, after a great foile and slaughter of the *Flemings*, (taking part with her) and imprisonment of her two sonnes (*Guy* and *Iohn*) she implored the aid of *Charles* duke of *Aniou*, against king *William*, & sped therby no better then she had done before, but was glad in the end to seek reconcilement. This King *William* built the Pallace of the Earles of *Holland*, in the vilage of *La Hage*, or the *Hague*, where it is at this day, and a goodly Cloister at *Harlem*. At his warres in west *Frizeland*, where he preuailed very successefully, he would needs (without any other assistance then himselfe) follow the rebells ouer the Ice, where his horsse slipping in, himselfe almost drowned, and none neare to helpe him (but enemies of the *Frizons*, that lay secretly in ambush:) they beate him downe with clubbes and staues, not knowing that it was the King, and so they slew him. But when afterward they tooke better notice of him, by his Target and Armes thereon emblazoned: in very hearty sorrow for their foule deed, they buried him secretly, in a poore house in the village of *Hooktwond*, thinking so to wipe out all remembrance of him. But his body was after found, and buried in the Abbey of *Middlebourg*, in the Isle of *Walchren*.

King William cruelly slaine.

19 *Floris* the fift, son to King *William*, who was slaine so inhumanely; albeit hee was but sixe months old, yet he succeeded his father, his vnckle *Floris* being his Gouernor and Tutor. At 17. yeares of age, he went with an army against the euer-reuolting *Frizons*, and ouercame them at a village called *Schellinckhout*, very seuerely reuenging his fathers death on them, and (by building foure Castles in *Frizeland*) brought them wholly vnder his obediēce. Afterward, Count *Floris* made a voyage into *England*, where a marriage was contracted, betweene *Iohn*, eldest son to Earle *Floris*, and *Elizabeth*, daughter to king *Edward* the first: *Iohn* being (not long after) sent into *England*, to accomplish the sayd mariage, where he remained in the Court of *England*, vntill his fathers vnfortunate death, which briefly was thus:

1290.

The History of the death of erle Floris.

A knight liued in the Earles Court, named *Gerard van Velson*, who had beene a whole yeares space detayned in prison, & his brother beheaded, through certaine false suggestions whispered to the Earle, which (afterward) appearing to be a meere iniury: the Earle sought to repayre this wrong, with very especiall fauors done to the knight, great aduancements, & would haue bestowed also his concubine in marriage on him. Which *Gerard* disdaining & replying, that he would not weare his cast shooes: the Earle rashly answerd, that he should take his leauings, in despite of his hart. To preuent mariage with the Earles minion, the knight bestowed his affections else-where, and wedded a Ladie of great honour and beauty. Which when the Earle vnderstood, he pursued his former rash folly, to the price of his own life: Sending *Gerard* on an employment of much credit & respect, and wherewith he was not a little pleased, not doubting anie such wicked intention. The Earle came to *Gerards* house, vnder color of hospitality, and there (winning her to priuate conference in her bed chamber) forcibly defloured her, to performe his rash promise to her husband. At *Gerards* returne, and this foule wrong discouered, it was pursued with very bloudy reuenge, by a resolued conspiracy sworne against his life: which albeit he had some warning of (by a paper deliuerd him by a poore woman;) yet his disaster being ineuitable, a traine was laid for him as he rode a hawking, and twentie one wounds he receiued on his body, by the hand of the sayd *Gerard*. But hee and the rest of the conspiratorse scaped not vnpunished, for they had their heads smitten off, and were then laid vpon wheeles; but *Gerard* was put (stark naked) into a Pipe stucke full of sharp nailes, and was so rowled vp and downe through all the streetes of *Leyden*. Then was he beheaded, & layd on a wheele, and al his kinred (to the ninth degree) put to death, and laid on wheeles.

A seuere reuenge for the Earles death,

1291.

20 After the wicked murder of Earle *Floris* the fift, committed by the *Fryzons*, as hath beene declared: *Iohn* his only son (being then in *England* with King *Edward* his father in law) was next to succeed him as his rightfull heire. But before he could leaue *England*, some partialities and factions happened in *Holland* for the gouernement, which soone were qualified at Earle *Iohns* being there present, notwithstāding the subtile policie of *Wolfart* of *Borssele*, seizing the person of Earle *Iohn*, and Lady *Elizabeth* his wife, thinking to haue the gouernement of the sayd Earle, because, as yet,

Wolfart of Borssele, his secret intention.

1300.

The end of the race of the Dukes of Aquitaine,& succesion of the Earles of Henault.

yet, he was but young. Earle *Iohn* preuailed against the *Frizons*, and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, and hauing gouerned his Countries about foure yeares, hee fell sicke at *Harlem*, and there dyed. He was the first of al the Earles of *Holland*, that died without children: wherefore in him failed the line masculine of the Earls from the dukes of *Aquitaine*, which *Thierry*, or *Theodor*, the first Earle of *Holland*, had continued 437. yeares. He was buried in the Abbey of *Rhinsbourg*, his widdow Lady *Elizabeth* being caried back into *England*, where she was afterward maried to the Earle of *Oxford:* So that by the death of Earle *Iohn* in this manner, those Countries were deuolued to the Earles of *Henault*, issuing by the mothers side frō the earles of *Holland*.

1301.

21 *Iohn*, the second of that name, called *Iohn* of *Henault* (claiming his right from *Alix*, Sister to *William* king of the *Romans*) succeeded after *Iohn*, as Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*, *&c.* He had a long and tedious trouble with *Iohn de Reuesse*, who perswaded the Emperour, that *Iohn* Earle of *Holland* dying without issue, his Earledomes ought (in right) to returne to the Empire; according as *Charls* the bald, Emperor of the *Romans*, had at first giuen them in fee and homage to *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*. This suggestion raised the Emperour *Albert* in Armes against *Iohn* of *Henault*, but the Bishop of *Cullen* compounded the matter betweene them; and *Iohn de Reuesse* was afterward drowned, by which means, *Iohn* of *Henault*, hauing gouerned *Henault* thirty yeres, and his countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* fiue yeares, died, & was buried at *Valenciennes*.

Iohn de Reuesse drownd.

1305.

22 *William* the third, sonne and heire to *count Iohn* of *Henault*, succeeded his fathers Earledomes: he was commonly called, *The good Earle William*, for his vertues, iustice, good life, and honourable actions. In his time hapned so great a dearth and famine in *Holland*, that poore people dyed with hunger, euen in the streets as they went: seeking also for hearbs and rootes in the fields and woods, there they were likewise found dead, and in the common high wayes: little children dyed sucking at their mothers breasts, and some were enforced to feede on their dead children. In this time of famine, a poore woman in the Towne of *Leyden*, being extreamely ouercharged with hunger, entreated her owne sister, (being a woman of better abilitie) to lend her some bread, which she would thankefully repay againe, when God should enable her. She, very vnkindly, and without any pitty of her extreamity, denyed her oftentimes, notwithstanding the others often vrgings; that shee was assured, that shee could not be without bread. Heereupon the vnmercifull sister (lying, both to God and to her owne poore sister) sayde: If I haue any bread, I wish that it may instantly be turned into a stone: wherewith the heauy displeasure of almighty God laid hold vpon her words, and going afterward to hir Cupboord (to relieue her selfe) she found all her loaues of bread conuerted into apparant stones, and died herselfe with extreamity of hunger. It is credibly said, that one or two of those stones, are yet to be seene in Saint *Peters* Church at *Leyden*, as a memorie of this iust iudgement of God.

The good Earle William

1316.

A wonderfull dearth.

A strange example of an vnmercifull sister.

There is also recorded another memorable Historie, of vpright Iustice done by this good Earle *William*, to a poore country-man, against a Bayliffe of South *Holland*, who had taken a goodly faire Cowe from him, that was the relieue of himselfe, his poore wife and children; as there are some Kine in that Countrey, which doe giue twenty pottles of milke and more, in a day. The Bayliffe at the poore mans complaint to this good earle *William*, who lay then sicke in his Bed at *Valenciennes* (yet neuer debarred any suiters from audience, were he sicke or well) was adiudged to giue the poore man an hundred crownes of good gold, for the wrong he had done to him, which was accordingly performed. But for his iniurie to publike Iustice (being himselfe an Officer) and abusing the authority committed in trust to him; the Earle sent for an Executioner, and caused his head to be smitten off by his beds side. This good *Count William*, beeing a vertuous Prince, victorious in warre, a man learned; wise, wel spoken, and iudicious, a great friend to peace, gracious to all men, and beloued in all courts, hauing gouerned his Prouinces 32. years, dyed the ninth day of Iune 1337. and was buried with great pomp at *Valenciennes*.

A worthy action of iustice done by this good Earle William.

1337.

Earle William a worthy Souldiour.

23 *William* the fourth, son to the good Earle *William*, came to his fathers Earledoms by lawfull succession. He was a man of high merit, & a most famous Souldier, whereof

wherof he made good proofe; firſt againſt the *Sarazins* and *Moores*, in the kingdome of *Granada*: Next, with the Emperor *Lewes*, and many noble Earles, ayding his brother in lawe *Edward* the third King of *England*, againſt the king of *France*; thirdly, in ouer-running *Lithuania*, *Liuonia*, and warring againſt the *Ruſſian* Infidels, lading home his men with victory & wealthy ſpoiles: And laſtly, in preuayling againſt the *Frizons*, and *Robert* of *Arckell* gouernour of *Vtrecht*: Yet it was his hard hap to be ſlaine vnknowne (amongeſt the *Frizons*) before any could haue power to helpe him: ſo that he left no lawfull child to ſucceede him, and therefore his ſiſter, (beeing Empreſſe) remayned his onelie heire.

1342.

Robert of Arckell, Gouernour of Vtrecht. 1346.

24 *Margaret*, wife to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, (then Emperour) and the eldeſt ſiſter to Earle *William*, ſlayne (as you haue heard) by the *Frizons*, by the Emperors interpoſition of his authority, and her owne natiue right, went downe by the *Rhine* into *Holland*, accompanied with a moſt princeely and well-beſeeming traine, and was acknowledged to be Ladie and Princeſſe of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*. But before her returne back to the Emperor againe, ſhee conſtituted both his and her eldeſt ſonne (named *William* of *Bauaria*) to bee her Regent there in thoſe Countries, for a ſumme of money yearely payed to her: but remayning vnpayd, ſhe might reſume all her rights to herſelfe againe. The Emperor deceaſing, the Empreſſe *Margaret* came thither againe, and had reſignation (from her ſonne *William*) of all the aforeſaide Countries, retyring himſelfe into *Henault*, as being well contented there to liue: vntill by inteſtine diſcord, and dangerous practiſes of two intruded factions, called *Cabillaux* and *Hoecks* (wherin both nobles and gentlemen did too far enter) the mothers gouernment did grow vnſufferable, and Duke *William* was recouered from *Henault*, to vnder-goe the ſole authority. Two very bloody battels were fought betweene the Empreſſe and her ſonne; and in the firſt, Earle *William* eſcaped with great difficultie, and fledde into *Holland*, for this battell was fought at *La Vere* in *Zeland*. But in the ſecond, there was ſo much bloud ſpilt, that (for three dayes after) the old Riuer of *Menſe* (at full Sea) was (all ouer) red in that place. The Empreſſe (by helpe of a ſmall Barke) eſcaped into *England*; and vpon an agreement afterwards made betweene them: Duke *William* had the quiet poſſeſſion of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* aſſigned him, and the Empreſſe *Margaret* had the countie of *Henault*, where (fiue yeares after) ſhe ended her dayes, and lyeth buried at *Valenciennes*.

Margaret the Empreſſe, Princeſſe of Holland.

The factions of Cabillaux and Hoecks.

1351.

A great effuſion of blood.

25 Duke *William* being peaceably poſſeſſed of his Seigneuries, according to the former compoſition, being alſo Duke of *Bauaria*, *Palatine* of *Rhine*, and Earle of *Henault* by his mothers death, tooke to wife the Lady *Matilda*, daughter to *Henry* duke of *Lancaſter* in *England*, by whom hee had no children. Much ſtrife, warre, and blody bickering, hapned betweene him and the Biſhop of *Vtrecht*, with ſhrewd diſaduantages on eyther ſide; till, by the meanes of ſome Noblemen, they were reduced to amitie.

Matilda, daughter to Henry Duke of Lancaſter.

1358

This Duke *William* (vpon what occaſion it could neuer be knowne) fell diſtracted of his ſenſes, and ſlew a Knight with a blow of his fiſt: ſo that hee was ſhut vp (vnder good Guarde) for nineteene years ſpace, euen till he dyed. Hauing gouerned his prouinces of *Holland*, *Zeland* and *Frizland* (before his madneſſe) ſeauen yeares, and *Henault* two.

26 *Albert* of *Bauaria*, brother to Duke *William*, in the time of his diſtraction, was ſent for from *Bauaria*, and made Gouernor of his brothers Countries, in hope of his recouery, which by no meanes could be compaſſed. Hee vanquiſhed the *Frizons* in many rebellions, tooke the towne of *Delft*, and beheaded the Baron of *Eughien*, vpon ſiniſter reformations, which cauſed great trouble betweene him, and ſixe brethren of the ſaid Baron: but, vpon their reconcilement. *Count Albert* builded the Chanonry of the Chappell, at the Court of the *Hague*.

The Baron of Eughien beheaded.

1368

In his time, a Sea-woman (by reaſon of great tempeſts at Sea, and extraordinarie high Tides) was ſeene ſwimming in the *Zuyderzee*, betweene the Townes of *Campen* and *Edam*; which being brought to *Edam*, and cleanſed from the Seamoſſe growne about her, by her long abiding there: ſhe was like to another womã, endured to be apparelled, and would feed on meats as others did, yet ſought ſhe all meanes to eſcape, and get into the water

A Sea-Woman ſeene in the Zuyderzee.

1441

agayne, had ſhe not very carefully beene tended. Shee did learne to ſpinne, and exerciſe other womanly qualities, beeing daily ſeene of infinite perſons, who haue made perfect teſtimoniall of this rare accident, and ſignified it for an vndoubted truth, auouching, that ſhe liued fifteene yeares, and lyeth there buryed in the Church-yard. In the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand foure hundred and foure, this famous Prince *Albert* dyed, after hee had gouerned his Countries ſixe and fortie yeares: nineteene as he was Tutour to his diſtracted brother, and twenty ſeauen as Prince, heire and Lord of thoſe Countries, beeing buryed at the *Hague* in *Holland*.

1404.

27 *William*, ſixt of that name, after the death of Duke *Albert* of *Bauaria* his father, ſucceeded as his immediate heyre. His firſt wife was daughter to *Charles* the fift, King of *Fraunce*, and ſhe dyed yong, without any iſſue. He ſecondly marryed the daughter of *John*, ſonne to *Phillip* the bold Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he had one onely daughter, named *Iaqueline* or *Iacoba*, as the Dutch vſe to call her. This *Count William* waſted *Frizeland*, ſpoyled *Liege*, and preuayled againſt the *Gueldres*, and alſo the Lordes (father and ſonne) of *Arckell* at *Gorrichom*, and reconciled the Duke of *Burgundy* to the *French* King. The Dolphine of *Fraunce*, ſonne to King *Charles* the ſixt, marryed *Iaquiline*, *Count Williams* daughter; but hee being poyſoned, by putting on a ſhirt of maile, dyed without iſſue. As Earle *William* himſelfe did not long after, being bitten in the leg by a mad Dogge, which hurt could neuer be cured. So that the Lady *Iaqueline* (his daughter, and widow to the Dolphine of *Fraunce*) was his true heire in all his Seigneuries: Hee gouerned thirteene yeares, and lieth buried at *Valenciennes* in *Henault*.

Philip the bolde Duke of Burgundy.

1417.

28 *Iaqueline*, or *Iacoba*, daughter and ſole heire to *William* of *Bauaria*, ſucceeded her father in all his Earledomes and Seigneuries, beeing then widdow to the Dolphine of *Fraunce*, and yet but nineteene yeares of age. In regard of her youth and widowhood, ſhe endured much moleſtation in her gouernement, chiefly in *Holland*: for the two factions tooke head againe, and bandied their boldnes on both ſides, the *Hoeckins* fauouring the Counteſſes faction, and the *Cabillantines* her enemies, by which meanes her rule was greatly diſturbed. For *Iohn* of *Bauaria* (forſaking his Biſhoppricke of *Liege*) ſought to make himſelfe an Earle, and marrie his Niece *Iaqueline* (vtterly againſt her will) and yet to diſpoſſeſſe her of her rightfull inheritance, for which purpoſe he leagued himſelfe with the *Cabillantines*, and othet powerfull friends, who neuertheleſſe were ſlaine in their bolde aduenture at *Gorrichome*. And, to fruſtrate the Biſhops vaine hope, the Pope diſpenſed her marriage with *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*, albeit he was her neare kinſman, whereby their patrimoniall inheritãces were the more ſtrengthened, and hee acknowledged as their Prince, in *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, &c. It were needeleſſe heere, to relate the following moleſtations of *Iohn* of *Bauaria* the Biſhop, to his Niece *Iaqueline*, taking on himſelfe the title of Earle, and therefore, (by ſome) rancked among the Earles of *Holland*, or the after-marriages of Lady *Iaqueline*; to the Duke of *Glouceſter*, vnckle to *Henry* the ſixt, King of *England*; the fourth and laſt time (in great priuacy) to *Franke* of *Borſſelle*, Lieuteuant of *Zeland*, or her (no meane troubles) by the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom ſhee reſigned vp all her Countries. Let it ſuffiſe, that ſhee liued in continuall vexations nineteene yeares, and dying at the *Hague*, was buryed in the Chappell of the Court of *Holland*.

Iohn of Bauaria Biſhop of Liege.

Iohn of Bauaria the Biſhop reckoned the 29. Earle of Holland.

1436.

30 *Phillip* Duke of *Burgundie*, beeing (both by father & mother) rightfull heire and ſucceſſour to the aforenamed Counteſſe *Iaqueline*; was thus entitled: *Phillip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Brabant*, and *Lembourg*; Earle of *Flaunders*, *Artois*, *Burgogne*, *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Namure*; Marqueſſe of the holie Empire; and Lord of *Frizeland*, *Salins* and *Macklyn*. Hee had three wiues; by the two firſt hee had no children; but by the laſt, named *Iſabell* (daughter to *Iohn* King of *Portugall*) hee had three ſonnes; *Anthony* and *Ioffe*, who dyed yong, and *Charles Martin*, Earle of *Charolois*, and ſucceſſour vnto his father. This *Phillip* of *Bourgogne* inſtituted the order of Knighthood of the golden *Fleece*, and had much diſcontent with his ſonne *Charles*, whom (at length) he marryed to the Lady *Margaret*, ſiſter to *Edward* the fourth, King of *England*. The rebells of *Gaunt* and *Bruges* dearely felt the valour of

The Titles of Philip Duke of Bourgogne

The order of the golden Fliece inſtituted.

of this *Phillip*; hee beſieged *Callis*, ſurprized *Luxembourg*, ſubdued *Liege*; and ouercame the *Hamecons*. Hee exceeded all his predeceſſors (dukes of *Burgogn*) in riches, Seigneuries, height of Pompe and State. He dyed the fift day of Iune 1467. hauing gouerned about fortie yeares. In his time was the famous Arte of Printing firſt inuented; the men of *Harlem* in *Holland* do challenge the firſt honour thereof, but it was reduced to perfection at *Mentz*, by one *Iohn Fauſtus*, who had beene ſeruant to *Laurence Ianſon* of *Harlem*, as they conſtantly affirme.

1467.

The Arte of Printing firſt inuented.

31 *Charles*, ſurnamed the *Warlike Duke of Bourgogne*, ſucceeded in all his fathers Titles and Dignities. The Inhabitants of *Gaunt* reſiſting him, he brought them vnder obeiſance, and defeated the *Liegeois* in battell, which enforced *Liege* to yeelde to him. He made peace with the *French* king, who doubted to be detained at *Peronne* by Duke *Charles*. Vpon a freſh rebellion of the *Liegeois*, the duke forced King *Lewes* to go with him to the ſiege of their town; which he ruined, and practiſed the like to the houſe of *Brederode*. He warred againſt the *Frizons*; and carried many Princes in hope of his daughters marriage. The *French* King, and the Duke, ſought to deceiue each other, and the Conſtable of Saint *Paul* (waxing hatefull to them both) they reſolued his ruine, and (on a Truce taken for nine yeares, betweene the King and Duke) the Conſtable was beheaded at *Paris*. The Duke warred againſt the *Swiſſes*, and was defeated by them, both at *Granſon* and *Morat*, wherewith the *Swiſſes* were enriched. The Duke beſieged *Nancie*, and was there ſlaine in battell, by the treaſon of the Earle of *Campobachio*, an Italian; where beeing engirt with a great troupe of Lanciers, he receiued wounds, one in the head, the ſecond in the thigh, and the third in the fundament. Hee left one only daughter and heire.

The warlike Duke of Burgogne.

The Earle of Campobachio.

1477.

32 *Mary*, daughter and heire to Duke *Charles*, the warrelike Duke of *Bourgogne*, ſucceeded her father in all his Countries: being but eighteene yeares old when hee was ſlaine before *Nancy*, wherefore ſhe remained vnder the charge of the Duke of *Cleues*, and his brother the Lord of *Rauenſteine*. The French King ſezied *Piccardie* & *Arthois*: and ſhe hapning into the *Ganthois* power, endured much trouble, by putting her chiefeſt ſeruants and counſellers to death. The *Flemings* were defeated, and the yong Duke of *Gueldres* ſlaine. Afterward, a marriage was concluded betweene *Maximilian* Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, ſonne to the Emperor *Fredericke*, and the Lady *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, albeit ſhe would more gladly haue matched with the houſe of *Fraunce*.

The Duke of Gueldres ſlaine.

33 *Maximilian*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and ſonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, marying the Princeſſe *Mary* of *Bourgogne*; was thereby wedded to much warre and trouble. For, firſt the *Guldres* reuolted from the houſe of *Bourgogne*. Next happned the battell of *Guinegate*, wherein the Arch-duke was Conqueror: Then, *Turnay* yeelded to him; truce was taken betweene him and the French King, and the new tumults of the *Cabillaux* and *Hoecks*, were alſo by him pacified. *Dordrecht* was ſurpriſed by the yong lord of *Egmont*; alſo, many Townes in *Gueldres* yeelded to the Arch-duke: and (not long after) followed the death of the Arch-dutcheſſe *Mary*; who had (the firſt yeare of her marriage, a ſonne named *Phillip*, father to *Charles* the fift) the ſecond yeare a daughter, called *Margaret*, betroathed in her infancie, to *Charles* the Dolphine of *Fraunce*, ſonne to *Lewes* 11. and the third yeare, a ſonne named *Frances*, according to the name of *Fraunces* Duke of *Brittaine* his godfather. *Maximilian* being choſen King of the Romans, he made *Engelbert* Earle of *Naſſau*, Gouernour of the Netherlands in his abſence: and afterward, vpon the bold inſolency of the *Ganthois* and *Brugois* (keeping the K. of Romans priſoner) *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, was made ſecond gouernor of the Netherlands, & General for the Emperor *Fredericke* againſt the Flemings. But *Frederick* dying, his ſon *Maximilia* ſucceeded him in the Empire, by which means *Philip* of *Auſtria*, ſonne to *Maximilian*, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, *&c.*

1479.

New tumults of the Cabillaux and Hoecks.

1482.

Engelbert, Earle of Naſſaw. 1491.

1494.

34 *Phillip*, ſecond of that name, being 16. yeares olde, and ſucceeding his father *Maximilian*, Emperor in the *Netherlands*, had theſe Titles: *Philippe* Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Lothier*, *Brabant*, *Styria*, *Carinthia*, *Lembourg*, *Luxembourg*, and *Gueldres*; Earle of *Haſpourg*, *Flaunders*, *Arthois*, *Bourgogne*, *Ferretto* and *Kiburch*; *Palatine* of *Henault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namure* and *Zutphen*:

The Titles of Philip, Arch-Duke of Auſtria.

1497. Marqueſſe of the holy Empyre, and of *Bourgogn*; *Landtgraue of Elſaten*, Lord of *Windiſmarke*, *Portneau*, *Salynes*, & *Mack-lyn*. Vppon his full poſſeſſion of the Netherlands, peace was made between him, and *Charles* the eight, King of France; war hapning betwixt the Arch-duke and the Duke of *Guelders*, great inconueniences followed thereon: but Duke *Albert* being ſlaine before *Groningen*, the Arch-Duke inherited the Realme of Spain by his wife, being made King of *Caſtile*, & *George* duke of *Sazony* (being then made Gouernor of the Netherlands, for the Arch-duke *Phil-lip*) continued the Warres in *Frizeland*. For, vpon the death of *Iſabell*, Queene of *Caſtile*, *Iane* her daughter being the onely heyre, and married to the Arch-duke *Phil-lip*; ſhe hereby inueſted him in the realms of *Spaine*, *Leon*, *Granada*, &c. as abſolute King. But he enioyed that Dignitie not long: for in the yeare 1506. the 27. day of September, he dyed (ſodainly) in the Cit-ty of *Bourgos*, ſuſpected to bee poyſoned. After the death of *Phillip* King of *Caſtile*, the Emperor *Maximillian* took vpon him the gouernmenr of the Netherlandes, as Guardian vnto *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, his Grand children, being the ſons of *Phillip* and *Iane*, King and Queene of *Caſtile*.

1503.

Iane daughter to Iſabel mar ried vnto the Arch-duke Philip.

1505.

1506.

35 *Charles* of *Auſtria*, ſecond of that name, ſucceeded rightfully in al his fathers Lands and Seigneuries, and by the Empe-rors appointment, his daughter the Lady *Margaret* (Dowager of *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Princes *Charles* and *Ferdinand*) was Regent of the Low countries. Afterward, Prince *Charles* took poſſeſſion of the Ne-therlands, and being crowned K. of *Spaine* and *Arragon*, ſoone after followed the death of the Emperor *Maximillian*, and in an aſſembly at *Francfort*, for choyſe of a new Emperor, *Charles* king of Spaine had free election, by the name of *Charles* the 5. Then was Lady *Morgaret* (widdow both of *Caſtile* and *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Em-peror *Charles*) accepted as ſole gouerneſſe of the Netherlands, in her Nephewes ab-ſence. Troubles hapned in Spaine, by rea-ſon of the Kings departure thence, & not onely warre in *Frizeland*, but likewiſe be-tweene the French and Bourguignons, as alſo the warres of Boores or Peazants in Germany; and the *Groningeois* reiecting the Duke of *Gueldres*, did yeild themſelues to the Emperor: then hapned the ſecond bloody edict from the Emperor, againſt the Netherland proteſtants, and then was the imperial diet at *Ausbourg*, where the proteſtant Princes preſented the confeſſi-on of their faith. After followed the de-uouring inundation in the Netherlandes, and the death of the Lady dowager *Mar-garet*, whereby *Mary* of *Auſtria*, ſecond daughter to King *Phillip*, and Queen *Iane* of *Caſtile*, ſucceeded in the gouernment of the Netherlands. War hapned betweene the Emperor and the French king, but vp-on the coming of queene *Elenor* of *France* to the Emperour her brother, peace was concluded betwixt them.

1508.

1515.

1419.

1520.

Lady Marga-ret ſole gouer neſſe.

1526.

36 While *Mary* of *Auſtria* gouernd the Netherlands, for the Emperor *Charls* her brother, great troubles hapned vnto the Proteſtants, by oppoſition of the Pope & Emperor againſt them. The Emperor af-fected the Empire for Prince *Phillip* his ſonne, which bred a quarrell betwixt the Emperor, and his brother *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary*, to whom the Princes of the Empire were more enclined, then to *Phil-lip*; and then the Proteſtants denied their comming to the Councel of Trent. *Philip* King of Spaine married *Mary* queene of England: And not long after, the Empe-ror reſigned the Netherlands to his ſonne King *Phillip* (whereby he was reckned the 36. Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c.) and the Empire to his brother *Ferdinand*, King of the Romans and Hungary, departing out of the Netherlands, to end his dayes qui-etly in a Monaſtery, not far from *Placentia*. Reſeruing an hundred thouſand crowns yeerely to himſelfe, employing four thou-ſand for his dyet and maintenance, ap-pointing the reſt vnto young Maydens marriages, and the releefe of Widdowes and Orphanes, hee not liuing aboue two yeares after. When not onely happe-ned his death, but likewiſe the deathes of the Queenes Dowagers of France and Hungary, as alſo of *Mary* Queen of Eng-land; after whome, ſucceeded her Siſter *Elizabeth*. In which time, *Emanuell Phile-bert*, Duke of *Sauoy*, and Prince of *Pie-mont*, was Gouernour, and Lieutenant Generall of the Netherlandes, for King *Phillip*; till the King of Spaines marriage (beeing turned into teares, by the moſt vntimely death of the French King) cau-ſed *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, Baſtarde to the Emperor *Charles* the fift, and Dutcheſſe of

1531.

Mary of Au-ſtria.

1544.

1549.

1555.

1556.

Elizabeth Q. of England.

of *Parma*, to succeede the Duke of *Sauoy* in the *Netherlands* regiment. King *Phillip* returned then home into *Spaine*, it beeing his last departure out of those countries: whereon (not long after) ensued the subtile bringing of the *Spanish* Inquisition into the *Netherlands*, by creation of new Bishops; and such was the power and priuilege of the Inquisitors, as none were able to withstand them, in confiscation both of their body and goods at their owne pleasure.

1559.

The Spanish Inquisition. 1565.

Now, albeit the tyranny of the Dutchesse gouernment in the Low-countries, was more then the people could well endure, yet (to put a sharpe snaffle in their mouths) K. *Phillip* remoued his Bastard sister *Margaret*, & sent *Don Ferdinando Aluares*, Duke of *Alua*, who quickly brought the *Netherlands* into a most pittifull estate: making himselfe sure of *Gaunt*, and Count *Horne* and count *Egmont* (abusiuely) made prisoners: he built the Castle of *Antwerp*, where he erected his own proud statue, & proceeded to apprehend the prince of *Orange* by Commission, setting down Articles by the *Spanish* Inquisition (which were confirmed by the king) to ruinate the *Netherlands*, vpon which soone followed the execution of the sonnes of *Batembourg* at *Brussels*, as also the Earles of *Egmont* and *Horne*. *William* of *Nassau* prince of *Orange*, was made gouernor of *Holland*, *Zeland* & *Vtrecht* for the States, & proued very fortunate in many attempts against the D. of *Alua*, which made him labour his repeale home into *Spaine*, with *Don Fredericke* his sonne. *Don Lewes de Requesens*, the great Commander of *Castile*, was sent to spoyle the dukes place in the *Netherlands*, for the K. of *Spaine*, to whom *Aluaes* former behauior serued for an example, in his proceeding; and notwithstanding, his besieging of *Middlebourg* (near hand to famishinēt) yet was his fleet defeated before his face, and the town yielded vp by *Collonell Mondragon*, to the Prince of *Orange*. After many dangerous turmoiles on both sides, the States sent to require succour of *Elizabeth* Q. of *England*, and soone after dyed *Don Lewes de Requesens* at *Brussels*; in whose roome succeeded *Don Iohn* of *Austria* (bastard sonne to the Emperour *Charles* the fift) as gouernor for K. *Philip* in the *Netherlands*, all the Prouinces whereof were vnited at the pacification of *Gand*; whereupon, the Castle was yeelded to the States, and al the Spaniards departed out of *Antwerp* castle, which was also deliuered into the States hands. *Don Iohn* being receiued as Gouernor, he sought occasions how to renew warre against the prince of *Orange*, and diuers discontentments, as also treacherous practises, being noted in *d. Iohn*, the States grew iealous of him, & he was proclaimed the Countries enemy. Then was the Arch-duke *Mathias* called to bee Gouernor, and while the heart-burnings held betweene *Don Iohn* and the States, the Duke of *Aniou*, and Duke *Casimire* also were required to succour them, but to little effect, for *Arthois* and *Henault*: fell from the *Netherlanns* generall vnion, and then folowed the death of *Don Iohn*, of the plague, in the Campe neare vnto *Mamure*.

1568.

1574.

Wil. Prince of Orange, the Commander of Castile.

1575.

Don Iohn of Austria.

1577

The Arch-Duke Mathias.

1578.

Then *Alexander Famase*, Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, bastard Nephew to the King of *Spaine*, succeeded *Don Iohn* in the *Netherlands* gouernment: Whereupon, a stricter vnion (then before) was made betweene the Prouinces at *Vtrecht*. The D. of *Aniou* was called to be Protector, and partly Lord of the Countries in the Vnion, which made the King of *Spaine* proscribe the Prince of *Orange*, and set his life at sale, to which proscription the Prince (in euery poynt) made his iust answere. Then were valiant and worthie seruices performed by sir *Iohn Norris*, and Captaine (afterwards) sir *Roger Williams*. In the yeare following, the generall Estates of the Prouinces, hauing declared *Phillip* K. of *Spaine* second of that name, to be fallen from the Seigneury of the sayd Prouinces, in regard of his extraordinary and too violent gouernment, against their priuiledges and freedoms (solemnely sworne by himselfe.) In way of right and Armes, took vpon them al the gouernment of the politike Estate, & of the religion in those Prouinces, breaking the Kings Seales, absoluing the subiects of their oath to him and causing them to take a new oath, for preseruation of their country, and obedience to the said States. Vpon a bargaine made by the K. of *Spaine*, to kill the prince of *Orange*, the said prince was shot by one *Iohn Iauvregui*, a bākerupt-merchants seruant, who was instātly slain, but the prince escaped that attempt with life. Afterward he was traiterously murdred by *Balthazar*

1578.

The Prince of Parma.

1580

The Duke of Aniou.

1581

The States for themselues.

1582.

The Prince of Orange shot.

1584.

The Prince of Orange murdered.

Gerard a (high *Bourguignion*) at *Delft* in *Holland*: whereon, Prince *Maurice* (being his Sonne) succeeded his father in the gouernment. Then followed the siege of *Antuerpe*, in which time, the States once more, re-commended their cause to the Queene of *England*: eyther to giue her the full Soueraignty of the Netherlands, or else to succour and releeue them with her forces, vpon good conditions offered. Her Maiesty graunted to send them assistance, but no soueraignty or protection of them, would she take vpon her: whereupon, certaine cautionarie Townes and Skonces were deliuered vp to her, for repayment of such summes of mony, as should be disbursed by hir, and Articles of couenant set downe betweene them. Also, *Robert* Lord *Dudley*, Baron of *Denbigh*, and Earle of *Leicester*, was appointed by the Q. of *England*, to be her Gouernour generall, ouer the English powers in the Netherlands.

1585.

The Earle of Leicester.

In the time of the earle of *Leicesters* gouernement for the Queene, were sundrie worthy seruices performd by the Earle of *Essex*, sir *Iohn Norris*, the Lord *Willoughby*, sir *Phillip Sidney*, sir *William Russell*, *&c.* besides the subtile pretences of sir *William Stanley*, *Rowland Yorke*, *Patton*, and others, who held faire weather with the Earle of *Leicester*, and had the gouernment of *Zutphen* skonce, and the strong towne of *Deuenter* (to the great dislike of the States) yet performed no such matter, as the Earles hope was perswaded of them: for, after the death of that matchles noble Gentleman sir *Philip Sidney*, he being shot before *Zutphen*, & therof dying; the Earle of *Leicester* (being gone for *England*) both *Deuenter* & *Zutphen* Skonce were deliuered vp to the Spaniards, by base corruption of money. And (not long after) the Prince of *Parma* beleagring *Scluice*; by composition it was also yielded vp, after it had endured 17000 cannon shot & more. Beside, vpon some discontentment, betweene the Earle of *Leicester*, and the States; the Queene called home the sayd Earle into *England*, and the Lord *Willoughby* remained there Generall of the English forces. The sundry worthy seruices, both by him, and the English performed, with the Spanish vndoubted hopes of *Englands* Conquest, in the dreadefull yeare, one thousand fiue hundred eightie and eight, Prince *Maurice* his entrance into the Netherlands regiment, and the Dukes of *Parmaes* warres in *Fraunce*; all these do I passe ouer, referring such as desire farther satisfaction therein, to the large Historie of the Netherlands.

Sir Philip Sidney slaine. 1587.

Scluice.

The Lord Willoughby.

1588.

Prince Maurice.

The Prince of *Parma* dying at *Arras* (after his retreate from *Rouen*) the second of September, one thousand fiue hundred ninety and two: *Maurice* of *Nassau*, borne Prince of *Orange*, Marquesse of *La Vere*, and of *Flushing*, &c. was made great Captaine and Admirall generall of the vnited Prouinces in the Low-countries, by the Estates: and *Ernestus*, Archduke of *Austria*, was also made Lieutenant Gouernour, and Captaine generall for *Phillip* of *Spaine*.

1592.

Ernestus D. of Austria.

Prince *Maurice* prouing very successefull in his warrelike attempts, a Renegate or Apostate Priest (in the habite of Souldiet) was corrupted (by the Arch-duke *Ernestus*) to murther the Prince *Maurice* at *Breda*; and, vpon his owne confession thereof, he was executed at the *Hage*. Afterward, vpon Prince *Maurice* his valiant surprizall of *Gronning*, *Ernestus* had dealt in like maner with a Souldier, named *Peter de Four* (who had sometime serued in the companie of the Guarde to Prince *Maurice*) to vndertake the murthering of him at *Lillo*: the which treason being confessed by the man himselfe, he was executed in the towne of *Berghen vp-zoom*. Here might be much said of the honorable seruices of sir *Frances Vere*, and others, but our purposed breuitie is the onely imbarment; and the Netherlands Historie (at large) may thereof discharge me. The Arch-duke *Ernestus* dyed the twenty one day of February, one thousand fiue hundred ninety and fiue; *Mondragons* forces defeated by Prince *Maurice*, and *La Motte* slaine before *Dourlaus*: the Estates (vnder the king of *Spaine*) gladly sought peace with the vnited Prouinces, and sent Articles in writing to Prince *Maurice*, for consideration of their motion. This was not done, but vpon good aduice in the King of *Spaine*, perceiuing the Netherlands, and Prince *Maurice* his great fortunes against him, adding euery day, (more and more) to his vtter abolition thence. Hereupon, *Albertus* the Cardinall, brother to deceased *Ernestus*, and Arch-duke of *Austria*, was sent (by the King) to gouerne there for him; many Easterlings and Netherland

1594.

Prince Maurice should be murdred twice.

Sir Francis Vere.

1595

Albertus Arch Duke of Austria.

1596.

therland ſhippes, which had beene ſtayed in *Spaine* to meete the *Indian* fleete, were ſodainely releaſed; and *Phillip* of *Naſſau* (who is now Prince of *Orange* and Earle of *Buren*, that had long time beene reſtrained of his liberty in *Spaine*) for the better countenancing of th'intended buſines, he likewiſe was ſent along with the Cardinall *Albertus*.

The Cardinall being made Gouernour for the King of *Spaine*, tooke *Callice* from the *French* King, as his firſt peece of ſeruice: but for loſſe thereof, he recouered *La-fere* from the *Spaniards*. Whereupon, the Cardinall beſieged *Hulſt* in *Flanders*, which yeelded in the end: but it was a deare purchaſe to the Cardinall, for this ſiege, (continuing ſome two moneths) coſt him the liues of aboue three-ſcore valiant Captaines, beſides other Commanders, Collonels, and men of marke, and aboue fiue thouſand well approoued ſouldiers.

Hulſt beſiedged.

Then did the King of *Spaine* diſpenſe with himſelfe for payment of his debts, which made many Merchants in *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Antwerpe*, *Amſterdam*, and *Middlebourg*, to become Bankerouts. A league was made betweene the *French* King, the Queene of *England* and the States, againſt the *Spaniards*; and then did Prince *Maurice* go to *Tournhoult*, where the Earle of *Varax* was ſlaine. *Amiens* alſo was ſurprized by the *Spaniards*; but ſoone beſieged and recouered by the French King, albeit the Cardinall did offer ſuccour, which proued in vain. Prince *Maurice* beſieged, and tooke the Townes of *Alpen*, *Meurs*, *Rhinberg*, *Groll*, *Brefort*, *Enſcheyde*, *Oldenzeel*, *Otmarſom*, *Goot*, and *Lingen*; all which ſeruices he performed in three moneths. Then happened another treacherous plot, againſt the life of Prince *Maurice*, by perſwaſion of the Ieſuites of *Daway*, and vndertaken by *Peter Panne*, a Cowper by trade; but being then a Broker or Bankerout Merchant, who hauing receiued the Sacrament to performe the deede, eyther with knife, ponyard, or piſtoll: the Prouinciall of the Ieſuites made a long Sermon, to encourage him in the action, and aſſuring him of Paradice, if he performed it, vſed theſe words to him beſides; *Goe in peace, for thou ſhalt goe like an Angell, in the guarde of God*. But the man (being terrified in conſcience) diſcouerd the whole treaſon, without any compulſion, and was therefore executed at *Leyden* in *Holland*. The King of *Spaine* growing weake and ſickely, gaue his Daughter the *Infanta*, named *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, in marriage to the Arch duke and Cardinall *Albertus*, with tranſaction of the Netherlands and *Bourgogne*: whereupon he left his Cardinalles habite, and went to fetch the *Infanta*. Soone after dyed the King of *Spaine*, on the thirteenth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord God 1598. beeing ſeauentie one yeares olde, and foure moneths.

1597.

Tournhoult.

1598

The Ieſuites conſpire the death of Prince Maurice.

The death of king Philip.

The Arch-duke and the *Infanta* being come into the Netherlands, had their inſtallment at *Bruſſells*, *Louaine*, *Antwerpe*, *&c.* The Emperour ſent to the States, concerning a peace, but their reſolution helde to make warre in *Flaunders*. Then happened the ſiege and memorable battaile of *Nieuport*, where Prince *Maurice* tooke diuers Fortes from the Spaniards, and ouerthrew the Arch-dukes Armie, he beeing there in perſon: but gladly fled away, leauing his Armes, Horſſe of Combate, all his Houſhold, Artillery, and baggage behinde him, and loſt ſixe thouſand men, beſides eight hundred taken priſoners, among whom was *Don Franceſco de Mendoza*, Admirall of *Arragon*, Marqueſſe of *Guadaleſte*, and Lieutenant generall of the Arch-dukes Army, who was ledde to *Ooſtend*; *Don Baptiſta de Villa noua*, led to *Horne* in *Holland*; *Don Alonzo Ricquell*, to *Delft*; *Don Gonzalo Hernandes de Spinola*, to *Vtrecht*; *Don Pedro de Montenegro*, to the *Hague*; *Don Pedro de Valaſco*, to *Berghen*, with *Don Franciſco de Tarres*, and *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, and *Don Pedro de Leuſina*, to *Enchuiſen*: beſides the Arch-dukes three Pages, *Count Carlo Rezi*, *Don Diego de Guzman*, and *Mortier*: *Don Pedro de Monte-maior*, his chiefe Taſter; alſo his Phiſition, Barber, Harbinger, Rider, Cook, Porter, Grooms of his Chamber, moſt of the Archers, Halberdiers of his Guarde, and (in a maner) all his houſhold; with three Prieſts or Monkes; forty Auncients, and thirty ſeauen Pentioners, tearmed (by them) Ancients and Sergeants reformed. Hee loſt alſo ſixe peeces of Ordinance, one hundred thirty and ſixe Enſignes of foote taken, and fiue Cornets of horſſe, comprehending the Mutiners Standard, and the recouerd loſt Colours.

1599.

1600.

The battaile of Nieuport.

Moreo-

Moreouer, on the Archdukes side were slaine, the Earle of *Saume*, the Earle of *La Fere*, the Seneshall of *Montelimar*, the Baron of *Pimereull*, *Chassy Ottingny*, son to the President *Richadot*; *Don Gaspar de Sapena*, Colonell, who died at Oastend, Don *Diego de Torres*, Don *Gaspar de Loyazo*, Don *Gonzalo d'Espinola*, Don *Ioan de Pardo*, Don *Garcia de Toledo*, Don *Lopode Capeta*, Don *Alouzo Carcamo*, Don *Louis Faccardo*, *Sebastian Velasco*, *Sebastian Doteloa*, *Christionall Verdugues*, *Mattheo d'Otteuille*, *Ioannettin de casa nueua*, the Paymaster *Alines*, and many other neuer knowen.

The Archdukes losse at Oastend.

Prince *Maurice* and the States', at the first encounter in the morning, and lastly in the battel, lost about 2000. men, among whom were *Bernard*, *Couteler*, & *Hamelton*, Captaines of horse, and some twentie Captaines of foot, but no man of marke or speciall note. In this braue exployte at *Nieuport*, the vertue and valor of Sir *Frances Vere* Generall, and Sir *Horatio Vere* his Brother, Colonell, will for euer bee remembred.

Prince Maurice and the States losse.

1601.

The occurrences in the following years as the besiedging of Oastend, the enterprize on *Flessigne*, the practise to sacke *Antwerpe* againe, *Graue* yeelded vp vnto Prince *Maurice*; also his honorable offers to the towne of *Sluice*, and it being yeelded to him vpon composition, euen in the view of the Archdukes army: they require a larger field of discourse, thē by this breuity can be admitted. Proceed we then to speake of the long continued siedge at Oastend, which lasting three whol years and eleuen weekes, was at last compounded withall, and on the twentie two day of September, 1604. yeelded to the Archduke.

1602. 1604.

The long siege at Oastend.

What numbers were slain in this long continued siege of Oast-end, can hardly be gathered, albeit, a note was found in a Commissaries Pocket (who had bin slain the seuenth of August, 1604. before *Oastend*) wherein were diuers good obseruations; especially concerning the Arch-Dukes Campe, and also what number (of each degree) dyed and were slaine therein, during this siedge, vntill the yeilding vp thereof, viz) Masters of the camp seuen; Colonels fifteene; Sergeant Maiors twenty nine, Captaines 565. Lieutenants 1116. Ensigns 322. Sergeants 1911. Corporals 1166. Lanspizadoes 600. Soldiers, 54663. Mariners 611. women and Children, 119. all amounting to 72124. persons.

To continue the memory of this long siedge, as also the winning of *Sluice*; counters (of Siluer and Copper) were made in the vnited Prouinces, bearing (on the one side) the figure of *Oastend*, and on the other, the Towns of *Rhinberke*, *Graue*, *Sluice Ardenbourg*, with the Forts of *Isendyke* & *Cadsant*, with this inscription round about; *Plus triennio obsessa, hosti rudera, Patriæ quatuor ex me vrbes dedi. Oastend being more then three years besiedged, gaue the enemy an heape of stones, and to her Natiue Countrey foure Townes.* Another Counter, concerning *Sluice*, had these wordes on the one side, *Traxit, duxit, dedit*, Anno 1604. And with the Armes of *Zeland* on the other side, were these words: *Beatus populus cuias adiutor Deus.* For the following yeares, from 1604. to 1608. I find no especiall or memorable accidents; but an enterprize by Prince *Maurice*, on the riuer of *Scheld* and *Antwerp*, with the taking of the Castle of *Wouwe*, neere vnto *Berghen Vpzoome*; *Spinolas* taking of *Linghen*, with an attempt on *Berghen* & *Groll*, tsken by composition, &c. For a treaty of peace happening betweene England and Spaine, the like also chanced to be talked on concerning the Netherlands, and many other meetings were made to bring it to effect. At length it was brought to passe, by the labour and endeuor of a Friar (as it was reported) who made manie errands between Spaine and the Netherlands, vntill it was accomplished. Since when, nothing hath hapned of any consequence, but the taking of the Towne of *Guliche* in Germany, where the Prince *Maurice* did behaue himselfe very honorably.

1605. 1606.
1607. 1608.
1609. 1610.

THE

The Eight Booke.

CHAP. I.

Containing, a breefe discourse of the Originall of the Venetians; the foundation of Venice, and how it hath beene gouerned, from the yeare of our Lord, 421. *to this instant.*

HIstoriographers who haue written of the *Venetians*, doe not agree together in their true Originall. For some doe write, that they are descended of the *Venetian Gaules*, inhabiting along the Ocean sea in little *Britaigne*, called *Armorica*, whereof one of the principall Cities (beeing a Byshops See) was called *Vennes*. Others, and (among them) *Titus Liuius*, born in *Padua*, assures vs, that they came forth of *Paphlagonia*, and that *Philemon* their Captaine (being slayne at *Troy* the great) they went with *Antenor* into *Italy*. Others write, that this Nation, hauing beene neighbours to the *Cappadocians*, and venturing fight with the *Cimmerians*, they hazarded farre further vppon the *Adriaticke* Sea in their Fortune. The most common opinion, is of them, who say, that the *Hinitians* or *Henetes* came with *Antenor*; and, in sometime after (by changing of a Letter) were called *Venitians*, or *Venetes*.

People of Paphlagonia.

First of all, they expelled the *Euganeans* who inhabited this country, between the *Adriaticke* sea and the *Alpes*, and builded the Citty of *Padua*. Afterward, by succesſe of time, they increased in such sort, as they would not be satisfied to be Masters (onely) of that which had appertained to the *Euganeans* (consisting of thirty foure fayre Cities and Townes;) but inrruded farther, to seize on *Bressano* and *Forli*. Some report this Countrey to be bounded with the Riuers of *Pau*, and that of *Adde*, as also the Lake of *Guard*, anciently called the *Benacke*, the *Alpes*, and the *Adriaticke* sea.

People by the inner gulfe of the Adriatick sea, towardes the Alpes.

And so the ancient *Venitians* in this maner, extended their Dominion, both in longitude and latitude, in the most pleasant Countrey of *Italy*: but the seating of the places did daily beget the elder estate of the *Venitians* hatred. For on the one side, the ordinary robberies of the *Liburnians*, and on the other side, the frequent and frightfull courses of the Barbarians, did hinder them from any long time of continuing in quiet. For, without these impeachments, this Nation had bin most fortunate, in conquering (by the right of Warre) one of the most goodly & beautifull regions in all *Italy*.

Liburnia, the countrey of Croatia, betweene Istria, and Dalmatia.

Now ouer & beside, that on the south-side, it is enuironed with a most calme circuite of the sea, and in regard thereof, is the most capable of receiuing al strange Merchandizes: so it is likewise Watered with very delectable riuers, wherby whatsoeuer commeth from the Sea, is easilie transported to the very Nauel of the Prouince. It aboundeth in Pooles, Ponds, Forrests, and vnder-woods, & the whole Land is choisely fertile in Corne, Wine, Oyle,

The situation of Venice, & capacity thereof.

Oyle, and all kindes of fruites. It is alſo plentifully ſtored with Countrey houſes, Townes, Citties, and Villages, Caſtles, Fortes, and ſuch like, verie commendable for the ſcituation & encloſure of their Walles.

Theſe new inhabitants, when their weake eſtate beganne to grow in fayrer forme: they were ſildom exempted from the Warres and incurſions of ſtrangers. For, after many bolde inſolencies of the Barbarians, with continued Warres againſt each other, euen from their verie beginning, vntill the time of *Attila*: they were yet much more dreadfully encumbred, with the furious aſſault of the *Goths*, a Tempeſt farre exceeding in turbulency, all other former diſaſters happening vnto them whatſoeuer. For firſt, the *Hunnes* (a people of *Scythia*, dwelling neere to the *Riphean* Mountaines) conducted by *Attila*, the Sonne of *Mandlucke*, diſperſed themſelues ouer *Italy*, and making horrible ſpoile whereſoeuer they went, fell into the Prouince belonging to the *Venitians*. After a long ſiedge, they tooke the Citty of *Aquilea*, and ſpoyled and burnt it wholly. In like manner did they alſo ruinate the two Citties of *Concordia* and *Altina*, and almoſt all the Venitian region.

Mountains in the north part of Scythia, where ſnow lieth continually.

An ancient Citty in that part of Italy, called Forum Iubi.

At the fearefull newes of this Warre, the *Venitians* were more amazed then any other, and ſo much the rather, becauſe they had beene formerly inured, to ſuſtaine their cheefeſt miſhappes amongeſt the Barbarians. Whereupon it is ſaid, that (euen then) a great number of perſons withdrew themſelues from the firme Land, to the Iſles where *Venice* at this inſtant is builded: haſting thither from all other parts, eſpecially vppon the arriuall of this cruell enemy *Attila*.

Some (of the better ſort of *Padua*) firſt beganne the retreate, and being come to the entrance or iſſue of the Riuer, which was then very deepe (whence the name of *Rialto* hath remaind to the ſame place, as deriued of the word *Riuealto*) they there laide the firſt foundation of the Cittie of *Venice*.

The firſt foundation of Venice.

The meaner people of *Padua*, enforced by the ſelfe-ſame feare; fled thence, and beganne to people themſelues in *Chioggia*, *Malamocco*, and *Albiola*. Som of them of *Aquileia* (at the ſame time) betooke themſelues to the Marſhes or Fennes of *Grada*; and, vpon the freſh returne of *Attila*, the people ran (in mighty affluence) along the Coaſtes to the Neighbouring Iſles. They of *Aquileia* beſtowed themſelues in *Grada*, a place neereſt vnto firme land, yet engirt with Waters. They that fledde from *Concordia*, made vſe of *Coarli* and the *Attinois*, ſixe little Iſlands neere to one another, which they gaue names vnto, acording to the names of the gates of their former loſt and ruined Citties: to wit, *Torcello*, *Maiorbo*, *Buriano*, *Muriano*, *Amiana*, and *Gonſtantiaco*.

Little Iſlands in the ſea, and neere adioyning.

Theſe ſeuerall places, where at this preſent the Citty of *Venice* is ſeated, were (in elder times) very ſtraight or narrowe Iſlands, and neere vnto each other; ſauing onely that they were ſeparated by the pleaſing courſe of Riuers, which ranne into, and returned againe from the Sea, according to the changes of his fluxe and refluxe. Nor in theſe ſtraights were then any dwellings to bee diſcerned, but onely of Sea-Fowles, that flew thither from the Seas, to diſport themſelues vppon the Sunny bankes; and Fiſher-men likewiſe, would ſometimes there put in for harbour.

The prime eſtate of the place where Venice now ſtandeth.

The *Paduans*, that tooke vp the *Rialto*, were the firſt that beganne to builde, and it was in the very ſame place, where the firſt foundation of the Citty was layde: Namely, the fiue and twentieth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord, 421. and ſecond yeare of the reigne of *Pharamond*, firſt King of the *Gaules* or French-men; in the time alſo of Pope *Boniface* the firſt, and of the Emperour *Honorius*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that at one and the ſelfe-ſame time, began both the kingdome of *France* and the Commonwealth of *Venice*. And that both the one and the other haue continued to this preſent, for twelue hundred yeares, very little, either more or leſſe.

The firſt builders of Venice, and at what time.

This Citty ſo newly begun, encreaſed dayly both in people and buildings. But ſee what happened vppon a ſodaine, a Greeke Carpenters houſe (or rather hee was one of the Shipwrights, named *Entinopus*) falling on fire; conſumed in a moment (with a violent & continuall embracing) 24. faire new built houſes. Which when theſe new come inhabitants perceiued, & fearing that heauen was offended with

Their firſt buildings deſtroyed by fire

with this their manner of beginning, forgetting God, and seruing their owne appetites. They fell all to prayer, and made a solemne vow, to build a Church in the honour of God, and in memory of the Apostle Saint *Iames*; at which verie instant time, a mighty tempest of rain (as sodainly fell) whereby the rest of the new begun City was happily preserued.

The first Church built in Venice.

That Church is yet at this day plainely to be discerned, with the markes and appearances of great antiquity, euen in the very midst of the *Rialto*: And it was then consecrated by foure Byshops, to wit; *Seuerianus* byshop of *Padua*; *Ambrose*, Byshop of *Altina*; *Iocundus*, byshop of *Treuisa* and *Epodius*, byshop of *Vderzo*, and a Priest was there appointed, to performe diuine Seruice.

Noble & rich men the first Founders of Venice.

The first foundations of this Famous Citty, were men of honest repute, Noble, and rich. For the ancient *Venitians*, at the chaunge of their abiding, brought vvith them thither their wiues and childrē, with the very wealthiest moueables which they had, and so (at leysure) withdrew themselues, to places of a more secure dwelling. But being impeached (by incursions of the *Hunnes*) to Till the groundes vpon the sea Coasts; such as had any meanes or apt commodity: gaue themselues to fighting, and to make salt, or to transport the goods of their neighbors; esteeming the benefit thereby gotten, to be no more dishonest or vnbefitting, then to plough and husband the grounds of others.

As for the wealthier sort, they addicted themselues to traffick Merchandizes with strangers, and by their frequent aduenturing into diuers Countries, some of them being very skilfull Miners, and well experienced in the triall of seuerall Oares or Mettals hidden in the ground, which by industry and endeuour they found in the earth, became Finers or Tryers of those Mettals, and extracted (from the grosser substances) the purer perfections of Gold and Siluer, whereby, in theyr owne Language, they were termed *Orifici*, deriued of the Latine word *Aurifex*, Gold-smithes, or Hammer men, that (of those refined Mettals) could frame Cups, Pots, Rings, Basons, Ewres, or any other needful matter whatsoeuer, both for the seruice of God in Churches and Temples, and for the royalty of Emperors, Kings, & Princes. So that, by the consent of diuers good Authors, as *Liuie*, *Florus*, *Cassidorus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and others, the first Goldsmiths, workers in Gold and Siluer, and framers of those excellent mettalles into such orderly meanes for vse (within the parts of *Europe*) liued in *Venice*, whereas yet (to this day) do remaine the very best ingenious, and perfect workmen for such matters (according to the iudgement of many) that are to be found in any part of the world. Concerning such as remained more ordinarily at home, for care & safety of the Citty; they applyed their spirits, to deuise good lawes and customs for generall benefit. During which time, such was their due respect of iustice, & so precise care of equity and right to all men; as among so great a number of people, there could not bee any disorderly differences noted.

The first gold smiths known in Europ, wer in Venice.

Care of iustice and common good.

Catholike religion they so singularly commended, and the dayly presence of some reuerend Prelates, who had saued themselues with their Compatriots; that it augmented (among them) a common affection to piety. And their assistance appeared verie requisite, not onely for the ministry of holye Offices; but also for retention of the inhabitants of this new City, in ancient piety and religion. Fearing least they might be infected with the poison of Arrian heresie; because nothing els made more spoile and hauock through all the Prouince, except the weapons of the *Gothes* and *Hunnes*.

Loue of religion in especial respect.

Such was the beginning of the City of *Venice*, and in such manner of liuing, and in such exercises shee spent her first infancy; till (by her vertues) shee attained vnto greater groweth, and grounded her selfe in her instant state and condition. It hath constantly bene held, that this Common-wealth (euermore) retained that forme of gouernment, which is termed *Aristocratia*, that is, that the most noble and worthiest Citizens should guide and gouern. For, although it be saide, that it hath bene gouerned first by Consuls, then by Tribunes, and lastly by Dukes, and Maisters of warlike power: yet notwithstanding, all these dignities, being but electiue, and not hereditary, the election should (in right) appertain to the most Noble Islanders, and Gentlemen of name, by whose aduice the Common-wealth ought to be mana-

Aristocratia optimatum principatus.

managed, euen as it hath bin, and ſtil continueth to this day.

The gouernement of Conſuls, and who were the firſt in Venice.

Conſuls, to the number of three, were choſen for two yeares, and albeit that this kinde of Gouernment laſted for about the ſpace of threeſcore yeares, yet wee finde onely but three conſecutiue or ſucceeding elections of them. The firſt Conſuls, were *Albertus Phalarius*, *Thomas Candianus*, and *Zeno Daulo*. Theſe men firſt gouerned the Citty in her Nonage, & ſome are of the minde, that they were the firſt Authors of the *Paduans* flight, and their retirement to the Lakiſh or Mariſh Iſles, as alſo of their firſt building there. The ſecond Conſuls, were *Lucianus Graulus*, *Maximus*, or *Marinus Lucius*, and *Hugo Fuſcus*. The third, were *Marcus Aurelius*, *Andreas Claudius*, and *Albinus Maurus*. The names of ſuch as were elected after theſe, are not to bee found in anie Hiſtories.

The creation of Tribunes, andwhat they were.

After, that the Iſles (about the *Rialto* were filled with inhabitants: in ſtedde of Conſuls, Tribunes were created, and for their creation, the matter was firſt debated priuately by few people, afterward, it was ordained and reſolued in open aſſembly of the Iſlanders: that in each Iſle there ſhould be a Tribune, and hee ſhould bee a yearly Magiſtrate, to render Iuſtice to the Cittizens, and with ſeuerity, to puniſh their offences. But the remaynder which concerned the generalitie of the Common-weale: was referred to the generall aſſembly of the Iſlanders, to bee by them determined. Afterward, there was but one Tribune created for gouernment of the Iſles, which continued for ſome yeares. Finally, they concluded to create ten, wherunto were added two more, who ſhould dwell in *Heraclea*; & this Tribunary dignity held place for more then two hundred yeares. Heere is to bee noted, that the Tribunes of the Iſles, abuſing their authorities, did ſo trouble the State with ciuill diſſentions, as it plainly appeared, that the maine body of the Cittie would be diſſolued, without ſome good and immediate remedy. Which gaue occaſion, that (to heare the complaints of euery one) a general aſſembly of the Iſles was publiſhed, and their meeting to be in *Heraclea*.

In this aſſembly, *Chriſtophero* byſhop of *Grada* was Preſident, accompanyed with a great number of the Cleargie, and after diuine ſeruice was performed, the firſt propoſition which he made, was, that (for good of the Common-wealth, each man might complaine of the future Tribune, which being done, and the offences no longer to be endured, for publike benefit of the ſtate in generall, reſolution was ſet downe, to make election of a Duke, who ſhould repreſent all honor and Maieſty in the State or Seigneury, & he ſhold haue power to aſſemble the general counſell, when queſtions were to be made, of any important matter concerning the Commonwealth. He ſhould haue power alſo, to elect yearely Tribunes or Magiſtrates in euery Iſle, and their appellations to bee brought before him. Moreouer, if any ſhould obtaine any dignity, Prelacie, or Benefice, by ſuffrages of the Clergy or people: that he ſhould not enioy it, or be poſſeſſed therof, without the good liking and conſent of the Duke, whoſe power alſo ended with his life.

Who was the firſt Duke of Venice.

This being thus concluded, in the year 697. *Paullucio* was created the firſt Duke; and ſo hath that Ducall dignity continued euer ſince. Saue onely that in the yeare 737. after the death of the third Duke *Orſo*, it was determined, that no duke ſhold be elected, for ſix yeares, but that a Maſter of the armed troopes or Souldiours ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and his Authoritie to be annuall; which laſted no longer then fiue yeares. For in the year, 742. they proceeded againe to a Dukes election; and ſince that time, the Common-wealth of *Venice* hath euermore had Dukes & Princes of the Seigneury; by whoſe wiſedome (and his counſell aſſiſting) it hath bin preſerued in an euer flouriſhing eſtate, euen to this inſtant yeare, 1619.

CHAP. II.

A ſhort Summary, of the liues of the Dukes and Princes of Venice: And a breuiate alſo of the moſt remarkeable actions, in the times of their Gouernment.

PAuluccio Annapeſto, was firſt Duke of the people, choſen in *Heraclea*. He took his

his Oath before *Christophero*, Patriarke of *Grada*, to gouerne according to the lawes, & to regard nothing more then the weale publike. He pacified the difference which *Luitprand*, king of the Lombards had with K. *Aribert*, and made friendship with them both: as well by his authority, as by arms. He brought the rebellious *Aquileians* vnder obedience, encreased the Citties customes and reuenews, and dyed, having beene Duke twenty yeares, sixe moneths, and eight dayes.

2 *Marcello Tegaliano*, of the same place of *Heraclea*, was elected his successour, by common voyce of the people. He was deuoute, modest and affable; but much lesse diligent in gouerning, then his predecessour. The Patriarchat of *Grada* was transferred into *Aquileia* in his time, by *Luitprand*, and there hee had great warres, about the dissentions of the Bishops, wherinto he would not interpose himselfe, but dyed, hauing beene Duke nine yeares, and twenty one dayes.

3 *Orso Hipato*, a nobleman of *Heraclea*, wonne himselfe great reputation by his famous deedes. *Paulo* the *Exarcho* had recourse to him, the *Grecian* Armie beeing broken, and siege layd to *Rauenna* by *Luitprand*. He re-gained *Rauenna*, made the Kings nephew his prisoner, slew the duke of *Vicenza*, and reseated the *Exarcho* in his due rights. Hee brideled the *Aquileians*, who troubled the publike peace, and put corage into the soules of the yonger sort. He was slaine, by reason of the dissentions of *Iesolo*, the eleauenth yeare, and fift moneth of his Principality.

4 *Theodato Hipato*, sonne of *Orso*, was proclaimed Duke 5. yeares after the death of his father: during which time, the people were gouerned by a Marshall or Maister of the Souldiers: and forsaking *Heraclea*, he brought the State to *Malamocco*. There he was the first created, and limited his Confines with *Astolpho* King of the *Lombards*. He was also slayne by *Galla* a Cittizen of *Malamocco*, in the thirteenth yeare of his Principalitie.

5 *Galla de Malamocco*, a wicked and seditious man, yet shewing himselfe as Protector of publique peace, was established in the place of *Theodato*. But his wickednesse being knowne, and that (being but a subiect) he would needs make himselfe absolute Lord, hauing before slayne his chiefe Maister *Theodato*: the people plucked out his eyes, and tooke from him the Dignitie, which hee had a yeare vsurped.

6 *Dominico Monegario*, of *Malamocco*, was seated in the steade of *Galla*. Somewhat to bridle this Dukes authoritie, the people ioyned two yearely Tribunes with him. But he, being a man audacious and arrogant, sought to tyrannize ouer the people: whereat they growing into furie, pluckt out his eyes, the eight yeare of his Principalitie.

7 *Mauritio Galbaio*, a noble *Heraclean*, for his iustice, wisedome, and wealth, was chosen to this dignity. He made his sonne Duke with him, and they gouerned together. In his time, the Church of *Grada* being molested, he sent an Ambassadour to Pope *Stephen*, to accord the difference. The Bishopricke of Saint *Peter de Castello Oliuolo*, was then erected. And he died, hauing gouerned twenty three yeares.

8 *Giouanni Galbaio*, hauing bene Duke nine yeares with his father, gouerned the Commonwealth yet nine yeres more, and after the sayd time, hee made *Mauritio* his sonne, companion with him in the Principality. But they being both of vnsufferable and wicked life, hauing murthered *Iohn* Patriarchat of *Grada*, throwing him downe headling from an high tower: *Fortunatus*, successour in the Patriarchate, made a conspiracie against them, and another was elected Duke. Whereat, being not a little confounded, the father fled into *Fraunte*, and the sonne to *Mantua*, the sixteenth yeate of their rule.

9 *Obelerio*, being elected Prince by them that had intelligence with *Fortunatus*, tooke his brother *Beato* as his associate, and *Valentine* beside (being their third brother) was admitted with them in the same dignitie. And it is worth the noting, that of these three brethren, *Beato* is onelie placed in the ranke of Dukes in the Counsell chamber of *Venice*; whereas *Obelerio* incited *Pepin* King of *Italy*, to make warre on the *Venetians*: and *Beato* maintaind the Common-wealth, raigning fiue yeares.

10 *Angelo Participatio*, after he had wel borne himselfe in the warre against *Pepin*, was elected Duke, the people being summond to the *Rialto*. He founded the Dukes palace, in the same place where that now built, standeth. The diuision of the Empire

was made in his time, and the Venetians left in their owne liberty. The Citie was diuided into wards, ſtreets, and precincts. The *Pregadi*, and the *Quaranta*, who (for criminall offences) was then inſtituted among them. He gouerned 18. years.

11 *Giuſtiniano Participatio*, hauing beene an aſſociate in the dignity with his father, was (after his death) confirmed by the people. Hee repealed home his brother *Iohn*, who was then at *Conſtantinople*, & accepted him as his fellow ruler: hee made the peoples authority greater then before, & gaue ayde to *Michael* the Emperor againſt the Sarazins. The body of Saint *Marke* was in his time brought from *Alexandria*, accepting it into his protection, and the Church remaining at this day, was conſecrated in his memory. He died the ſecond yeare of his dignity.

13 *Giouanni Participatio*, remained in the royalty, and enlarged the Church of S. *Marke*, placing therein a great number of Prieſts and Canons, & appointing a *Primicerio* to gouerne them. Hee cauſed the head of *Obelerio* to be cut off, whome hee had beſiedged in the Iſle of *Curtia*. He made war vpon the *Nauratines*, and ouercame them. In the end, a conſpiracy was deuiſed againſt him, and beeing confined to *Grada*, in the eight yeare of his Principality; he ſhaued his head and beard, and made himſelfe a Monke, in which eſtate he dyed.

12 *Pietro Tradonico* of *Pola*, hauing carried himſelfe to the peoples contentment in the warres againſt *Pepin*, was elected Duke. He ioyned *Iohn* his ſon in rule with him, and gaue ſuccour to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who made requeſt thereof by *Theodoſius Patricius*. He was made *Protoſpotary* of the Empire: in help whereof, he ſent 60. Gallies. *Lewes* 2. granted him many priuiledges, and in the end, hee was ſlaine by a ſedition, in his 27. yeare.

14 *Orſo Participatio* hauing appeaſed the ſedition, was made Du. The Turks hauing ſpoiled *Dalmatia*, euen ſo far as *Grada*, wer vanquiſhed by him and *Giouanni Participatio* his ſon, whom he made aſſociat with him in his gouernment. *Baſilius* the Emperor, highly honoured him for that good ſeruice, and made him *Protoſpatary* of the Empire. He gouerned 17. yeares.

15 *Giouanni Participatio*, being confirmed in his dignity, tooke and burned *Comachio*, waſted the County of *Rauenna*, to reuenge himſelf on the Count of *Comachio*, who had impriſoned and wounded vnto death his Brother *Bradoario*. He growing much ouercome with ſickneſſe, cauſed the Church of Saint *Cornelius*, and S. *Cyprian* to be built at *Malomocco*; and hauing gouerned fiue yeares, and fixe moneths, renounced the Dignity.

16 *Pietro Candiano*, was elected after the voluntary diſmiſſion of his Predeceſſour. He was a valiant man, and verie expert in Armes; and yet notwithſtanding, greatly addicted to deuotion. He went (in perſon) with ten Gallies againſt the *Nauratines*, who (as Theeues) robbed and purloyned from the Venitians. Fighting valiantly againſt them, hee dyed at the ſecond time, with the Weapons in his handes. He gouerned no longer then fiue moneths.

Dominico Tribuno, is ſet (by ſome) in ranke with the Dukes: but others, leſſe curious in ſearch of the Hiſtory, haue omitted him; becauſe he was duke but three moneths, and thirteene dayes, and nothing is remarkeable in his time, but a certaine priuiledge, granted by him to *Chioggia*.

17 *Pietro Tribuno*, ſonne of *Dominico*, was elected Duke. He obtained of *Guydo*, Emperour and King of Italy, a confirmation of all ancient Priuiledges. The Barbarian *Hunnes* came againe into *Italy*, and burned *Heraclea*, *Capo de Argier*, and *Chioggia*. This Prince ouercame them, with very much honour: and this was the third time, that thoſe Strangers ſought to vſurp on that State. He gouerned twenty foure yeares.

18 *Orſo Badoaro*, called himſelfe *Participatio*, and was the firſt that chaunged his name. He ſent for his ſonne *Pietro* to *Conſtantinople*, and hee was made Protoſpatarie. In the yeare nine hundred and twentie, hee obtained of *Rodulphus*, Emperour and King of *Italy*, the confirmation of the Venitians ancient authoritie, to ſtampe Moneyes. Hee addicted himſelfe wholly to piety, and in his 20. yeare, he renounced the Dignitie, to make himſelfe a Monke, and liue priuately.

19 *Pietro Candiano* the ſecond, was a worthy man, and made Warre on *Lauterio*, Marqueſſe of *Iſtria*, who hindred the Trafficke of the Venitians. He ouercame him

him, and re-conquered the people of *Capo d'Istria*. He vanquished *Albertus*, sonne to the Emperor *Berengarius*, who impatronizing himselfe of *Rauenna*, impeached the passage of the Venitians shippes. In his time, Maidens were stollen by the *Testaines*, to ioyn in marriage with them; but they were soone recouered. He gouerned seuen yeares.

20 *Pietro Badoaro*, the sonne of *Orso*, was redeemed by him from the Sclauonians. He gouerned but two yeares and seuen moneths, alwayes in peace, which he much affected. *Berengarius* the Emperor did him many fauours, for his great deserts.

21 *Pietro Candiano* the third, sonne to the second *Candiano*, associated himselfe in his dignity with his sonne *Pietro:* and at two seuerall times armed three & thirty Shippes against the *Narentines*; but at the second time, he made peace with thē. His sonne being reproued by him for his bad behauiour; reuolted from him, and against the Common-wealth. The people would haue slaine him, but hee was sent thēce into exile: wher ioyning with *Guydo*, sonne of *Berengarius*, hee endangered the Commonwealth: whereat his Father greeuing, died in his fifteenth yeare of gouernment.

22 *Pietro Candiano* the fourth, being repealed from exile (albeit the people had sworne neuer to receiue him) was made Prince with very great applause. He dealt in such sort with Pope *Iohn* the twelfth, that the Churche of *Grada* was made Patriarchall, and Metropolitane of all the Venitians State, and of *Istria*. *Otho* the Emperor, granted him many honourable priuiledges. He rmined *Vderzo*, and was slaine with his Sonne in a sedition of the people, hauing gouerned about twentie yeares.

23 *Pietro Orsoolo*, was a man altogither deuout, and was elected by the people against his will. He would very often walk in an vnknowne habit, to visit the houses of poore people and Hospitals. Hee appeased the dissentions between the Venitians, and them of *Capo d'Istria*, who yeilding themselues tributary; hee went with *Beato Romualdo* of *Rauenna*, to liue Religiously. He gouerned two years and two months, doing many worthy and charitable deeds.

24 *Vitale Candiano*, Sonne of *Pietro* the third, made the confederacy with the Emperour *Otho*. He fell sicke so soone às hee entred vppon his charge: wherefore hee became a Monke, hauing gouerned about a yeare.

25 *Tribuno Memo*, was very rich, but no man of State. In his time happened great dissentions, betweene the families of *Moresina* and *Calloprina*; by reason whereof, many notorious murthers were committed. He tooke part with the *Morisini*, which caused the faction to withdraw themselues to *Verona*, to the Emperor *Otho*. He gaue the Isle of S. *Giorgio Maggiore* to the Abbot of *Moresini:* and renounced the Principality in his twelfth yeare, entering into Religion.

26 *Pietro Orseolo* the second, beeing a very discreete man, ordered the matter so well with the Emperours *Basilius* and *Alexius*: that the Venitians were exempted from Tolles and Taxations. *Otho* the Emperour lying at *Verona*, did highly fauour him; and, among other graces, to holde one of his sonnes at Baptisme. Hee was the first that extended their Confines on the Sea, winning many places in *Istria* and *Dalmatia*. Hauing caused the Church and Pallace to be finished in his time, hee dyed in the eighteenth yeare of his Principality.

27 *Ottone Orseolo*, hauing Gouerned some space with his father *Pietro*, was confirmed in the dignity, at the age of eighteene yeares. He wunne such reputation, that *Geta* King of *Hungaria*, gaue him one of his Sisters in marriage. In person he conquered them of *Istria*, who vvere become Rebelles; and went into *Dalmatia*, in the enterprize agaynst *Cresmura*. At length, the malicious enuiers of his glories, deuised a Conspiracie agaynst him, vppon the which, he was confined into Greece, in the seuenteenth yeare of his rule.

28 *Pietro Centranico*, or *Barbolano*, succeeded next to *Otho*. But hauing not well qualified all dissentions, as well concerning the Cittizens remooving, as the other Neighbours; he was compelled to forsake the dignity, and make himselfe a Monke. *Orso*, Brother of *Otho*, returned from Constantinople, beeing Patriarche of *Grada*, and he was constituted in expectation of *Othos* cōming. He continued

about a yeare in the Palace, and forsooke the Principality, newes being brought of *Othos* death. *Dominico Orseolo* would then perforce vsurp the dignity; but he was expelled by the people the next morning, & died at *Rauenna*.

29 *Dominico Flabanico*, was elected during his exile, by the faction of them that had excluded *Dominico Orseolo*. In his time and in the year 1040. the national Councell was held, for gouernment of the Ecclesiastickes. He made the family of *Orseolo* suspitious to the State, by his owne meanes, and laboured for their vtter supplantation. He gouerned ten yeares, foure months, and twelue dayes.

30 *Dominico Contarini* was verie pleasing to the people. He brought *Dalmatia* to peace, beeing heauily burthened vvith the rebellion of *Zara*. Hee fauoured the Normans against *Robert* King of *Apulia*. And the discord which hapned betweene the Common-wealth, and *Pepo*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, was by him qualifyed. Hee builded the Monasterie on the *Lido*, and dyed in the eight and twenty yeare of his Principality.

31 *Dominico Silino*, won himselfe such reputation, that *Nicephorus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, gaue him his sister in marriage; by whose perswasion, he made war vpon the forenamed King *Robert* of *Apulia*, and (at the first attempt) returned with a very honourable victory, possessing himselfe of *Duras*. But at his second aduenture, hee fought with small aduantage; whereby ensued the diminution of his credit. He pergetted the Church of Saint *Marke* with Marble, first and before any other, causing it also to be beautified with an artificiall Checker.worke. He died in the thirteenth yeare of his gouernement.

32 *Vitale Faliero* being made Duke, he immediately obtained of *Alexius*, then Emperour, to haue the soueraigntie of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*. *Henry*, successor in the Empire, did him many great fauors: and comming in deuotion to Venice, hee helde one of his daughters at Baptisme. The Office of proprieties was constituted in his time, and the workemanship of S. *Markes* Church continued. He died in his sixteenth yeare.

33 *Vitale Michele*, by his worthy aduenturing on the sea, did very farre extend the Commonwe[a]lths limites. Hee made the Easterne war[re] (by the perswasion of Pope *Vrban* the second) for Conquest of the Holy Land, with the Princes of Christendome. The Isle of *Smyrna*, *Suria*, and *Ierusalem* were then recouered from the Infidels. He died in his sixt yeare.

34 *Ordelafo Faliero*, sonne of *Vitale*, assisted King *Baldwine* against the Infidels in conquest of the holy Land: and made such progression, as they deuided the Empire betweene them, thoroughout all the kingdome of *Iudea*. In the 8. yeare of his Principality, *Malomocco* was almost al burned and submerged; by reason whereof, the Episcopal See was transferred to *Chioggia*. He went in person to the Warre against *Zara*, which was becom rebellious, and winning the victory: he would needs returne thither againe a second time, and on the like occasion; where hee died in Armes, in the fifteenth yeere of his Principality.

35 *Dominico Michele*, being made Duke for his high repute and merite, went to giue aide to the Christians in the Holie Land. With 200. well appointed shippes and Gallies, he made the Infidels to raise their siedge from before *Ioppa*. Hee tooke *Tyre*, which he gaue to *Vaumoud* Patriarch of *Ierusalem*. *Emanuel* the Emperor made war against him, frō whom he won *Chio*, *Rhodes*, *Samos*, *Mitylline*, and *Ister*. He renounced his principality, in the 13. yeare of his rule.

36 *Pietro Polani*, kinsman ro *Michele*, was a very wise man, insomuch as he was made Arbitrator of the diffrence, between *Conrade* and *Emanuel* the Emperour. Hee made war against them of *Pisa* & *Padua*, whom he conquered. He armed himselfe against the Duke of *Apulia*, in behalfe of the same *Emanuell*, to whose Empire hee added many worthy possessions. Some say, it was his sonne that won all the battailes, and that himselfe being falne sicke, returned thence, and dyed in his 18. yeare of rule.

37 *Dominico Moresini*, hee swept the Gulfe of certaine Pyrats of *Ancona*, the cheefe whereof beeing called *Guiscardo*, was taken and hanged. Hee layed siedge vnto *Pola*, which he tooke, with *Parenzo*; which Cities were become rebellious in *Istria*. He held confederacy with *William* king of *Sicily*, of whom hee obtayned many

many exemptions for the Trafficke of his Merchants. *Zara* made the Metropolitane Cittie (at his instance) and hee so preuayled, that *Dominico* his Sonne was made an Earle. Hee beautified the Buildinges of the Cittie of *Venice*, and began the Tower of Saint *Marke*. He dyed seauen moneths after the eight year of his Election.

38 *Vitale Michele* the second, subdued the *Tarentines*, which now had rebelled the third time. He imprisoned *Vtrich*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and twelue Chanons. In an hundred dayes, he put forth an hundred Gallies, and twentie Shippes on the Sea, against the Emperor *Emanuell*. The great Family of the *Iustiniani*, were, in his time brought to one onely man, and hee was become Religious; whom hee tooke foorth of his Monastery (by the Popes consent) and gaue him his owne daughter in marriage, becausе hee woulde not haue so worthy a houſe to be extinct. Ther hapned a great Pestilence in his time, the occasion whereof, the people (in theyr weake iudgment) laid vpon him. He was wounded, and dyed, hauing gouerned seuenteene yeares, and xxvii. daies.

39 *Sebastiano Ziani*, was the first that euer was elected by the eleauen Electors. In his time there was a great Schisme in the Church, by meanes of the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, who causеd *Alexander* the third to forsake the See, *Octauian* hauing bene made Anti-pope, *Alexander* made his retirement to Venice, where hauing a long time serued in the Monastery of *La Charita*; he was in the end knowen, and taken thence by the Prince and Seigneury. Heereupon, *Barbarossa* made warre against the Venetians: but his sonne *Octauian* being taken, he mediated reconciliation betweene them. He died in the fift yeare of his gouernment.

40 *Orio Malipiero*, or *Mastropetro*, was the first Duke elected by the forty; and for that purpose was created by the death of *Ziani*. Hee had sixe Councellors allowed him to authorize his deliberations. He reconquered *Zara*, that had now the fourth time rebelled. Hee sent supply vnto the Christians against the Moores, who began to vsurpe in the holy Land 88. yeares after that *Baldwine* had deliuered it. *Ptolomais* was recouered, and *Andronicus*, succeſſor to *Emanuell* the Emperor; deliuerd many Venitian Marchants. Hee renounced the Principality in his 14. yeare, and entred into Religion.

41 *Henrico Dandolo* was likewise elected by the forty. They of *Zara* were once againe vanquished, and *Pola* conquered. In his time was the surprizall of *Constantinople*, & the acquisition of the East Empire, wherein hee assisted the Princes and French Barons. He died in his thirteenth yeare, being Generall of all the Christian Army.

42 *Pietro Ziani*, sonne of *Sebastian*, was made Duke within a while after the death of *Dandolo*, the Correctors beeing then first instituted. In his time came Ambassadors from *Athens* and *Achaia*, to submit themselues in obedience to the Common wealth. *Candia* was then peopled with a Colony of noble Venitians. He marryed *Constance*, daughter to *Tancred* K. of *Sicily*. In the end, he renounced the Principality, hauing gouerned 24. yeares.

43 *Giacomo Tiepolo*, was made Duke by chance, in concurrency of *Renieri Candolo*, who had as many voices as he. *Candie* rebelled, and the seditious were seuerely chastised. *Zara*, that had long borne the yoke, was now reduced vnder obedience. He had Warre against them of *Ferrara*, and against *Ezzelino*, who would haue inuested himselfe with *Padua*. In conclusion, he gaue ouer the Principaly in his 20. yeare, and died soone after.

44 *Marino Moresini*, was made Duke by the one and fortith, by reason of the precedent concurrence. In his time was another Courtly Noble-man sent into *Candie*, who builded the *Canea*. He made Warre against *Ezzelino*, who besiedged *Mantua*, and who (in a furious rage) causеd 1200. *Paduans* to be hewne in peeces, which he had with him then in his armie. He died in the 4. year of his Principality.

45 *Reineri Zeno Podesta* at *Bermoga*, was elected Duke, and sent to be fetcht thence with foure Gallies. Vnder him, the Commonwealth wonne a famous victorie, against them of *Genes*: but the contentment therewith was very breefe, becausе *Michaell Paleologus*, expelled both the French-men and Venitians out of *Constantinople*, being ayded by the Geneway forces, which was eight and fifty yeares after the surprizing of the sayde Cittie: yet once more (after that) the selfesame

people were againe reconquered: and hauing gouerned this dignity 16. yeares, he dyed.

46 *Lorenzo Tiepolo* was made Duke, in memory of the victory hee had againſt them of *Genes* at *Tyre*. Hee allyed two of his ſonnes (verie Nobly) with two ſtrange Ladies: by reaſon whereof, a Lawe was then made, that the like might not be afterward done. He brought *Seruia* in obedience to the Common-wealth, and the *Bolognians* were vanquiſhed by him: hee gouerned ſeuen years, and fiue and twenty dayes.

47 *Giouanni Contarini*, being aged eightie yeares, and Atturney of S. *Mark*, was made Duke. The law againſt illegittimates was then enacted, and they excluded from all publike Offices. There were ſome rebellions moued in *Iſtria*, and by them of *Genes*; but they were quickely appeaſed. At length, thorough vnwelidineſſe of age, and by aduice of the Senat, hee gaue ouer the dignity, hauing gouerned in this authority, foure yeares, and ſix moneths.

48 *Giouanni Dandolo* was elected, being then abſent. The Citty was (in his time) much afflicted by water, & an earthquake. He made warre in *Iſtria*, agaynſt the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and the Count of *Goritia*. At the inſtance of Pope *Nicholas*, he aſſiſted the Archbyſhop of *Tripoli* with 25. Gallies. He died ſeuen monthes after his eight yeare of rule.

49 *Pietro Gradanigo*, a man of great corage, deliuered the Common-welth from two important dangers. One, was a high diſgrace, which happened in a battell againſt them of *Genes*. The othet was the conſpiracie of *Baiamonte*, which was boldly checked with weapon in hand, vppon the place of S. *Marke*. It was then ordayned, that Noblemen onely ſhould gouerne, and the counſel of ten was then inſtituted. Hauing ruled 22. years, and nine months, he dyed.

50 *Marino Giorgio*, was a man of ſuch life, that they termed him a Saint. *Venice* was continually excommunicated in his time, by reaſon of the taking of *Ferrara*. *Zara* rebelled again the ſixt time, & much labour it coſt, to reduce it vnder obedience againe. After he builded the Monaſtery of Saint *Dominicke*, and died (at the age of eighty and one yeares) in his firſt yeare, hauing gouerned ten months, and ten dayes.

52 *Giouanni Soranzo*, had the honor of recouering *Zara*, and many other places, which had reuolted in his predeceſſours time. *Negropont*, was re-obtained, & war afreſh commenced againſt them of *Genes*. The excommunication was quitted from *Venice*, by the interpoſition of *Franciſco Dandolo*, kneeling before the Pope, with a Chaine of iron about his necke. The number of Atturneyes of S. *Marke*, was increaſed to ſixe. Hee gouerned ſixteene yeares, and ſix months.

52 *Franciſco Dandolo*, who had ſo lowly humbled himſelfe for his Countreyes good, was therefore exalted to her higheſt dignity. They of *Pola*, and of *Valeſia*, ſubmitted themſelues to the Common-wealth, which gaue way vnto the warre againſt the Patriarch of *Aquilea*. *Padua* was taken on *Albert Scaliger*, and *Treuiſa*, and the County remained to the Common-wealth. This man was of the league with the Chriſtian Princes, againſt the Turke, and in his time were ſixtie ſeuerall Ambaſſadors at *Venice*. He gouerned ten yeares, and ten months.

55 *Bartolomeo Gradenigo*, Atturney of S. *Marke*, was made Duke at ſeuenty ſix yeares of age, by the interceſſion of *Andrea Dandolo*, and his ceſſation. In his time was *Venice* myraculouſly deliuered from a mighty imminent inundation. *Candie* rebelled, and the rebelles were ſeuerely puniſhed. There hapned a great dearth in the Citty, which droue the people to diſcontentment: he dyed in his fourth yeare.

54 *Andrea Dandolo*, who had before reſigned his place vnto *Bartolomeo Graningo*, cauſed the dearth for to ceaſe; by ſending for great ſtore of Corne out of *Sicily*. Hee obtained of the King of Babylon, free Nauigation into Egypt. *Zara* rebelled the ſeauenth time, and was reprized.

The Warre betweene them of *Genes* and the Citty, was troubled by two great accidents happening; the one, was an Earth-quake very dreadfull; and the other, was a greeuous Peſtilence. Hee gouerned twelue yeares, wanting ſome fewe months.

55 *Marino Faliero*, was elected Duke, being then Ambaſſador at *Rome*. Hauing recei-

receiued an iniurie by ſome particulars, which was not reuenged according vnto his owne deſire: hee determined in the eighty yeare of his age, to make himſelfe abſolutely Lord, without any controule. The conſpiracy being diſcouerd by *Nicholao Lion*; he had his head ſmitten off within the Pallace. And it was ordayned, that his Picture ſhould not be placed amongſt the other dukes, but the place being left voyde, had only this Writing: *This is the place of Marino Faliero, who, for his grieuous offence, had his head cut off*: hee was duke but ten moneths.

56 *Giouanni Gradenigo* had an excellent ſpirit, but a much miſ-ſhapen countenance. The warre was renewed againſt the *Genes*, which tearmined with a mutuall peace. He had warre againſt the King of *Hungarie* for *Dalmatia*. *Treuiſa* was beſieged in his time, and thither he went in perſon. Hee gouerned one yeare, three moneths and foureteene dayes.

56 *Giouanni Delfino*, was elected Duke when hee was in *Treuiſa*, defending it againſt the King of *Hungary*. The Senate ſent to demaund free paſſage for him; which being denyed, he came forth with two hundred horſſe to beard the enemie, and ſo attained to *Margliera*, where the Senate in perſon receiued him. In ſhort time he gaue end to this warre, and recouered *Conciliano*, *Serualla*, and *Aſola*. He made peace for the ſoueraignty of *Dalmatia*; and dyed aged forty and fiue yeares, hauing gouerned foure yeares, two moneths, and eleuen dayes.

58 *Lorenzo Celſo*, vpon a falſe bruite, of a victorie againſt them of reuolted *Genes*; was made Duke in concurrence of *Pietro Gradenigo*, *Leonardo Dandolo*, and *Marco Cornaro*. *Candie* rebelled againe, and it was regained with a very great difficulty. On this occaſion, a Iuſt and feaſt was publiquely made in the place of Saint *Marke*: he dyed two daies after the fourth yeare of his Principalitie.

59 *Marco Cornaro*, a man very wiſe and learned, was ſent into *Candie*, which was rebellious, and there he made a cruel blody warre: the Pope graunting plenary Indulgence to all ſuch as went thither. The Rebels being ſeuerely puniſhed, the common-wealth ſent to Pope *Vrbane* the fift, a certaine number of their Gallies. He gouerned two yeares, fiue months, and foure and twentie dayes.

60 *Andrea Contarini*, fled to the *Paduans* fearing to be elected Duke, and as preſaging the ruine which (in his time) would betide the Common-wealth. Firſt of all, he made warre with them of *Trieſto*, then ſoone after, with *Carrara* for the confines of *Padua*: and ſuch was the fortune, that *Chioggia* being taken, the Citty of *Venice* found it ſelfe to bee in extreame danger. But in the end, he went and oppoſed himſelfe (in perſon) againſt the enemies, vanquiſhed them, and regained *Chioggia*: he dyed, hauing gouerned fifteene yeares, foure moneths, and fifteene daies.

61 *Michele Moriſini*, was a man well furniſhed with Learning and Wiſedome. Some ſay, that in his time the Iſle of *Thenedos* was taken, and not in the time of his predeceſſour *Contarini*. There were diuers Lawes then made (and amongeſt others) it was ordayned, that Homicides, who had formerly beene hanged, ſhould afterwards haue their heads ſmitten off. He liued but foure months, and fiue daies in his dignitie, and dyed in the threeſcore and foureteene yeare of his age.

62 *Antonio Veniero*, was a rigorous obſeruer of Iuſtice. He confined one of his owne Sonnes in exile, becauſe he had (ouer-lightly) offended the familie of a noble *Venitian*. Hee made league with *Galeazzo* the Vicount, againſt *Carrara*, whereupon he tooke *Padua*. He aſſiſted the Emperour *Emmanuell* againſt the Turke; and gaue aid alſo vnto *Sigiſmond*, King of *Hungaria*, who afterwardes came to the Empire. The place of Saint *Marke*, and that of the *Rialto*, were greatly beautified in his time. Hee dyed two moneths, and three dayes, after the eighteenth yeare of his rule.

63 *Michele Steno*, had the dignitie of Attourney of Saint *Marke*, with that of Duke. Hee wonne an important battell againſt the Genewaies. *Carrara* was now the laſt time vanquiſhed, and *Padua* and *Verona* ſurprized. They of *Vicenza*, to free themſelues from his tyrannie, yeelded themſelues to the Common-wealth. *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungaria*, did likewiſe forgoe *Zara*: Hee dyed, hauing gouerned thirteene yeares, and three dayes.

64 *Thomaſo Mocenigo*, was firſt Generall of the Goulfe. He embraced peace, to the end, that the Cittizens might traffike.

Vdina

Vdina became obedient to the Commonwealth, with the Countrey of *Friuoli*; by meanes of the Lords of *Sauorguani*, who were made noble-men of *Venice*. The *Florentines* were also succoured against the Duke of *Milaine*. In his tenth yere he died.

65 *Francesco Foscari* stoutly represſed the Duke of *Milaine*, who proceeded too farre on the liberties of *Italy*. *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and other Cities of *Lombardy* were then wonne: amongst which were *Loda* and *Parma*, and *Rauenna* in *Romania*. Hee made also a large progresse on the Seas, euen into *Morea*. The Senate assisted *Paleologus* the Emperour, against the Turks, who vsurped *Constantinople*, in the yeare 1453. Hee was made Arbitratour by the Duke of *Milaine*, in certaine differences of neighbour-hood. The King of *Dacia* was made a noble *Venitian*: And afterward, the Duke (in regarde of his age and infirmities) was dismissed, hauing gouerned thirty foure yeares, and sixe moneths.

66 *Paschale Malapiero*, was appoynted in the place of *Foscari*, being Atturney of Saint *Marke*, who dyed two dayes after his dismission. He made a Lawe, That in following times, the Duke should not be deposed. In his dayes, the famous Arte of Printing was brought into *Venice*. The *Arsenall* was greatly encreased: And hee maintayned the people in peace, during foure yeares, sixe moneths, and fiue daies that he gouerned.

67 *Christophoro Moro*, a Procuratour of Saint *Marke*, was made Duke. He liued for some time in peace, till the second yeare of his gouernement; and then the Turke (ptoud of his surprizall of *Constantinople*) declared warre against the *Venitians*. He made peace with Pope *Pius* the fift, and the Duke of *Burgundy*: But the Pope dying, they remayned alone, and maintayned warre which lasted twentie yeares. And yet he dyed, hauing reigned nine yeares, and sixe moneths.

68 *Nicholo Trono* had such good hap, that (in his time) the Common wealths affaires went well against the *Turke*. *Pietro Mocenigo*, Generall in the *Archipelagus*, vnited his power with the Popes. The king of *Naples*, and they of *Rhodes* sent eightie fiue gallies together, and tooke *Satalia*, a Citty of *Pamphilia*. He made league likewise with the King of *Persia*, against the *Turke*. *Iames* King of *Cyprus* comming to *Venice*, espoused *Catharina Cornara*, adoptiue daughter of Saint *Marke*. He gouerned one yeare, eight moneths, and fiue dayes.

69 *Nicholo Marcello*, Atturny of Saint *Marke*, after some laws made by the Correctors; was elected Duke. In his time there was a conspiracie in *Cyprus*, to haue the Kingdome fall into the power of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Pietro Morcenigo* went thither with a great Armie, where he appeased all troubles, and seuerely chastised the Rebells. *Scutari*, a Cittie in *Liburnia*, was besieged by the *Turke*, and valiantly defended by *Antonio Loredano*. This duke gouerned one yeare, foure moneths, and seuenteene dayes.

70 *Pietro Mocenigo* was elected Duke, in desert of all his worthy deedes. *Lepanto* was besieged in his time by the *Turke*, and vertuously maintayned by *Antonio Loredano*. They brought their power likewise before the Isle of *Stalimena*, but the same *Loredamo* (by his valour) defended it. The daughter to King *Ferdinand* came to *Venice*, with the Cardinall her brother, where they were roially entertained. This Prince caused a Money to bee stamped, which hee surnamed by his owne name: And gouerned but two yeares, and nine moneths.

71 *Andrea Vendramino* had such ill hap in his gouernement, that the *Venitian* Army was two seuerall times put to flight by the *Turkes*: Once, neare to *Croya* in *Albania*, and the other in the country of *Friuli*. He was a goodly man of person, and had a most beautifull Lady to his wife, by whom he had as goodly children, whom he allied in marriage with the chiefest Families: he gouerned one yeare, and eight moneths.

72 *Giouanni Mocenigo*, brother to *Pietro Mocenigo*, hauing continued the warre against the *Turke*; in the end made peace with him: ordering the matter so, that he left *Scutari* and *Stipula* in liberty of Commerce, and power to keepe a Deputie at *Constantinople*. Hee made warre against *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, at the instance of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, which occasioned the long warre called *Sociale*. In the end, peace was made, the Commonwealth hauing gotten *Rouigo* & *Polesano*. The Cittie became much disgraced by fire, and a pestilent sickenesse: The prince dyed,

dyed, hauing raigned ſeauen yeares, and ſixe moneths.

73 *Marco Barbarigo*, the plague being ceaſed, cauſed all to be new builded, which the fire had defaced in the Pallace. Hee was greatly differing from all other Princes, to wit, in pardoning, and forgetting particular iniuries doone vnto him: but ſuch as were cõmitted againſt the State, he would haue reuenged with ſtricteſt ſeueritie. The grand Signeur or Turke ſent a particular Ambaſſadour vnto him, to congratulate his election. He gouerned but nine moneths.

74 *Agoſtino Barbarigo*, withſtood the progreſſe of *Charles* the eighth King of *Fraunce*, when hee made warre againſt them of *Arragon*, for the Kingdome of *Naples*, which he conquered. The Turke vſurped on the Common-weales of *Lepanto*, *Modona*, and *Corona*. The Kingdome of *Cyprus* was brought vnder the tutelage of the Senate, and Qu. *Catharina* brought thence to *Venice*. The office *de la Sante* was created, by occaſion of the peſtilẽce: This Duke gouerned fifteene yeares, and twenty one dayes.

75 *Leonardo Lauredano* ſuſtained a very rigorous war, againſt the chiefeſt Princes of the world: there beeing a League made betweene the Emperour *Maximilian*; the King of *Fraunce*; them of *Naples*; and the Dukes of *Sauoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, incited thereto by Pope *Iulius* the ſecond. All the whole eſtate of firme land was ſurprized, except *Treuiſa*; but in the end it was recouered. He liued in the Principality nineteene yeares, eight moneths, and twenty dayes.

76 *Antonio Grimani*, being Generall, had a moſt infamous diſ-rout or foile, by which occaſion, hee was diſmiſſed of the charge of Procurator of Saint *Marke*, and confined to *Cherſo*. He brake his limitation, and withdrew himſelfe to *Rome* to the Cardinall his ſonne: where he had ſo many worthy Offices impoſed vpon him, as, not onely he was re-eſtabliſhed in his Atturneys place againe; but he was likewiſe made Duke, at the age of foure ſcore and two yeares, and gouerned but one yeare, ten moneths, and two dayes.

77 *Andrea Grutti*, gaining the beſt part of the glorie, for the reprizall of *Padua*, was in very great eſteeme. Hee dealt ſo with the King of *Fraunce*, (to whome he was priſoner) that his Maieſtie allied himſelfe with the Common-wealth, and *Breſcia* and *Verona* were reconquerd. He knew very well, how to make his carriage pleaſing to the Senate, during the warres betweene *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, and King *Frauncis* the firſt; as alſo againſt *Solyman*. He gouerned fifteene yeares, ſeauen moneths, and eight dayes.

78 *Pietro Lando* continued the defence of the Commonwealth againſt the *Turke*: with whom (at laſt) he made a peace, knowing how to make vſe thereof, and maintaine his owne charge, whileſt the warre continued betweene *Charles* the fift, and King *Frances* the firſt. Hee gouerned ſixe yeares, and eight moneths.

79 *Franceſco Donato*, making benefite alſo of this peace, beautified the Cittie with many goodly buildings, beſides that of the Pallace. He ſent ſuccor to the Emperour, againſt certaine Rebells in *Germanie*. The Princes of *Guiſe*, coming to *Venice* in his time, were entertained as fitted their degree. He gouerned ſeauen yeares, and ſixe moneths.

80 *Marco Antonio Treuiſano*, a man altogether deuout, laboured that the Common-wealth might abound in goodneſſe and ciuill manners; preuenting (by his owne worthy example) that vices ſhould not be wincked at, as, in too many countries they are. He gouerned a yeare, wanting three dayes.

81 *Franceſco Veniero*, could ſo well skill of gouerning the Common-wealth, that albeit the Turke (in his time) made warre in *Apulia*, and the King of *Fraunce* in *Tuſcanie*: yet all was well at *Venice*, and the Queene of *Poland* roially welcommed thither. He gouernd two yeares, one moneth and twenty dayes.

82 *Lorenzo Priuli*, was ſollicited (by the Pope) to make warre againſt the Emperor. But, he being a friend to the Common-wealth; by no meanes would offend him, but mediated a pacification of thoſe affaires. In his time peace was made betweene *Fraunce* and *Spaine*, and *Charles* the fift dyed. This Prince gouerned three yeares, eleauen moneths, and eight dayes.

83 *Girolamo Priuli*, brother to the precedẽt prince, enioyed thoſe great honors, which Pope *Pius* the fourth gaue vnto the common-wealth: And all his delight was to heare ambaſſadors in the hall of Kings.

In

In his time the Councel of *Trent* was concluded, whither he sent (as Ambassadors) *Nicholo de Ponte*, and *Matheo Dandolo*.

The Common-wealth helde (at Baptisme) the sonne to the Duke of *Sauoy*, by a Deputie borne of *Margueret* of *Fraunce*. He dyed, hauing gouerned eight yeares, two moneths, and foure dayes.

84 *Pietro Loredano*, by the concurrence of two others, was elected Duke, contrarie to the hope of all, or his owne expectation. The *Arsenall* was burned in his time, and there then also happened a very great dearth of all things. *Selim*, successour of *Solyman*, tooke occasion to breake peace with the Common-wealth, demaunding of them the kingdome of *Cyprus*, and moued warre vpon this Subiect. He gouerned foure yeares, fiue moneths, and eight dayes.

85 *Luigi Mocenigo*, warre being kindled against the Turke, lost the kingdome of *Cyprus*, *Nicosia* being taken, and *Famagosta* surrendered. The Common-wealth made league with Pope *Pius* the fifth, and *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, so that their armies (being ioyned togither in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred seuenty one) they obtayned a worthy victorie against the *Turkes*. Soone after, *Henry* the third, king of *France*, came to *Venice*, where he was magnificently entertayned. This Prince dyed in his seauenth yeare.

86 *Sebastiano Veniero*, was elected by common voyce, and with such applause, that diuers *Turkes* ranne to him and kissed his feete. He created fiue Correctours of the Lawes, for ruling the affaires of the Pallace. The Citty was deliuered of a dangerous plague, and the Pallace was againe very greatly defaced by fire. This prince gouernd not aboue a whole yeare.

87 *Nicholo de Ponte*, was created Duke, a man very learned in all the Sciences, and whereof hee had made publike profession in *Venice*. He passed thorow all the honors of the Common-wealth, wherewith the Citizens could possibly gratifie him. The Seminary of Saint *Marke* was instituted by him. Certaine princes of *Iapponia* arriuing then at *Venice*, were by him most honourably entertained. He builded the bridge of *Canareggio*: and gouerned seuen yeares, nine moneths, and thirteen dayes.

88 *Paschale Cicogna*, Procuratour of S. *Marke*, was elected when he was at diuine Seruice in the Church. In his time there was great warres, betweene *Fraunce* and *Spayne* about *Piedmont*, and betweene the Emperour and the *Turke*, for some parts in *Hungaria*. He caused the towne of *Palma* to bee builded, in the confines of the Countrey of *Friuli*, and a new castle or fortresse, in the Isle of *Cephalonia*. He had the honor of the wonderfull bridge of the *Rialto*, which he builded: And gouerned ten yeares, or thereabout.

89 *Marino Grimini*, Procuratour of Saint *Marke*, was so highly in grace and fauour of the people, that on the day of his Election; they declared extraordinarie signes of ioy, and continued them for many following dayes. The second yeare of his Principality, he caused the dutchesse his wife to be crowned in great triumph. At which time, Pope *Clement* the eight sent her the Rose of gold. In his time was much ioy and triumph made, for the peace concluded betweene the Kings of *Fraunce* and *Spayne*. Vpon occasion of the Popes comming to *Ferrara*, obtained by the Ecclesiasticall Estate, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* passed thence to *Venice*, where he was most honourably wel-comed, with diuers other Cardinalls. There was such an extraordinary ouer-flow of waters, in the fift yeare of his Principality, that the Barkes, Boates, and Gundoloes floated on the place of Saint *Mark*, euen as if they had beene in a full maine riuer. He dyed, and was much bemoaned of the people, hauing gouernd ten yeares, and eight moneths.

90 *Leonardo Dandolo*, hauing by his worthy deseruings, singuler wisedome and dexterity, mannaged passed affaires, and gone thorow all honors of the Common-wealth, giuing euident testimonie of his care and faithfulnesse; was aduaunced in the place of *Grimani*, the tenth day of Ianuary, 1606. He had beene sent Ambassadour to *Constantinople* to *Mahomet* (hee being newly come to the Empire of the East) in the Common-wealths name, to salute him with accustomed complemēts. He hath such a practick braine, & so happie a memory, seated in a soule so religiously zealous for common benefite; that the Senate hath referred more vnto him, then to any other of his Predecessours.

The Cttie hath (in his time) beene excommunicated, by *Paulus Quintus*, now Pope,

Pope, about some pretentions appertaining to his See: But it may well be sayd of this Prince, that, against such Thunderclappes and Lightning flashes, hee hath shewne himselfe an immoueable rocke, in defence of that estate in generall. In like maner, two principall Pillers of Christendome, threatned great disaster and ruine: but that most Christian *Henry* the fourth, King of *Fraunce*, embracing those two Collomnes, vpheld both the one and other, and redressed all discontentment, by the entermise of his Ambassadours, and hath erected a triumphall Arche, to the immortalitie of his glorie. This Prince now liuing happily in peace, doth daily acknowledge to *Fraunce*, his particular affection for such fauour, & may (in time) much better declare it. God long preserue him, and all other good Princes.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of Wounds made by Gun-shot, and other fierie Engines.*

IN the yeare of our Lord, 1536. the victorious king *Fraunces* sent a great Armie vnto *Piedmont*, to vitaile *Thurin*, and to recouer those townes and castles, which had beene taken by the Marquesse *Du Guasto*, Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, where Monsieur the Constable, then great Master, was Lieutenant generall of the Army, and Mounsieur *de Monte-jan* Captaine generall of the Footmen (of whom I was then Chirurgian.) A great part of the Armie arriued at the *Pas* of *Suze*, where we found the enemie keeping the passage, and had made vnto themselues certayne forts and trenches; in such sort, that before they could be raised from thence, wee entered into battell: in which conflict there was many hurt and slaine, as well on the one side as on the other. But they were inforced to quit that passage, and to recouer the castle; which they held not long, but were compelld to giue it vp; marching away in their shirts onely, hauing each of them a white Wand in their hands: of whom, the most part went to the Castle *de Villane*, where there was about some two hundred *Spaniards*. To this castle my Lord the Constable drew his forces, because hee would make his way cleare before him. It is situate vpon a little Mountaine, which giueth great assurance to those within, that there can bee no Ordinance planted against it, to batter it downe. They were summoned to restore it vp, or else were threatned to haue it battered in peeces; which they flatly refused: answering withall, that they were as good and faithfull seruants to the Emperour, as Mounsieur the Constable was to the King his maister. Their answer being vnderstoode, the same night there was mounted two great Canons, by the force of armes with ropes and cordes, by the *Switzers*, where, (as mis-fortune would) those cannons being planted, a Gunner by indiscretion fired a barrel of Gun-pouder, wherewith he himselfe was extreamely burned, together with tenne or twelue soldiers. Moreouer, the flame of the pouder was the cause of the discouerie of the Ordinance, whereby those of the Castle, the night following, discharged their Ordinance at that place where they discouered our Cannons; insomuch, that we had many of our men hurt and slaine.

Pas of Suze.

The Castle de Villane besiedged and taken.

The morrow after, very early wee beganne the battery, and in few houres after the breach was made; which those of the Castle perceiuing, desired a parley, but it was too late; for in the meane time some of our foot-men, perceiuing them to be astonished, mounted the breach, and entred the Castle, putting euery man to the sword, except onely a certaine beautifull *Piedmontese*, which a great Lord entertained into his seruice. The Captaine and Ancient were taken aliue, but were presently after hanged vpon the Gate of the Towne, to terrifie the rest of the Emperours souldiers, not to be so foole-hardie, to hold such places against so great an armie. Now, the souldiers of the Castle seeing our men rushing in vpon them in such great furie, made all the resistance they could to defend themselues, in killing and wounding a great number of our Souldiers with their pikes and muskets; where the Chirurgians had a great deale of work cut out to their hands.

I was (at that time) but a yong Chirurgian,

The Author entreth into the matter.

gian, and but little experienced in the Art, becauſe I neuer (as yet) had ſeene the curation of anie Wounds made by Gun-ſhot. True it is, that I had read *Iohn de Vigo*, his firſt booke of Wounds in generall, chap. 8. where he ſaith, That thoſe wounds made by fiery Engines, do participate of venenoſity, becauſe of the Powder; and for their curation, he commands to cauterize them with the Oile of Elders mixed with a litle Treacle: yet neuertheleſſe, becauſe I would not be deceiued, before I would make vſe of the ſaid boyling oile, knowing that it brought with it extreme paine to the Patient, I obſerued the methode of other Chirurgians in the firſt dreſſing of ſuch wounds; which was by the application & infuſion of the foreſaid Oile, as hot as poſſibly they could ſuffer it, with Tents and Setons: wherefore I became emboldned to do as they did. But in the end my oile failed mee, ſo that I was conſtrained to vſe in ſtead thereof, a digeſtiue made of the yolke of an egge, Oile of Roſes and Terebinth. The night following, I could hardly ſleep at mine eaſe, fearing leſt that for wãt of cauterizing, I ſhold find my Patients, on whom I had not vſed of the aforeſaid Oyle, dead and empoyſoned; which made mee to riſe earely in the morning to viſit them: where, beyond my expectation, I found thoſe on whom I had vſed the digeſtiue medicine, to feele but little paine, and their wounds without inflammation or tumor, hauing reſted well all that night. The reſt, on whom the aforeſaide Oile was applyed, I found them inclining to Feauers, with great paine, tumor, and inflammation about their Wounds: then I reſolued with my ſelfe, neuer to burne ſo cruelly the wounded Patients by Gun-ſhot any more.

A remedy found by accident.

When we entred *Thurin*, I was tolde of a Chirurgian, who was exceeding famous, eſpecially for his curing wounds made by Gun-ſhot, with whom I found the means to acquaint my ſelfe: yet it was neare two yeares and a halfe, before hee would acquaint mee with his Medicine which hee called his Balme. In the meane time, Mounſieur the Marſhall of *Montejan*, who was Lieutenant generall of the King in *Piedmont*, dyed: then I tolde this Chirurgian, that I had a deſire to returne to *Paris*, withall, requeſting him, that he would performe his promiſe, which was, to giue me the receit of his Balme, which he willingly did, ſeeing that I was to leaue that country. He ſent me to fetch him two yong whelps, one pound of earth-worms, two pounds of the oyle of Lillies, ſix ounces of the Terebinth of *Venice*, and one ounce of *Aqua-vitæ*: and in my preſence, he boiled the whelps aliue in the ſaid oile, vntill the fleſh departed from the bones. Afterward, he tooke the wormes (hauing before killed and purified them in white Wine, to purge themſelues of the earth which they haue alwayes in their bodies:) being ſo prepared, he boyled them alſo in the ſaid oile, till they became dry; this he ſtrained thorow a napkin, without anie great expreſſion; that doone, hee added thereto the Terebinth: and laſtly, the *Aqua-vitæ*, and called God to witneſſe, that this was his Balme which hee vſed in all wounds made by Gun-ſhot, and in others which required ſuppuration; withal, praying me not to divulge his ſecret

From thence I returned to *Paris*, where ſhortly after, Mounſieur *Siluius*, Lecturer of the King in Phyſicke, a man greatly eſteemd among learned men, requeſted me one day to dine with him, which I did willingly; where hee asked me many Queſtions, and among the reſt, of the eſſence of wounds made by Gunne-ſhot, and of the combuſtions made by Gunne-pouder. Whereupon, I preſently prooued vnto him, that the pouder was not any thing venomous at all; becauſe that no Simple that enters therein is any way venomous, much leſſe the compoſition. Alſo, I haue ſeene by experience, that ſome Souldiers being hurt, will take of the ſaid powder in wine, ſaying; That pouder ſo taken, doth preſerue the body from the enſuing accidents, the which I approue not. Alſo, others hauing vlcers on their bodies, doe commonly vſe of the ſaid pouder drie, and heale them without any daunger at all. And as for the Bullets, they can not containe any ſuch heat, that they ſhould haue the faculty of burning: for a bullet being ſhot againſt a ſtone-wall, it may preſently be helde in the naked hand, although the colliſſion made againſt the Stones, ſhould (in reaſon) heate it the more: And as for combuſtions or burnings made by Gun-pouder, I neuer found any particular accident in it, whereby the cure ought to be diuerſified from the cure of other combuſtions.

Gunpowder not venomous

wounds made by gunſhot, are without cumbuſtion.

bustions. Whereupon, I related this Hi-
History. story. A certaine boy of the Kitchin, of Mounsieur the Marshall *de Monte-jan*, fell into a Caldron full of oyle, almost boyling hote; to dresse whom being sent for, I went presently to an Apothecarie, demanding of him such cooling medicines, which are commonly applyed vnto burnings. An auncient Countrey-woman being by, hearing mee speake of this burning, counselled me to apply for the first dressing (to preuent the rising of pustules or bladders) of rawe onions, bruised with a little salt. I demaunded of this woman, Whether she had euer made experience of that Medicine before: Shee presently sware vnto me in her language, *Si messé, à la fe de dé*; which did incite me to make experience heereof, on this scullion of the Kitchin, where truely I found the morrow after, that in those parts, where the Onions had touched, to bee altogether free from vessickes or blisters, and the other parts, where the Onions were not applyed, to be much blistered.

* *Yea Sir, by the Faith of God.*

Not long after, a certaine Dutch-man, one of the guard of the said Lord *de Monte-jan*, hauing drunke hard, by indiscreti-
History. on; set his Flask afire, which caused a great disaster, both to his hands and face; and being called to dresse him, I applyed of the saide Onions on the one halfe of his face; and on the other side, of other common remedies. At the second dressing, I found that part where I had applied the Onions, to be altogether without blisters, or any excoriation, and the other altogether blistred: then I first purposed to write of the effect of the said Onions.

How the Patient ought to be situate in the extraction of Bullets.

Moreouer, I tolde vnto the sayd *Syluius*, that for the better extraction of bullets which are hidden in any part of the body, it is requisit, the Patient should be placed in the same situation, that he was in at that time when he was wounded. Many other things I discouered vnto him, which are contayned in this Booke following. My Discourse ended, he prayed me very earnestly, that I would publish it by writing; to the end, that that false opinion of *Vigo* might be altogether abolished; the which I willingly consented vnto, and caused many instruments to be cut, such as had not beene divulged, for the extraction of Bullets, and other vnnaturall things out of the body.

And it was first Imprinted in the yeare, 1545. and well receiued, which caused me to renew it agayne, and publish it the second time, in the yeare 1550. and lastly, in the yeare, 1564. where I haue enriched it with many other things, because I haue since followed the warres, haue beene in many battells, and besieged Townes, as in *Metz* and *Hedin*. Also, I haue beene entertayned into the seruice of fiue Kings, where I haue alwayes discoursed with the most excellent Physitians and Chirurgians of those times, to learne and discouer, if there were any other methode or way, to cure those wounds made by gun-shot; whereof the most part (specially those that haue followed the warres, and are guided by reason and experience) are of my opinion, which is, to vse Suppuratiues in the beginning, and not boyling oyles. And I did protest moreouer to the sayd *Syluius*, that I haue found those wounds as easie to cure (being in fleshy partes) as all other great contused wounds are. But, where the Bullet meeteth with the bones and neruous parts, it teareth, dilacerateth, breaketh, and shiuereth in peeces, not onely where it toucheth, but also the circumiacent parts, without any mercy; causing great accidents, which happen specially in the iounctures or ioynts, and in bodies of euill constitution, and in time subiect to corruption, that is to say, where the Ayre is hote and moyst, then is the cure most difficult, and oftentimes impossible; not onely of wounds made by gunshot, but also of those which are made by other instruments; yea, though they were but in fleshie parts.

The cause that maketh wounds by gun shot hard to be cured.

Therefore, the aforesaid accidents do not proceede from the venenosity which is in the powder, or by the combustion or burning of the Bullet. For proofe of which, I will alleadge this obseruation, which I haue experimented (not long since) on the person of the Earle of *Gourdon*, Lord of *Achindon*, a Scottish-man, whom I cured by the commaundement of the Queene-mother, who was hurt with the shot of a Pistoll cleane through both the thighs, without fracture of the bones; he standing so neare the mouth of the Pistoll, that the fire tooke holde of his breeches; neuertheless, hee was perfectly cured in two and thirtie dayes, without a Feauer or anie other euill accident. I
History.

dreſt him at S. *Iohn de Latran*, in the houſe of the Archiſhoppe of *Glaſco*, then Ambaſſadour for *Scotland*, who came euery day to ſee him dreſt. Moreouer, for teſtimony, I could produce Mounſieur *Brigard*, Doctor Regent in the facultie of Phiſicke, who was an aſſiſtant with me; together with *Iames Guillemeau*, Chirurgian to the King, and ſworne at *Paris*, who was with me vntill his perfect curation. The ſame likewiſe Mounſieur *Hautin*, Doctour Regent in the faculty of Phyſicke can teſtifie, who ſometimes came to ſee him. Alſo *Giles Buzet*, Scotchman and Chirurgian, euery of them maruailing how hee became ſo ſoone cured, without the application of hot and ſharp medcines. Now, the reaſon wherefore I haue made this litle Diſcourſe, is to demonſtrate, that it is aboue 30. yeares agoe, ſince I firſt found out this maner of curing wounds made by gunſhot, without the vſe of boiling oiles, or any other ſharp or burning medicines, vnleſſe I was conſtrained to vſe them, for ſuch accidents which hapned in *Cacochymed* bodies, or through the euil diſpoſition and malignancy of the ayre, as I will ſhew more amply in this Diſcourſe following, which I made vnto the deceaſſed King, after the taking of *Roan*.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ *A Anſwer vnto a certayne demaund, propounded by the victorious Prince Charles the ninth, as touching the qualitie and Eſſence of wounds made by Gunne-ſhotte, at his Maieſties returne from the ſiege, and taking of the Towne of Roan.*

Occaſion of this diſcourſe.

IT one day pleaſed your Maieſtie, together with the Queene-Mother, my L. the prince of *La Roche-ſur Yon*, and many other Princes and great Lords, to demād of me how it came to paſſe, that in theſe laſt warres, the moſt part of ſuch Gentlemen & Soldiers, who were wounded by Gun-ſhot, & other inſtruments of war, died, or were very hardly recouered from their diſeaſes, although the wounds they receiued were but of ſmall apparāce, and the Chirurgians which were employed for their cures, did performe their duties according to Art; I haue bin the bolder to publiſh this diſcourſe, to ſatisfie (in ſome meaſure) the duty of my Art, & that my Profeſſion might not be ſpotted with the leaſt diſhonor; and that your Maieſtie might vnderſtād the reaſons, which might haue bin the cauſe of the death of ſo many valiant mē; the moſt part of whom I haue ſeene (to my great griefe) to finiſh theyr dayes pittifully, without any poſſibilitie in mee, or anie other more experienced then my ſelfe to giue them remedy.

Inſinuation into the good acceptance of thoſe who are of the contrary opinion.

I know that this following Diſcourſe will aſtoniſh ſome, who repoſing themſelues vppon their owne particular opinions, and not examining the matter deeply, will finde the firſt front of my diſputation very ſtrange; becauſe that the contrary hath beene ſo long imprinted in their fantaſies. For I doe hold, that the cauſe of the malignancy of wounds by Gun-ſhot, not to proceed from any poyſon or venomous quality in the pouder (as they imagine) or from the Bullet it ſelfe, being rubbed or infuſed in any venomous mixture. Neuertheleſſe, if their meekeneſſe and patience will extend ſo farre, as firſt to weigh the motiues, which firſt moued me to vndertake this ſubiect, which was a zeale of the publique good; towards the which the Lawe of Nature bindeth me, to ſhew the vttermoſt of my power in ſuch things which the ſingular prouidence of Almighty God hath reuealed vnto me. And ſecondly, that they will examine with iudgement, the reaſons which I ſhall vſe in this preſent Treatiſe: then I ſhall bee certayne, they will both accept my labour thankefully, and free it from all future calumnie. Otherwiſe they will ſhew themſelues to be ſo ill affectioned toward me, as if I ſhould preſent my ſelfe before them, enriched with all the treaſures of the auncient Philoſophers, and they ſhould place mee in the number of the pooreſt and ignoranteſt men in the world. To preuent therefore all the Arguments of venome and poiſoning, which the Aduerſaries heere aboue mentioned may alleadge, I will make it plaine vnto your Maieſtie, that ſuch as are wounded by gunne-ſhot; I ſay the malignancie of ſuch wounds, not to proceed from the venome of the Powder, beeing of it ſelfe ſimply conſidered: and much leſſe from the cobuſtion or cauterization which the Bullet

The Author propoſeth two points, which he would refute, viz. the poyſon of the powder, and the fire of the Bullet.

Bullet so heated by the fire of the powder can make in those parts, which it rendeth & dilacerateth thorow the violence thereof: although neuertheleſſe ſome do ſtriue to maintayne; alledging for all, reaſons, That a certayne Tower full of powder hath heeretofore beene ſeene ruinated in an inſtant, onely by the meanes of a Cannon ſhot. Alſo of a thatched houſe ſet on fire with a Musket ſhotte. Moreouer, becauſe that ſuch wounds which are made by Gunne-ſhotte, we commonly behold their Orifices and other circum-iacent parts ſo blacke, as if an actuall Cauter had paſſed thereon. As alſo the fall of a certayne eſcarre, as they ſay. All which Arguments are ſo ill framed, that they deſerue no authoritie, beeing builded on ſo ſlender a foundation: much leſſe, that the reſolution of your demaund ſhould be taken from them, as I truſt to giue you plainely to vnderſtand in the Diſputation following. Which (after I had ſeene a great number of thoſe wounds, and diligently obſerued them, handling them according to the methode) I haue collected from the auncient Philoſophers, Phyſitians, and Chirurgians to preſent vnto your Maieſty, and to withdrawe your minde from the admiration of the lamentable death of ſo many braue Gentlemen and Souldiers.

The preſent diſputation is taken from Philoſophers, Phyſitions & Chirurgians.

Now, to enter into the matter propoſed, and to anſwer the Arguments before alledged, we are firſt to examine, whether there be any poyſon incloſed in the powder, or no: And if there bee, whether it may infect by meanes of the pretended poyſon thereof. Which, that it may appeare plainely, wee muſt ſearch into the compoſition of the ſayd powder, conſidering that it is not of ſubſtance ſimple, but compound: and ſo by examining the nature of ſuch Simples, which enter into the compoſition thereof; I meane their qualities, effects, and operations, we ſhall the ſooner attaine to the ſcope and intention pretended.

The compoſition of the powder.

As for the Simples, it is a moſt aſſured thing, that there are but three in all, which make the compoſition thereof, that is to ſay, coales of willow or birch, ſulphure, and ſalt-peter, and ſometimes *Aqua-vitæ*: which ingredients ſeuerally conſidered, are altogether exempt and free from poyſon, or any venomous quality. And firſt for the coales, there is not any thing conſiderable in them, vnleſſe it bee a drying quality, of ſubtile ſubſtance, by meanes whereof it is apt to take fire, euen as a linnen cloth burned into Tinder doth the ſparkes that fall from a Flint ſtone. Sulphure is hote and drie, neuertheleſſe, not exceſſiue, and of a more oilie and viſcuous ſubſtance, yet not ſo eaſie to inflame as coales, although it doth retaine the fire more forcibly when it is once inflamed, and is very hardly extinguiſhed. As for the ſalt-peter, it is ſuch, that many make vſe thereof inſtead of ſalt. Now let vs examine, whether there be any venenoſity in the nature of theſe ſimples; namely, in that of ſulphure, which is the moſt ſuſpected. *Dioſcorides* in his fift booke, chap. 37. preſcribeth it to be taken in an Egge, in the aſtmaticke paſſion, coughes, and to ſuch which ſpit matter, and thoſe that haue the Iaundiſe. And *Galen* in his ninth booke of his Simples, cha. 36. ordaineth it as a topicall remedy, vnto ſuch who are bitten by venomous beaſts; and in all malignant practiſes or itchings; as for the *Aqua-vitæ*, it is a thing ſubtile, that it will euaporate if it be ſet in the ayre; beſides, it is vſed by moſt Chirurgians inwardly in drinkes, and outwardly in embrocations as a moſt ſingular medicine. Theſe things conſidered, make mee to affirme, that the whole compoſition of powder is altogether free from venome or poyſon, ſeeing that the ingredients are altogether cleare from the leaſt touch in that kind.

Salt-peter is Salt of ſtones.

Moreouer, I haue obſerued it to bee the practiſe of the *Hollanders*, beeing wounded by Gunne-ſhotte, to diſſolue two charges of powder in Wine, and to drinke it off, hoping, by that meanes to be freed from all future accidents which might happen to their wounds (although I doe not approoue thereof, becauſe it is a moſt inſufficient remedy.) Alſo, ſuch vlcers which are made through the combuſtion of powder, are of no other nature then thoſe that are made by fire, or ſcalding water. But, wherefore ſhould I alledge any forraine example? Do we not ſee amongſt our owne ſouldiers, I do not know on what occaſion, but only to ſhew themſelues braue fellowes, to emptie their charges of pouder into their cuppes, and drinke it without anie inconuenience at all; and others in like manner, beeing

hurt on any part of their bodies, will apply of the same vpon their vlcers to drie them, and finde much profit by it. As for those which do affirme that it is not in the powder, but the Bullet, which being subtilly pierced in many places, or filled vp with venome, or stieped, rubbed, or mixed with any poyson, causeth the aforesayd daungerous accidents: To such do I answer without further trouble, that the fire set to the powder, is sufficient to purifie the poyson of the Bullet, if any there were; the which can not be done by impoysoned Swords, Pikes, Arrowes, and such like, because they passe not thorow the action of the fire. Briefly, to confirme my opinion to be true, there is not anie one of those that were in your Maiesties Campe at *Roan*, that doth not assuredly know, that those Bullets which were shotte against those of the Towne, to be altogether free from poyson. Neuertheless, the besieged Towne-men affirmed, that all those Bullets were poysoned. Also, the Souldiers of your Maiesties Camp had the same opinion, of such Bullets which were shot at them out of the town, that they were all impoysoned by them; rather beleeuing and iudging of the qualitie of the wounds by their euill succesſe, then by the Causes whereby they were made.

Refutation of those that affirme the Bullet to be impoysoned.

True it is, that as in Physicke, according to the Sentence of *Hyppocrates* in the *Epidemies*; as *Galen* noteth on the twenty sentence, and the twenty one of the third Section of the third booke, all diseases are called Pestilentiall and venomous, being from common and general causes of what kinde soeuer they be, and such kill many persons: so in the like maner, we may call such wounds as are made by Gunne-shot venomous, which are more difficult to heale then others; not because they doe participate of any venonosity, but from some generall cause depending, either frō the *Cacochimie* of the body, putrifaction of the aire, or the corruption of the victualls, whereby those vlcers are brought to be more malignant *Cacoethes*, and rebellious to all medicines.

Refutation of those that affirme that the Bullet causeth combustion.

To affirme, that it is onely the combustion of the bullet, which causeth the afore said danger; I cannot conceiue their reasons, seeing that the Bullet is (for the most part) made but of lead, and therefore vnable to indure any great heate, without being altogether dissolued, which we neuertheless do see to passe thorow a coat Armour, and to penetrate the body through and through, and yet to remaine whole.

Moreouer, we do obserue, that if a Bullet be shot against a stone, or against anie solid matter, it may in the same instant be handled of vs in our hands, without feeling any notable heate, although the violent striking and colliſſion made against the stone, should in reason encrease the heate, if anie there were. And which is more, if a Bullet bee shot against a bagge full of powder, the fire will not endanger it. This I dare be bolde to say and affirme moreouer, That if a quantitie of powder should take fire, being kept in a Tower, or any other place, by the meanes of a Bullet shot; it was not the heate of the Bullet, but rather the violent striking of the Bullet against the stones of the said Tower, which might cause sparkes of fire to fall amongst the powder; euen as the smiting of a steele against a flint stone. The like wee may iudge of such thatched houses, which haue bene set on fire by a musket shot, to haue rather proceeded from some wad, either of Towe or Paper, rammed in with the powder, and so fired with it. But that which doth most confirme mee in the assurance of mine opinion, is, that if a ball of Waxe be shot out of a Musket, it feeleth no force of fire at all, for then would it melt; neuertheless, it will pierce an inch boord. An argument of sufficient weight to prooue, that the Bullets cannot be so extreamely heated by the force of the powder, that they should cauterize and burne, as many haue esteemed.

An example of a Ball of Waxe.

And as for that blackenesse, which is ordinarily found to be about the Orifices of such wounds, and other adiacent parts: I affirme, that this accident doth not proceed from any qualitie of fire accompanying the Bullet, but because of the great convulsion that it maketh. For it cannot enter into the body otherwise then by an extreame and incredible force, because it is of a round figure.

Whence it prodeedeth, that wounds made by gunshot, are ordinarily blacke.

Vpon this point, if the wounded persons themselues be demaunded; I beleeue they will testifie the trueth of my saying, because they are no sooner strooke with the Bullet, but they doe feele in the same instant, as if a club or some other heauie burthen

burthen were falne on the offended part, in the which they feele a heauy paine, with a benummed ſtupifaction of the part; which diſſipateth and ſometimes extinguiſheth the naturall heate, together with the ſpirites contayned therein; from whence there foloweth oftentimes a gangrene and mortification of the part, yea ſometimes of the whole body. And as for the Eſcarre which they affirme there to be, and fall away as they ſay, they doe abuſe themſelues: for it is onely ſome certaine portion of the membranes and contuſed fleſh, dilacerated by the Bullet, which becometh corrupted, and ſo ſeperateth it ſelfe from the ſound parts which are greatly contuſed.

Reaſons of thoſe of contrary opinion.

Although that theſe reaſons doe make it manifeſt enough, that there is no venomous qualitie in the powder, nor action of fire carryed with the Bullet; neuertheleſſe, many, building their opinions vpon naturall Philoſophie, doe maintayne the contrarie, affirming that Cannon ſhot is like vnto the clappes of Thunder, which burſt foorth of the Clouds in the middle Region of the ayre, and ſo fall violently on the earth. From the which ſimilitude they would inferre and conclude, that there is both fire, and a venomous qualitie in the Bullet, as it proceedeth out of the mouth of the Cannon. I know (I thanke God) that Thunder beeing ingendered from a groſſe and viſcuous exhalation, by means of vapour conioyned with it, doth neuer breake foorth of the Clouds to penetrate heere below; but it draweth and bringeth immediately with it a certaine fire, ſometimes more ſubtle, ſometimes more groſſe, according to the diuerſitie of the matter, whereof the exhalation is compoſed. For *Seneca* writeth in the ſecond Booke of his Naturall Queſtions, chapter 49. that there are three kindes of Thunders, all differing the one from the other, according to the quantitie and manner of their inflammation. The firſt, by reaſon of the matter thereof, it being moſt thin and ſubtle, it doth pierce & penetrate ſuddenly the obiects which it toucheth. The ſecond kind, by reaſon of the violence thereof, breaketh and diſſipateth the ſame things, becauſe the matter thereof is more violent, and compact as a tempeſt. The third ſort being compoſed of a more earthie matter, burneth with manifeſt tokens of the heate thereof. I alſo know, that the Thunder is of nature peſtilentiall and fætide, becauſe of the groſe & ſlimy matter thereof; which being burnd, leaueth behind it ſuch a ſtinking ſauor, that all animals do ſo much auoid it, that if it do happen to fal into their dennes, other places of haunt, they will vtterly abandon and forſake ſuch places; ſo much do they hate the infectious ſtinke of that poiſon. The ſame is noted by *Olaus Magnus*, in his Septentrionall Hiſtorie, that in certayne places where Thunder hath falne, preſently after the fall thereof, the fields haue beene found afterwards to be couered & ſtrewed ouer with ſulphure, neuertheleſſe vnprofitable, and almoſt extinguiſhed. For all theſe reaſons, I muſt not confeſſe, that the blows of Gun-ſhot are accompanyed with poyſon and fire, as the clappes of Thunder are. For although they doe agree the one with the other, in ſome ſimilitude, it is not therefore in their ſubſtance and matter, but rather in the manner which they haue to batter, teare, and diſſipate the obiects which they doe meete with, that is to ſay, the clappes of Thunder through the force of fire; and of the bolte or ſtone ſometimes engendered therein: and the blowes of Gunne-ſhot by the meanes of the Ayre forced away by impetuoſitie, and ſo conducting the Bullet, cauſeth the like diſaſter. What if I ſhould be conuicted by ſtronger Arguments, ſo that I were enforced to auouch, that Thunder and the Cannon to be of the like ſubſtance; yet I ſhould neuer bee forced to ſay, that the ſhotte of the Cannons and Muskets doe participate of a fierie qualitie. *Plinie* ſaith in the ſecond Booke of his Hiſtorie, and the 51. chapter, that among Thunder, one kinde is compoſed of a marueilous drie matter, diſſipating all ſuch things it meeteth withall; neuertheleſſe, without anie ſigne of burning: others, of a more humid nature, which in like manner burneth not, but blacketh and diſcoloreth much, more then the firſt. Others are compoſed of a very cleare and ſubtile matter: the nature whereof is moſt maruellous, forſomuch that it is not to be doubted (as *Seneca* hath well ſaid) that there is therein a certayne diuine vertue: and it is in melting Golde or Siluer in a mans purſe, the purſe it ſelfe not beeing ſo much as touched therewith.

Anſwere to the contrary Reaſons.

Seneca. Three kindes of Thunders.

A marueilous effect of thunders.

Alſo in melting a ſword, the ſcabberd thereof remayning whole. Alſo, in diſſoluing into droppes the yron head of a Pike, without burning, or ſo much as heating the wood. In ſhedding the wine out of a veſſell, without burning or breaking of the caske. According to the aforeſayd teſtimony, I can aſſure you, and that without any preiudice, that thoſe Thunders, which onelie breake and diſſipate without any burning; and ſuch which do leaue effects full of great admiration, not to be much vnlike in ſubſtance to the Canon ſhott, and not thoſe which carrie immediately with them the action of fire.

Example. To prooue my ſaying true, this one example ſhall ſuffice. A certaine Souldier receyued a wound in his Thigh with a Musket ſhot, from whence I extracted a bullet; the which beeing wrapped in the Taffatie of his breeches, made a very deepe wound. Neuertheleſſe, I drew it forth of the wound with the ſame Taffatie, it being without any ſigne of burning.

And which is more, I haue ſeene many men, who not beeing ſhot, nor anie thing touched therewith, vnleſſe it were in their apparrell only; haue receiued ſuch an aſtoniſhment by a Cannon ſhot, that onely paſſed nere them: that their members thereby haue become blacke and liuid; and ſhortly after, haue fallen into a gangrene and mortification, whereof in the end they haue dyed.

Theſe effects are like vnto thoſe of the thunder before ſpoken of. Neuertheleſſe, there is not in them any fire or poyſon: which maketh mee conclude, that there is no poyſon in the common and ordinarie powder. Seeing therefore, that this diſaſter was common to all thoſe which were hurt in theſe laſt warres, and yet neither by fire or poyſon that ſo many valiant men dyed. To what cauſe may wee impute this euill? I am ſo confident of the true cauſe (my Liege) that I hope preſently to make your Maieſtie vnderſtand the ſame, to the end that your demaund may be fully ſatisfied.

Thoſe which haue conſumed their age and ſtudy in the ſecrets of naturall Philoſophie, haue left vs this amongeſt other things, for authenticke and appooued of all times. Which is, that the Elements doe ſymbolize in ſuch ſort the one with the other, that they doe ſometimes tranſforme and change themſelues, the one into the other, in ſuch ſort, that not onelie their firſt qualities, which are heate, coldnes, drineſſe and moyſture: but alſo their ſubſtances are changed, by rarification or condenſation of themſelues; ſo the fire doth conuert it ſelfe ordinarily into ayre, the aire into water, the water into earth; and contrariwiſe the earth into water, the water into ayre, and the ayre into fire. The which wee may dayly behold, and prooue it by thoſe bellowes of Copper which the Dutchman brings vs, being compoſed in the forme of a Boll, which beeing filled with water, and hauing but one hole in the middeſt of the Sphericall forme thereof: receiueth the tranſmutation of the water within it into ayre, thorow the action of the fire, neare vnto the which the Boll muſt bee placed; and ſo thruſteth the aire forth of it with violence, making a continuall noyſe or ſound, vntil all the ayre be gone foorth of it. The like may be knowne by Egges or Cheſſenuts; for eyther of them being put into the fire before they are crackt, or the Rhinds broken, preſently the watery humidity contained in them, doth conuert it ſelfe into ayre, through the action of the fire: and the ayre in making his paſſage, burſteth the ſhell, becauſe it occupieth more place being in the forme of ayre, into the which it was chaunged by rarification cauſed by the fire, then it did vnder the forme of water; and not finding paſſage, is conſtrained to make one by violence, according vnto the propoſition helde for moſt certayne and true amongeſt all Phyſitians; that is to ſay, of that one part of earth is made tenne of water; and of one part of water is made tenne of ayre, as of one part of aire ten of fire. I do ſay and affirme ſo much of the matters contayned in the ſaid Gun-pouder, which by meanes of the fire is conuerted into a great quantity of ayre; the which becauſe it cannot be contained in the place, where the matter was before the tranſmutation thereof, is compelled to iſſue foorth with an incredible violence: by meanes whereof, the bullet breaketh, ſhiuereth and rendeth all that euer it meets with, yet doth not the fire accompany it. Euen as we ſee a Bow, or a Sling ſhoote foorth an Arrow or Stone, without any aire at all.

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But the bullet driueth before it ſuch a ſubtle winde, and ſo ſwiftly agitated, that ſometimes the very winde it ſelfe, without the action of the Bullet, cauſeth ſtrãge and wonderfull effects. For ſometimes, I haue knowne it make a fracture in the bones, without any diuiſion of the fleſh. And heerein it may be compared (as wee ſaid before) vnto the effect of Thunder; euen ſo we ſee, that if the ſaide powder bee incloſed in Mines and Vaults of the earth, and being conuerted into aire thorough the action of the fire ſet vnto it, howe it doeth ruinate and reuerſe huge maſſes of earth almoſt as bigge as Mountaines. Alſo in this yeare, in your Maieſties Towne of *Paris*, a certaine quantity of powder, but newly made in the *Arcenall*, by taking fire, cauſed ſuch a great tempeſt, that the whole Towne ſhooke at it: for with an horrible fury, it leuelled with the Earth all the houſes neere vnto that place, and diſcouered and battered down the windowes of all thoſe that ſtood within the fury of it. And to be briefe (euen as a clap of thunder) it did reuerſe heere and there many men halfe ſlaine; taking away from ſome their eyes, from others their hearing, and left others no leſſe torne and mangled in their members, then if foure horſes had drawne them in pieces: and all this by the onely agitation of the ayre, into which ſubſtance, the powder was conuerted. The which, according to the quantity and quality of the matter thereof, and according to his motion, either more or leſſe violent, hath cauſed ſo many wonderfull accidents in our Prouinces; altogether like vnto thoſe which are cauſed through the incloſing of windes in the bowels and cauities of the earth, not being perſpirable. The which, ſtriuing to haue vent, bloeth with ſuch a ſtrong and violent agitation, that they make the earth to tremble & quake thereat: thereby deboliſhing Cities, and ruinating buildings, and tranſporting them from one place to another. As the Townes of *Megara* and *Egina*, anciently much celebrated in the Country of *Greece*, periſhing by Earth-quakes can witneſſe vnto vs.

The effect of Artillery like to the thunder

I omit to diſcouer (as but little ſeruing to our purpoſe) how the winde encloſed in the Entrailes of the earth, maketh a noyſe of diuers ſounds, and very ſtrange, according to the diuers formes of the conduits and paſſages, through the which it iſſueth by, euen after the manner of muſicall Inſtruments; the which being large, do giue a great and baſe ſound, & being narrow, do make high and ſharpe notes, and being crooked or replied, make diuers ſounds; as wee ſee by experience in the Huntſmans horne, and in Trumpets, the which alſo, being moiſtned with water, do make a hollow gurguling ſound.

In like manner, theſe noiſes, murmurings, and clamors, are ſundry wayes diuerſified, according to the places whence they proceed; in ſuch ſort, that ſomtimes hath bene heard a clamorous cry, repreſenting (as it ſeemed) the aſſault of a Citty, the cryes and lowings of Buls, or the neighing of Horſes, roaring of Lyons, ſound of Trumpets, reports of Artillery, and many other dreadfull thinges; yea ſometimes humane voyces. As it is reported by one, who had heard a voyce (as it were) of a woman beating; which made (as he imagined) ſuch a wofull and greeuous lamentation; where-with he became ſo greatly affrighted, that he had ſcarſely breath ſufficient to make this report. But when he had well vnderſtood the cauſe of this plaintiue voyce, he was preſently deliuered from that feare, which otherwiſe might haue killed him.

Diuers ſounds iſſuing out of the veines of the earth.

But ſome perhaps will ſay, that theſe things haue alwayes bene, and no leſſe ordinary in the times paſt, then they are at this preſent: and therefore it is a great folly in me to alledge them, for efficient cauſes of the death of ſo many men. The which imputation, I ſhould freely confeſſe, if I ſhould preſent them for ſuch: but ſeeing, that by them I would onely paralel and compare the impetuoſity of Artillery, with that of thunder, and the motions of the earth; which being ſo, it will appeare, that it maketh nothing againſt my firſt intention, as I hope to demonſtrate cleerely, that I am ſlandered without a cauſe, if you pleaſe to giue eare to the deduction following. In the which, I will plainly and briefely deſcribe the true cauſes of the late mortality, which happned among your Highneſſe Soldiers.

Amongſt the things neceſſary for our liues, there is nothing that can more alter our bodyes, then the ayre; the which, continually (willing or vnwilling) we inſpire by thoſe conduites which Nature hath appointed

The true explication of the queſtion.

pointed for that end; as the mouth, the nose, and generally through all the pores of the skinne and Arteries therein infixed, whether wee eate, drinke, watch, or sleepe, or doe any other action, whether Natural, Vitall, or Animall. From thence it commeth, that the aire inspired into the Lungs, the Heart, and the Braine, and vniuersally in all the parts of the bodie, to refresh, and in some measure to nourish the same, is the cause that a man cannot liue one minute without inspiration; according to the which wonderfull benefit, the excellent Physitian *Hippocrates* hath pronounced, and that truly, that the aire hath a kinde of Diuinity in it; because, that in breathing and blowing ouer all parts of the world vniuersally, it doth circumuolue all things therein contayned: nourishing them miraculously, strengthning them firmly, and maintaining them in an amiable Vnion; altogether symbolizing with the Starres and Planets, into the which the diuine prouidence is infused, which changeth the aire at his pleasure, and giueth it power not only ouer the mutation of times and seasons, but also of the alteration of naturall bodyes. And therefore the Philosophers and Physitians haue expressely commanded, that we should haue a principall regarde vnto the situation and motions of the heauenly bodies, and constitutions of the Ayre, when the preseruation of health, or the curation of diseases are in question: but especially the course and mutation of the aire is of great power, as wee may easily iudge by the foure seasons of the yeare. For the Aire being hot and dry in Sommer, our bodies in like manner doth therby become heated and dried: and in winter the humidity and coldnesse of the ayre doth likewise fill our bodies with the very same qualities; in such order neuertheles, and in so good a disposition of nature, that although our temperatures seeme to bee changed, according to the foure seasons of the yeere; we neuertheless receiue no harme thereby, if those times doe keepe their seasons and qualities free from excesse. But to the contrary, if the seasons be so peruerted, that the Somer is colde, and the Winter hotte, and the other seasons in the like distemperature; this discord bringeth with it a great perturbation, both in our bodyes and in our spirits,

Hyp. in the Preface of his Prognost.

Hyp. in the beginning of his book de Aere locis & aquis.

constrained neuertheless to receiue the danger, by reason that the causes are extreame, and on euery side encompasse vs; so that we are constrained to lodge it in vs by those Organes and Conduites appointed by Nature to that end, as partly, to expell the superfluous excrements of our nourishment, and partly to receyue the said externall causes, which is the ayre or winde, producing in vs diuers effects, according to those parts of the world frō whence they do proceed.

The alienation of seasons cause of diseases.

For, it beeing so, that the Southerly Windes are hot and moyst, that of the North cold and dry; the Easterly Winds for the most part are cleare and pure, and the Westerly cloudy and subiect to rain; yet it is a most assured thing, that the aire which we do inspire continually, holdeth in all, and through all, the qualitie that is most predominant. And therefore, wee should of necessity consider in all diseases, and the inconueniences which happē therein, the quality of the winds, and the power which they haue ouer the bodies; as *Hippocrates* hath lernedly left vs by writing, in the third Booke of his Aphorisms. Chap. 1. and 17. saying, That our bodies do receiue a great alteration through the vicissitude of the times and seasons of the yeare. As by the South-winde our bodyes are subiect to all diseases, because that moysture is their primitiue cause: it also weakneth our naturall heate, the which in the opposite case is much fortified thorough a cold and dry winde, which also maketh our spirits more quick and subtle. The verity of which sentence, the inhabitants of the Territory of *Narbonne* doe too much experiment to their dammage. For being themselues betweene the lustiest and healthfullest people of all *France*; yet neuertheless they themselues are very sickly for the most part, their bodyes leane, their countenances sad and heauy; their faces tawny, or of an Oliue colour, do manifestly shew the same. Also among other diseases, they are almost all subiect to the white Leprosie; and the last Vlcers which they haue, which we make no account of at *Poictiers* or *Paris*, do ordinarily continue with them a whole yeare together. Not for any other cause, as they themselues confesse, and as all straungers know that haue liued in their country, but onely because they are for the most part,

blasted

blasted and breathed vpon with a Southerly Winde, which in their language they call *Altan*, & maketh the aire to be grosse and clowdy; causing in their bodies al the effects which are attributed by *Hippocrates* to the Southerly winds, in his third booke and fift Aphorisme, that is to say, when it reigneth, it dulleth the hearing, dimmeth the sight, swelleth and aggrauateth the head, weakneth and abateth all the forces of the body.

Lib. 13. *Aphor.* 15. Also, when *Hippocrates* compareth the temperatures of the one qualitie with the other, he resolueth vpon this point; That the dry seasons are farre more healthfull then the humid, that haue continued for a long succession of time, because excessiue humidity is the true matter of putrifaction, as experience telleth vs. For wee see, that in those places where the Marine or Sea-winds haue long blowne, all kindes of flesh (though neuer so new and fresh) will corrupt in lesse then an houre. These things beeing considered, that it is most necessary for the conseruation of our bodies in health, that the seasons should follow their naturall temperatures, without any excesse or contrariety, there is no doubt to be made, but that our bodies wil fall into many vnnaturall diseases, when the naturall qualities of the seasons are peruerted thorough the euill disposition of the aire and winde, that predominateth therein. It being so, that for these 3. yeares space heere in *France*, the seasons of euery yeare haue not kept their ordinary qualities. In the Sommer wee haue but little heate, in the Winter a little or no cold at all. Also the other haue bene continually distempered with raine and moysture, together with much southerly winds whose nature we haue declared before, & this throughout all *France*.

I know no man so little seene in natural Philosophy, or in Astrologie, which will not finde the aire to be the efficient cause of so many euils, which for these 3. yeares space haue happened in the Kingdome of *France*. For from whence should proceed those contagious Pestilences, which happened indifferently to old and young, to rich and poore, and in so many places, but from the corruption of the Ayre? From whence should proceede so many kinds of Feauers, Pleurisies, Apostumes, Catars, defluctions of small Poxe and Meazels? So many kindes of venomous Beastes, as Frogges, Toads, Grashoppers, Caterpillers, Spiders, Flies, Waspes, Snailes, Serpents, Vipers, Snakes, Lizards, Scorpions, and Aspickes, but onely from a putrifaction resulting from the humiditie of the aire, accompanied with a languishing heate. This is it (I say) that hath engendered in vs, and in all the Country of *France*, so many strange and vnknowne accidents. Behold therefore how our naturall heate hath bene weakned, how our blood and humors haue beene corrupted through the malignity of the ayre, which these Southerly winds haue caused, thorough the hote and moyst quality thereof.

Thus much I haue obserued, that wher there hath bene need of Phlebotomizing, there hath beene but little bloud drawne from any, whether they wer yong ot old, wounded, or not of so good or euill temperature, but it hath bene corrupted, and appeared of white or greenish Colours. This I haue alwayes obserued in these last Warres, and in other places where I haue bene called to cure the wounded: such as haue bene phlebotomized by the prescription of the Physitian, either for the preuention of accidents, or the furtherance of the cure. In all which, I say indifferently, I haue found the bloode putrified and corrupted.

This beeing so, it must needes follow, that the fleshy parts of our bodies cannot be otherwise then euilly disposed: and all our bodies Cacochymate; seeing that their nourishment which is the blood, is putrified, and the ayre altogether corrupted. From whence it followeth, that those bodies which were wounded in the fleshy parts, were difficult to cure, considering that there was in them a perdition of substance; the which hauing neede of the regeneration of the flesh, could not bee accomplished, neither by Medicines, nor any Art of the Chirurgian; such & so great was the Cacochimy or euill constitution of their bodies. Euen as in an Hydroppticke person, there can no flesh be regenerated, because the blood is too colde and watery: and in the Elephantick or leprous disease, the flesh and other parts do abide in putrifaction, because of the corrupted blood whereby they are nourished. In like manner, in wounds of Cacochymed bodies,

A similitude.

dies, there can be no regeneration made of any good ſubſtance, becauſe that to reſtore a lawdable fleſh in the wounded part it is required, that the blood ſhould not offend neither in quantity nor quality, & that the offended part bee in it naturall temperature. All theſe things were wanting in the times of theſe laſt Warres: and therefore it is not to be wondred at, if the woundes which were then receiued (although they were but ſmall and of little cõſequence in the noble or ignoble parts) haue brought with them ſo many tedious accidents, and in the end death; becauſe that the aire which doeth encompaſſe vs, maketh the wounds to be corrupt and putrified, by reaſon of the inſpiration and tranſpiration thereof, eſpecially when it ſelfe is corrupt and putrified, by altering & corrupting the humors.

Intollerable ſtinke proceeding from the wounded parts of men.

Of this point I haue had the experience in many Wounds, which I haue bin called to dreſſe, that haue rendred a moſt inſupportable ſtinking ſauour, as a certaine witneſſe of corruption and infection, inſomuch, that the aſſiſtants could hardlie endure to be preſent at their dreſſings. It need not to be here alledged, that this was for want of being cleanely kept, or often dreſſing, or for not adminiſtering to them things neceſſary: for this corruption was as common to Princes and great Lords, as vnto poore ſoldiers; whoſe wounds (if by chance one day eſcaped wherein they were not dreſt, ſo great was the number of the hurt ſoldiers) you ſhould finde in them the morrow after, a great quantitie of wormes, with a maruellous ſtinking ſauour. And moreouer, there hapned vnto them many Apoſtumes in diuers parts of their bodies oppoſite to their hurts. For if they were ſhotte in the right ſhoulder, they ſhold haue an Apoſtume on the left knee; and if the wound were in the right leg, the Apoſtume would ariſe in the lefte arme. As it hapned to the late K. of *Nauar*, to Mounſieur *de Neuers*, and to Monſieur *de Rendan*, and almoſt to all others. So it ſeemeth, that Nature being ſo much oppreſſed with corrupted humors, could not be ſufficiently purged and diſcharged of them by wounds onely, but ſent ſome part of the corruption to ſome other part either hidden or apparent. For, if the Apoſtumes appeared not outwardly, they ſhould be found in the inward part; as in the Liuer, Lungs, or Spleen. Frõ thoſe putrifactions were ſtirred vp certain vapors, which through their combination vvith the heart, cauſeth continual Feauers; with the Liuer, a let and hinderance of the generation of good blood; & with the brain ſwoonings, faintings, convulſions, and conſequently death.

Venomous wounds.

Now becauſe of thoſe aforeſayde accidents, it is vnpoſſible for any Chirurgian (were he neuer ſo expert) to correct the malignity of the aforeſaid wounds: neuertheleſſe thoſe that are employed therein, ought not to be reprehended; becauſe it is impoſſible for them to warre againſt God, nor againſt the aire, wherein oftentimes are hidden the rods of his diuine iuſtice. If therefore, according to the ſentence of ancient *Hippocrates*, who ſaieth; That all contuſed woundes ought to bee brought to ſuppuration, thereby to bee perfectly cured; which method wee are ſomtimes conſtrained to change, becauſe of the putrifactious Gangrenas and mortifications which doe accompanie ſuch wounds, thorough the corruption of the aire; and can any blame or accuſe vs, becauſe we are conſtrained through neceſſity to change and alter that manner of curation, and inſted of ſuppuratiue medicins to vſe other remedies, to reſiſt ſuch accidents which not onely happen in wounds made by Gun-ſhot, but alſo by ſwords or ſtaues: which remedies ſhall be deſcribed in this preſent Diſcourſe. Beſides humane cauſes, that man is ill inſtructed in the knowledge of Celeſtial things, which doth not beleeue for certaine, that the wrath of God hangeth ouer vs, to punniſh the faults which ordinarily we cõmit againſt his Maieſty. His ſcourges are prepared ready, his rods and weapons haue theyr miniſters alwaies at hand, to execute the commandement of his diuine iuſtice, into whoſe ſecrets I dare enter no further, but will conclude with the opinion of the beſt aduiſed Practitioners, that the principall occaſion of the aforeſaide mortalitie, did proceede from the pure and determinate will of God, who by the temperature that he hath giuen to the ayre and windes (as the Heraldes of his diuine Iuſtice) hath made vs apt to receyue the aforeſaide inconueniences, which we haue incurred by our iniquities.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

¶ *Of the Excellencie of the Arte of Phiſicke, going farre beyond all other humane Arts and Sciences whatſoeuer.*

What human Arts are truly ſalde to bee.

WE vnderſtand humane Artes (as well Liberall, as Mechanicall) to bee all thoſe, that Man (inſpired by God) hath inuented for his neceſſitie, commoditie, or recreation. Amongeſt which alſo is Phiſicke, the practiſe of naturall Philoſophie vppon the bodies of men, for whom all mechanicall Arts were deuiſed; as Artes liberall for exerciſe of the minde. We except onely from all ordinary profeſſions of Man, the ſacred Science of Diuinity; which we vnderſtand, not to come within compaſſe of this cõpariſon, when we extoll Phyſicke to be aboue all humane Arts: becauſe it is neyther Art or humane Science; but a matter meerely and purely diuine, not inuented by men, but infuſed by God; concerning ſoules, and not bodies; eternall, infallible, immutable, hauing (for obiect) God Almighty, Creator of the World, who made it of nothing, and for the ſeruice of man. In whom we are to conſider a reaſonable ſoule, the body, and benefits which are giuen vnto him, for the ſupport and maintaining of his life.

All Arts inuented for the vſe of man.

Diuinity excepted from all humane Arts.

Diuinity hath her eſpeciall care of the ſoule, and next to her, Moral Philoſophy. Skill and knowledge, reſtrained vnto humane Lawes, do diſcourſe on goods and proprieties appertaining to men, rendering to euery one that which is his owne. Betweene them both is Phyſicke, conſeruing the body in health, expelling Diſeaſes, and ſauing from death, ſo farre as it pleaſeth God to permit. If then the excellency of profeſſions, is to be eſteemed in and by their ſubiects, according as they ought to bee: Phyſicke will then aſſume the ſecond place, For, the ſoule is more then the body, and the bodie more then garments.

The nature or qualitie of knowledge in human lawes.

The plaee allotted to phyſick in the ſecond degree.

I will not heere conteſt with my Grand Maſters the Magiſtrates, who haue power ouer mens bodies, as well in caſe of life, as death: for their authority is nothing elſe but a meere declaration; either of pardoning, or puniſhing with death, according to the quality of deſert. As for the power of abſolution or pardon, if it be in grace, as the ſole Prince or Soueraigne Magiſtrate may do it: it proceedeth from the priuiledge giuen him by God, and not from any knowledge of the Lawes. Like to the other, that declareth the innocence and preuention of the accuſed: the which is properly to ſaue, or giue life, becauſe the party ſtanding ſo accuſed, hath not therefore deſerued death.

The power of Magiſtrates in caſes of life or death, holding their authority from God.

And as for power of putting to death, therein is no praiſe; at leaſt, it ought not to be compared with the power of ſauing life. For, ſo much doth the Phyſition (the grace of God aſſiſting) to man, beeing attainted with deadly diſeaſes, and doubtles ſhould dye, except they were ſuccoured in ſuch manner. Now, whether it is effectable, or no, and that (by the Art of Phyſicke) life may be prolonged: that we ſhal more amply relate in the following chapter. Onely our intent heere, is, to ſhewe the excellencie of man; to confirme the excellency of that Art, which is dedicated onely to his conſeruation.

What diuerſity there is betweene the two powers, of ſauing life, and putting to death.

The principall dignity of Man, is in this, that God hath vouchſafed to beſtow on him his owne Image and reſemblance, giuing him an immortall ſoule, capable of the Diuinity: in regard that all thinges were ſubmitted to him, for his neceſſitie, commodity, and recreation; hauing made (for his ſeruice) Heauen, Earth, the Sea, and all that is in them. For God hath no neede of any thing, made by himſelfe: All is for our vſe, and therefore it is eaſie to vnderſtand and know, that Man is more worthy and excellent then all the worlde. So, to ſpeake truly, Heauen and Earth, which haue had a beginning; were ordained for an ending, and to wexe olde like a Garment. Onely Man ſhall neuer end, but change his condition, and of beeing mortall, he ſhall become immortall; in a ſhort while after the ſoule ſhal receiue her diuorce from the body, taking it vp again, in much more glorious manner then before, and in ſuch a perfect temper, as neuer can be ſubiect to corruption.

Wherein the chiefeſt dignitie of Man doth conſiſt.

Man was created neuer to haue ending, but to change his preſent condition.

Seeing then, that Man is the worthieſt thing in all the world, beſide al other what ſoeuer: the Science ordained for his perſon,

Man the only worthy thing in al the world

son, must needs bee the most excellent aboue all other, next vnto that which properly concerneth his Creator. For, Man is the most worthy creature of all, and (by consequence) the Art or Science which maintaineth him in life and health, is the onely excellent of all humane Arts. This is a strong argument, for the preheminēce and dignity of Physicke, according to the singularity of the subiect whereon it discourseth.

The Antiquity, necessitie, and vtilitie of Man.

I could giue a glance at some other matters, which make (in like manner) for his commendation: As his Antiquity, Necessity, and Vtility, together with the Authority of them, that haue the more reuerenced and esteemed him, for the same reasons. As concerning his Antiquitie, no man doubteth, but it is as olde as the transgression of *Adam*, and that so soone as he had sinned, he (thereby) becam subiect to sickness. He must needs be Physition to himselfe, to whom God had giuen knowledge, concerning the vertue of all thinges whatsoeuer, and causing him to giue them seuerall names, answereable and according to their seuerall proprieties.

Adam was Physition to himselfe.

What attribution is made vnto Physick by profane histories.

Prophane Histories, doe attribute the inuention of Physick to god *Apollo*, which is the Sunne: signifying therby, that from the Sun proceedeth the vertue of Plants, and other medicaments, which the earth produceth. Hereupon they conclude, that *Æsculapius* (the first that made profession of this Art) was his sonne; and he the Father of *Machaon* & *Podalirius*, vulnerarie Physitions (otherwised called Chirurgeons) who were in the warre of *Troy*, the History whereof, is the very ancientest in the world.

Chirurgions termed vulnerary Physitiōs

Now, concerning Antiquity, it is one of those conditions, that commendeth something; prouided, that it hath beene continued. For, if it be neither vse-able, nor beneficiall, it will soon haue ending. But we see (euen to this instant) that Physicke hath beene well maintained, euermore in augmentation, beauty, and liberall bounty. And that, by industrie of the cheefest persons that haue bin, not onely Philosophers by profession, but likewise by Kings, Princes, and other men of greatest esteeme, it hath beene highly honoured, according as ancients Histories, and their learned labors left to vs of Physicke, do plainly testifie.

Philosophers, Kings, and Princes, haue bin Physitions

Plin. in li. 29. c. 1

Physicke neglected in Rome for some time.

True it is, that the *Romaines* did let it passe by them, for about sixe hundred yeares, as holding it in detestation; for the cruelty of some Chirurgeons which came forth of *Greece*, a Nation to them very suspitious. But since those times, Physitions were honoured, much respected, & maintained in *Rome*; holding ranke with the cheefest Noblemen and Knights.

Of the necessity of Physicke.

Now, touching the Necessity thereof, it is so manifest, as nothing more. But it seemeth, that this may diminish the excellency of the Art; because it is not expetible or desireable of it selfe, but onely for neede. Like as in Moral Philosophy, that is most esteemed, which is desirable of it selfe (As to haue children, then affectable, for some other respect, as to haue goods for those children;) Euen so, Physicke, being not desirable of it selfe (like to Musicke) but for necessity; it appeareth to be the lesse commendable, euen as Mechanicall Arts, which cannot passe without vse. Yet notwithstanding, this is contrary; for, the more necessary Physick is, so much the more it is to bee desired: and the excellency of her effects, maketh her to be the more excellent.

Physicke not desireable of it selfe.

Mechanicall Arts cannot passe without vse.

Of the vtilitie of Physicke.

And heere, Vtility or commodity ioyneth with it, commending it in the highest degree. For, as there is nothing in the world more welcome then Health, nor more desireable then long life: Physicke, prouiding both for the one and other, is the more beneficiall to the contentment of men, then any other humane Science can be. For (by the contrary) as whosoeuer that hath not health, is vnprofitable to the world: euen so he ỳ hath lyued but a litle while, brought therto the lesser benefit with him. For, as the Father of Eloquence sayd: *We are not borne for our selues onely, but our Parents, Kindred & Friends, our Countrey, yea the whole world; all these do vrge from vs some emolument, and commodity.*

Sicke men are vnprofitable to the worlde.

Cicero in lib. 1. de Senectute.

Authority for the honour of Physick.

It remaineth now, to confirme al these reasons by great and good Authoritie, of such as haue much esteemed and extolled Physicke, and the professors therof, commending it infinitely by their Writinges. In the performance whereof, I shall content my selfe, with the exhortation made in *Ecclesiasticus*, and the remonstrance of our graue father *Hippocrates*. Nor is he to bee

Hippocrates firſt ſeuered Phiſicke from Philoſophie.

be ſuſpected in the matter, becauſe he was a Phyſition: for, he was neuer mercenary, nor at the ſeruice of any man; but free and moſt liberall of his profeſſion. And he it was, that firſt diuided Phyſicke from Philoſophie. Becauſe (In elder daies) Phyſitions were not diſtinguiſhed by themſelues, but Philoſophers did contemplate vpon diſeaſes, and their remedies among naturall thinges: for their vſe principally (as *Celſus* witneſſeth) who had moſt need aboue other, in regarde of their bodyes weakneſſe, being ouercome with continuall depreſſions of Age.

Phyſick diſtinguiſhed three ſeuerall waies

Hippocrates then was the firſt, that deuided this Art from Philoſophy, aud made profeſſion therof publikely; as (afterward) did *Diocles*, *Praxagoras*, *Chryſippus*, *Herophilus*, and *Eraſiſtratus*, all his ſucceſſours. And they (at length) diuided Phyſicke into three parts, for better accommodation thereof to ſicke perſons: referring mechanicall people to manuall operation, called Chirurgery, and the preparation of Medicines, which are tearmed *Pharmacie* or Apothecaries skill, according as (in theſe our dayes) it is exerciſed among vs. But it is by mercenary people (for the moſt part) whoſe teſtimonie in the Art of phiſick, can carry here no credit; no, not that of *Galen* himſelfe, although he was one of the firſt ſubiected ſeruants thereto.

Galen diſallowed in this reſpect.

Wherfore that ſhall ſatisfie me, which is recorded by ſo great a Father, after I haue made recitall of the words of *Eccleſiaſticus*, the wiſedome of *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Sirach*, writing thus in his 38. Chapter, verſe 1. *Honor the Phyſition with that honor which is due vnto him, becauſe of the neceſſity thou haſt of him; for the Lord hath created him.* 2. *Healing commeth of the moſt High, and the Phyſition ſhall bee honoured euen of Kinges.* 3. *The knowledge of the Phyſition exalteth his head, and in the ſight of Princes he ſhall be had in admiration.* 4. *The Lorde hath created Medicines of the Earth, and he that is wiſe will not abhorre them.* 5. *Was not the water made ſweete with woode, that men ſhould know the vertue thereof?* 6. *So he hath giuen knowledge vnto men, that hee might be glorified in his meruailous workes.* 7. *With ſuch doth he heale men, and taketh away their paines.*

Eccleſ.38

Exod.15,25.

Concerning the Apothecaries.

8. *The Apothecarie maketh his commixtions, and yet hee cannot finiſh his owne work: for, it is from God, that health commeth ouer all the earth.*

9. *My ſonne, faile not in thy ſickneſſe, but pray vnto God, and he will make thee whole.*

10. *Leaue off from ſinne, and order thine hands aright, and clenſe thine heart from all wickedneſſe.*

11. *Offer ſweete Incenſe, and fine Floure for a remembrance; make the Offering fatte, for thou art not the firſt giuer.*

12. *Then giue place to the Phiſition: for the Lord hath created him, let him not goe from thee, for thou haſt need of him.*

13. *The houre may come, that their enterprizes may haue good ſucceſſe.*

14. *For they ſhall alſo pray vnto the Lord, that hee would proſper that which is giuen for eaſe, and their Phyſicke for prolonging life.*

Sufficient proofe for the authoritie of Phyſicke.

Theſe diuine words do conclude (& verie ſufficiently) our purpoſe, for the dignity, excellency, neceſſity, vtility, and prerogatiue of Phyſitions: condemning all ſuch, as hold them in vile eſteeme, and (in them) do deſpiſe the great goodneſſe of Almighty God, who hath beſtowed vpon men ſuch meanes of healing. Let vs now heare what was ſpoken by the learned *Hippocrates*. The good olde man, in the Booke of the Lawe, complayned ſo long ſince, that (euen in his time) Phyſick was but ſlenderly eſteemed, in regarde of abuſe; much more then muſt it needes be now at this day.

Hippocra. in lib. de Leg. cap. 14.

The Art of Phyſicke (ſaith hee) *is the moſt apparant of all other: but by the ignorance of ſome that vſe it, and ſuch as indge of the Profeſſours; it is too farre ouergone by all other Artes. The faulte (meethinkes) proceedeth principally from this: That in Citties, there is no puniſhment appointed to the Art of Phyſicke, as to other. Except diſhonours done it, which are not inflictions ſufficient for ſuch as fayle therein.*

A familiar cõpariſon for the bold abuſers of ſo ſingular a Science.

They may well bee compared vnto the Actors in a Tragedie, who haue the habite, viſage, and outward behauiour, of thoſe perſonnes which they repreſent and counterfeit. In like manner, there are many Phyſitions in name and repute; but verie few that are the men indeede. For, in him that would truely haue the knowledge of Phyſicke, ſixe ſeuerall qualities or conditions, are neceſſarily required, which followe thus. 1. *The Nature.* 2. *Diſcipline.* 3. *Good Manners.* 4. *Learning from his Childe-hoode.*

Six things required in a true Phyſitiō, and (without which) he is no body.

5. Loue to the toyle and labour; 6. And obſeruation of apt times and ſeaſons. With, and by theſe he ſhall become a good Phyſition, not onely in name, but in deed alſo. But Ignorance is a wicked treaſure, & a Iewell of vile price, to ſuch as haue it, and liue but as in a dreame or opinion.

Plin. in l. 19. c. 26

Plinie purſuing this matter, and to the ſame purpoſe, taxing the vulgare, that know not how to diſtinguiſh betweene the good and badde Phyſition, liſtening onely to ſuch as are full of talke, making great vaunts and bragges of themſelues, hath theſe wordes: *They get* (ſaith hee) *a little taſte of the Arte onely, and their raſh iudgement ſodainly conceiueth, that preſently they are skilfull Phyſitions; albeit (in anie kinde of lying) there is no greater daunger, yet it is not eaſily diſcouered, ſo pleaſing is the ſweetneſſe to a man, in perſwaſion, and commending himſelfe.*

Pliny his reprehenſion of prating Phyſitians.

No puniſhment for capital ignorāce

Moreouer, there is not any Lawe, for the puniſhing of capitall ignoranee, where it importeth the liues of men, neither is there anie example of vengeance: for, they vndertake matters of difficulty and danger, and make their proofes by killing men, and yet paſſe vnpuniſhed for thus murdering men. Nay, and that which is farre worſſe, when themſelues do iuſtly deſerue the reproch: they excuſe it, by the ſicke patients intemperancie, and impudently doe lay their owne ſinne vppon the dead.

Ignorant Phiſitions are meere murderers of men.

I thought it expedient to ſet downe theſe words, to the end it may be known, that (euen in theſe dayes of ours) there are many, that wearing the maske and apparance of Phyſitions, cauſe Phyſicke (thorough their abuſes) to bee greatly deſpiſed. Euen as many other things (good of themſelues, or newtrall) are made worſſe then they be indeede, in regard that they are very eaſily abuſed. But becauſe I haue formerly promiſed, to declare in another Chapter, whether life may be prolonged by Phyſicke, or no, which is an action ſingular and excellent: I will nexte ſet downe in ample manner, what mine opinion is concerning that point.

The reaſon why Phyſicke is contemned by many.

CHAP. VI.

Whether it bee poſſible, or no, to prolong the life of man, or woman, by Phyſicke.

A queſtion of no mean difficulty to be decided.

THis Queſtion hath alwayes appeared to bee verie difficult, and hath much afflicted the verie greateſt ſpirits: as lying hid and concealed in the darkeſt and deepeſt ſecrecie of Nature; and therefore it hath bene the more painfull, to ſuch as haue curiouſly ſought after it. The reaſons of them that haue debated it, are ſo ſtrong and powerfull on either ſide; that hardly can any reſolution bee yeelded, or what beſt may be ſaide in the caſe. For there are very many Arguments, abſolutely concluding; that the life of man cannot be prolonged, by any remedies or meanes of Phyſicke. On the contrary, Phyſitions haue and doe maintaine, that it is poſſible. Therefore, for the better diſciding of this doubt, I will firſt of all defend each of the ſeuerall ſides, and in the end (like to an honeſt and indifferent Arbitratour) deliuer therein, mine owne opinion and iudgement.

Arguments on either ſide very contradictory to ech other.

That there is a tearme or limitation, appointed vnto the life of man, and that hee cannot goe beyond it by any meanes whatſoeuer; wee haue (in the firſt place) that which the patient man *Iob* ſaid, chapt. 14. verſes 1. 5. inſpired by the Spirite of God. *The dayes of Man are ſhort; the number of his Moneths are with the Lord; He hath ordained the boundes and limits of his life, which he cannot paſſe.*

A certain date of time prefixed to the life of Man.

Ariſtotle affirmeth the ſame, in his ſecond book of generation and corruption; *The time and life* (ſaith he) *of euery thing, hath his infinite count and determination: For, in all thinges there is an order, and all life and time is meaſured by a period.* Alſo, in his fourth booke of the Generation of Creatures, hee ſayeth; *It is but reaſonable, that there ſhould be periods and ſeaſons, as well for Groweth, as for Generation and Life: which are accounted by dayes, monethes, yeares, or other times that are decree-*

Ariſt. in Lib. 2. de Generat. & c Chap. 10.

Ariſt. in Lib. 4. de Generat. Animal. cap. 10.

decreed for them heere. And *Auerroes* explicating the ſame ſaith; *All things that are, haue (neceſſarily) life determined vnto them.*

All Natures works conſiſt on a certainty of order.

Seeing then, that all the works of Nature do (neceſſarily) conſiſt on a certainty of order, ſo that they neither can bee otherwiſe, or auoide it: And ſeeing alſo, that Art is heerein much inferiour to Nature: it may eaſily bee concluded (as *Galen* diſputeth in the Booke called *Maraſmus*) that life is no way to bee prolonged by any cunning. Whereunto *Auicen* conſenteth, where hee maketh an expreſſe ſearch, for the cauſes of our ineuitable death, ſaying: *This naturall death is vndiuidable to euery man, differing one from another, according to their prime complexion, vntill the time they haue in their power, for conſeruing their naturall humidity. For, euery one hath his tearme prefixed, which is diuers in their indiuiſion, by diuerſity of their temper: who haue naturall tearmes, which in other are ſhortned, and yet all according to the will of God, &c.*

Galen in Lib. Maraſ.

Auicen in lib. 1. Tempt. 1. doct. 3. cap. 3.

If then the tearmes of life are prefixed and aſsigned to euery perſon, by the will of God, and his ordinance (Nature being but a ſeruant to God, to wit, eſtabliſhing things (by order in this World) from their beginning;) it is not to bee exceeded or out-ſtept, by any meanes in Man, but onely by the grace & goodneſſe of Almighty God. As to King *Ezechias*, to whom the Prophet *Iſaiah* had ſignified his death. Yet vpon his Repentance, life was prolonged to him for fifteene yeares, onely by the mercy of God. Who alſo promiſeth in his ſacred Law long life vnto children, *That Honor their Father and Mother*, and are no way ingratefull to them.

4. Reg. 20. 1, 5.

Exod. 20. 12.

Thus we ſee, if (contrary to theſe allegations ſo certaine) wee can extend and prolong the naturall termes of life, by any ordinances or remedies in our Arte. Becauſe there are ſome ſtore of reaſons, which perſwade, that not onely the order of Nature, but alſo our induſtry, doth promiſe long life. Firſt of all, Aſtrologers do maintaine it, where they diſcourſe on electiones, figures, and Images. And this hath bene confirmed by experience, in the care and diligence of Phyſitions to manie perſons, who being aſsiſted by remedies and good gouernment: haue maintained themſelues in health. And being crazy & ſickly, haue held out for long time: whereas otherwiſe, they had dyed yong, and neuer ſeene ſo many yeares.

Of remedies and good gouernment for maintaining health.

Sickly Herodicus that liued an hundred yeares.

Plato & *Ariſtotle* (great and graue Authors) without all exception, doe teſtifye (to this purpoſe) that a learned man, named *Herodicus*, the moſt ſubiect to ſickneſſe of any in his time: did yet neuertheleſſe liue an hundred yeares, by great skil, and exquiſite manner of Gouernment. *Galen* alſo (in diuers places) confeſſeth his owne naturall infirmity; but he ſaith withall, that he had ſo wel corrected it, as hardly was he (at any time) ſicke; at leaſt, after he gaue himſelfe wholly to exerciſe Phyſick. Except, when he was once or twice affected with the Ephemerie (which is of a daies continuance) onely being painfull to him, in trauailing to viſit his Friends. And, if wee may credite ſome that haue written, he liued aboue ſeuenſcore years, which may be counted a goodly time.

Galens experience approued on himſelfe.

Intemperate bodies haue liued long, without any helpe of Phyſicke.

We ſhall not need to cite the authority of *Plutarke*, who ſpeaketh of manie verie weak (yet delicate) bodies, that liued long time by the meanes of this Art: becauſe we ſee the ſame now daily experienced on as many. Nor ſhall we likewiſe neede to oppoſe againſt them, diuers intemperate and diſſolute perſons, that daily haue deſpiſed all good gouernment; and yet notwithſtanding, haue attained to great yeares, yea, to decrepite age. For, it is verie certaine, that if ſuch perſons as are wel borne, and of good temper, woulde liue and be aſſiſted by Phyſicall means in their neceſſities: they ſhould be ſlower to Age, and haue the benefit (doubtleſſe) of long life. Which is eaſie to proue, becauſe wee oftentimes ſee, that ſome, who are vnhelthfull by nature, or elſe by accident: do yet liue longer time, thē others that are more ſtrong and luſtie. Becauſe ſtrong bodies, truſting onlie in their ſtrength; do liue diſorderly, without any lawe or gouernment at all. Others, being ſober and continent, abſtaining from hurtfull things, and obſeruing a certaine manner of liuing, by direction of a skilfull Phyſition indeede; haue hadde their life time longer, and much more healthfull. Whereuppon grew the old Prouerbe, *A crackt Pitcher (ſometime) laſteth longer, then one that is new.*

Of perſonnes wel born, and of good temper.

Heereupon *Galen* ſaide well: *It is verie credible, that ſuch men liue leſſe time, then*

is ordained them by Nature: who (being ignorant) do deſpiſe the healthfull maner of liuing. For, the Science of Phyſicke, prouiding for the health and life of Man, hath ſuch vertue; as if any one ſhal raſhly contemne the ordinances thereof; he not only liueth in miſery, and all irkeſomneſſe of diſeaſes, but alſo cutteth off his length of life, and abridgeth the tearme which Nature had prefixed for him, anticipating his death, and (as we may well ſay) thereby cutteth his owne throate. As much to ſay, when (by vſing euill gouernment) he conſumeth his radicall humour, ſooner then it was ordained for him, or ſuffocateth, or quencheth his naturall heate: on both which, do conſiſt the continuance of life.

For ſuch as deſpiſe the art of Phyſicke.

The radicall humour and naturall heate

Now, if ſuch be the law and nature of contraries, that they are ſaid to be in one and the ſame ſubiect; as, if the one hold, the other alſo muſt do the like: it followeth then neceſſarily, that if the one can ſhorten life, the other likewiſe can prolong it. And ſeeing it is moſt euident, that if the life of Man may be abridged, by diuers faultes and blemiſhes of exceſſe: it may alſo as ſufficiently be concluded, that life may bee prolonged by good gouernement and diſcreete order. For, although the diſcommodities, which depend vpon the principles of our generation, are not (by any means) to be auoyded or preuented (as the effluxion and continuall diſſipation of our whole ſubſtance, which is done by naturall heate, beeing the reaſon of Ages ſooner enſuing, in regard of exceſſiue and ineuitable exſiccation:) yet notwithſtanding, it may bee tardyed by Phyſicke, and ſo hindered, that the laſt day ſhall not come ſo ſoone, nor ſo haſtily.

If diſorder do ſhorten life, good gouernment may prolong it.

The reaſon of the ſodaine ſtealing of aga vpon vs.

Hath it not beene (almoſt) in generall obſeruation, that diuers haue lien gaſping, yea, euen ready to giue vp the ghoſt; who (neuertheleſſe) haue bin continued in life for longer time, by taking a ſmall quantity of Malmeſie, *Aqua vitæ*, *Aqua Imperialis*, the Confection of *Alkermes*, or ſome other cordiall thing? The period and laſt limit of life beeing then ſo neere; hath it not bene deferred (by thoſe means) vntill another houre? It is reported of laughing * *Democritus*, that being entreated by his Houſhold ſeruants (ſeeing his health very crazie) that hee would baniſh all greefe and ſorrow from his houſe, during the *Theſmophorian* Feaſts, which were then neere at hand, by prolonging his life till then: that he did it by the ſmel of Hony, though ſome others ſay, that it vvas by the ſauour of hot bread. Thus you ſee what our Phyſitions haue deliuerd, wherin there is a verie great apparance of trueth.

Life kept and retayned in great extreamity by drinkes and Cordials.

*A Philoſopher that laughed at the follies of the worlde.

Wee haue heard the two parties plead and debate, by contrarietie of ſentences and reaſons on either ſide: it behooueth now, to qualifie the contention, and to reſolue on that which hath the beſt hold. And to the end, that it may bee done with the greater cunning; it is neceſſarie alſo, to diſtinguiſh the tearmes of life; that ſome are ſuper-naturall, others naturall, and others accidentarie, which wee call ſhortned or abridged.

The ſeuerall termes of life diſtinguiſhed by themſelues

We call thoſe ſuper-naturall, which GOD Almighty ordained and prefixed to ſome, out of his owne meere will, ſuch as are not to bee inſtituted by anie Arte or Councell. As the date of verie long life, which God appointed in the firſt Age of the Worlde, and before the Flood, for the multiplication of mankind: and eſpecially to *Noah*, for the reſtauration thereof.

Of ſupernaturall life as before the flood.

Thoſe which we tearme Naturall, are they that be beſtowed vpon euery man, according both to the diuerſity of temper and building, as they are in the principles and foundations, eyther ſtrong or weake. In regard whereof, ſome may liue long, others leſſer while, according vnto the order of Nature. And they that doe attaine vnto theſe tearmes (the grace of God aſſiſting) except they fal into diſorder, or ſome inconuenience happeneth to them; which are (already to bee called) the limits or termes of the thirde kind, and which we haue named accidentary, or accidentall, that may happen in, or to any age, by caſuall and inopinate caſes; as Wounds, Poyſons, Burnings, fals, ruines, ſhipwrackes, plagues, and other populare harmes. Such inconueniences are (moſt often) ineuitable, and it lyeth not in the Science of Phyſicke, to vſe any precaution againſt them; but onely to heale the harme already happened, if it be poſſible. So leauing theſe tearmes of life to the arbitration of fortune (which is nothing elſe, to ſpeake more piouſly) then the

Naturall life giuen to euery one, thogh not all alike.

Accidentall life hapning in any age whatſoeuer.

Inconueniences no way to be auoyded.

After the seauenth Paradox of the first Decade.

then the pure will of God, without order of Nature, as elsewhere we haue enstructed: let vs speake onely concerning the tearme of naturall life, and explicate the manner thereof more amply.

Naturall heat and the Radicall humor do prolong life.

All the Philosophers and Physitions do agree together, that we ought to measure and bound the continuance or duration of our life, on that which may lengthen naturall heate, and the radicall humor. Now, to the end that these things may last the longer in vs, our good Mother Nature (as *Galen* speaketh) hath placed in vs a meruailous power, which by continuall application of Nourishment, defendeth the ordinary dissipation of our substance and Radicall humour, maintayning our naturall heate, as well by this meanes, as by respiration, and the pulse of Arteries.

An admirable power giuen vs by Nature.

But such a kinde of power as we terme Nutritiue, being limited, and not infinit; cannot alwayes defend and conserue the sayde humour in suggesting another. Whereby it commeth so to passe, that the body wexing dry, by little and little; procureth thence, that that power (afterward) is not well exercised in it selfe: but weakneth dayly more and more, so that in the end, the bodies power ceaseth, from being nourished sufficiently. In this manner, those parts becomming sapleſſe and withered, the body wexeth meager & diminishing: and so passing on further thus, it dryeth; and then this condition is called wrinkled Age. This is the principall natural necessity of corruption and death, to all bodyes begotten: for death ensueth then, when the humor primitiue, sustayuing or radicall, fayleth, and natural heat becommeth quenched; and this is the end of life, which we terme naturall ending.

The reason of our soon comming to wrinkled Age.

As concerning the Art of Physicke: *It is an Art* (saith *Auicenne*) *that exempteth not from death, nor can conduct euery one, so farre as to the latest tearme of humaine life. But it assureth and exempteth from two thinges; the one is from putrifaction, that it can no way seize vppon the body, except it bee by some externall occasion, as the Pestilence, or poyson; the other is, in defending the naturall humiditie, to the end, that it may last the longer, and bee the slower in consuming.*

Auicenne his words concerning the Arte of Physick, assuring it two waies helpfull to mans life.

These two things are in the power of Physicke, whereby it may prolong life, for so long time as it is due, according to the temper of euery man, and that by three meanes. The first whereof, is, to preoccupate straunge heats; to hinder opilations; and to eiect the excrements, from whence ensueth the generation of putrifying; or when they are engendered, to qualifie and quench them. The second is, the due administration of drinking & eating; in substance, quality, quantity, time, and order. The third is, to abstaine from things, which, in consuming and exhausting the Radicall humour; in a very short while doeth resolue, or dissipate together the naturall heate; as excessiue trauaile or labour; vse of sharpe or piercing things, watchings, cares, and diuers passions of the minde. But aboue all other, immoderate carnall Copulation, and at incommodious houres; with some other such like things, which a man may, and ought to shunne, by following the good and wholesome ordinances and rules of Physicke.

Three seuerall means for the prolonging of life.

Testimonies of some particular things hurtfull vnto health.

But (say you) no man neede doubt of these things, for euery one will gladly agree, to mooue the foresaide Reasons; that such cannot but liue long, as keepe within the compasse of temperance, and haue an especiall care of their health. This is not the matter, of attaining vnto the end and tearme ordained by Nature, without abridging or shortning it, although this is a case verie rare. But I demaund principally, whether the end and naturall period of life, may be aduanced and prolonged by the Arte of Physicke, or no? The Answere heereto, is, That life is not onely conserued by Physicke, but likewise prolonged. For, it standeth with good reason, that the thing must needs be the more confirmed and auanced, the principles, foundation, and producted causes whereof, may be continued and extended, yea, & (especially) made the stronger. Nowe, the principles of life (that is, naturall heate, and the primitiue humor) if they cannot bee re-integrated, yet (at least) they may be repaired, & made more vigorous by this Art. According as the curing of Hecticke or continuall Feauers doth shew vs, and the recouering or amending of euery complexion; whereby the naturall heate is ordered and tempered.

A yeelding to the former allegations, with a further obiection.

An Answer to the principall point in question, concerning the power of Physick

If then, by way of liuing humectiuely,

The way and meanes for preſeruing the radical humor and naturall heate.

or moiſtly, as by Bathes of pure freſh waters, and other ſuch like remedies, the radicall humour may be the longer conſerued, which otherwiſe would be ouer ſoon conſumed; and naturall heat kept temperate; ſo that it may conſume her feeding the more ſparingly, by defect whereof, death naturally enſueth:) wher is the man who wil not confeſſe, that life may be prolonged by Phyſicke, which elſe wold haue bin much ſhorter, and according to Nature? I know well, and I confeſſe it, that the ſolid and ſpermaticke parts, cannot be moiſtned ſubſtantially, & of themſelues: neuertheles, you will grant, that they may be moiſtned through the voide ſpaces and pores, by which the feeding humour inſinuateth it ſelfe, and whereby alſo the waſting of the radicall humour is the more tardied. And it is almoſt in the ſame maner, as when we put water with oyle into a Lampe; to the end, that the Oyle may the more ſtrongly reſiſt the flames deuouring.

Concerning moiſtening of the ſolide and ſpermaticke parts.

A further enforcing, for better information in the maine Argument.

But yet (ſay you) although the termes of life may bee lengthened, yet it is not ſtrongly enough proued by this argumēt. Let me then reply, that of the Complexions or tempers of the body, that of the moſt and cheefeſt life, is moiſture, or that which is in like manner (or together with it) hot and moyſt, which vulgarly wee vſe to terme Sanguine: the contrary, which we call Melancholy, is of far ſhorter life. So that, whenſoeuer both of them ſhall vſe one gouernement together, and like maintaining; yet notwithſtanding, the firſt will be of longeſt laſting, becauſe it hath the terme of it owne life furtheſt off, from the principles of it own generation. Now, the Art of Phyſicke enſtructeth, & the vertue thereof is ſo great, that it can chaunge (by little and little) the naturall temperature of cold and dry, into theyr contrary: as *Galen* teacheth how to do it, in his two laſt bookes of the preſeruation of health. Doth it not follow then hereby immediately, that the tearme of life may likewiſe be prolonged by the Art of Phyſicke? Yea, and that ſome one, vnfortunately borne, and (euen bound as it were) to ſhortneſſe of life; hath yet chaunged the condition, and become thereby farre more liuely and chearful. Onely by this meanes (in mine opinion) that euerie one eaſily vnderſtandeth, how to learn of another; which is nothing elſe, but how to lengthen the limits of all Ages, whereby enſueth, that the courſe of euery life may be prolonged.

How Phyſick enſtructeth to alter temperatures.

Euery one is couetous in deſire how to lengthen out life in all degrees.

And firſt of all, that the vigor and flour of youth, may long time be preſerued by the Art of Phyſicke; *Galen* declareth it in this manner: *There are two principall ends in the conſeruation of health, vvhich are in our power: namely, to reſtore the ſubſtance diſſipated by meats and drinks conuenient, & to reiect the excrements proceeding from them.* If no defailance bee made in any of theſe: the body (ſo long) ſhal inioy helth, and will bee very long time conſerued in the ſtrength of his owne vigour. In like manner, and by the ſelfeſame reaſon, Age (altogether vnauoidable, of ſuch as ought to dye by naturall death) is to bee prolonged by the helpe of Phyſicke: ſo that ſwoonings, trances, and the pale aſhie countenances of extreme olde Age, ſhall come very ſlowly.

Gal. in Lib. vlt. de Regim. Sanit. cap. 9.

The ſtealing on of Age to be holpen by phyſicke.

Heereby finally we may conclude, that as in all ages (for we may in like manner, and much more eaſily, vnderſtande the tearmes of childhood, infancy, & youth) and euery eſtate of life: the tearmes may be prolonged by Phyſick, for further time then they are ordained by Nature. And theſe are the limits, which God (the principall Authour of Phyſicke) would haue ſubiected to this Art: which are in our power, ſo long as God permitteth, and cutteth not our thred of life, vntill it pleaſeth him. Euen as in like manner heeretofore, and beyond all the order of Nature by him appointed: he ſuſtained and prolonged life myraculouſly, without anie Phyſicall helpe, yea, euen without eating and drinking.

Life in all degrees of Age, may be prolonged by phyſicke.

CHAP. VII.

Againſt ſuch as hold opinion, that Phyſitions do delay, and prolong hurts & diſeaſes, and are meere abuſers of the world.

The Art of Warre & the Art of phiſick compared together in hardnes of fortune

THere is not any other Art, ſo much ſubiect to ſlander and calumnie, as the Art Military, and that of Phyſicke: which

which agree likewiſe (very wonderfully) together in many other things, as may more at large be diſcerne d, by diuers diſcourſes following. For, to explicate (familiarly) the deeds of Phyſicke, I ſhall often borrowe ſimilitudes from warre-like actions, and namely at this inſtant (meethinkes) I may ſerue my turne with one, which aptly offers it ſelfe for my purpoſe, thus. If a Generall beſiedge a Towne,& take it not within ſome promiſed time, or elſe ſo ſoon as they hope, who are far off, without knowing how it might be taken; although the Captaine performed his vtmoſt diligence: he ſhall be ſuſpected and accuſed in diuers kindes,as of negligence, ſlothfulneſſe, intelligence, corruption. treaſon, ignorance, precipitation, or tardineſſe in his enterprizes, badde conduction, puſillanimity, or ſome other defect in his charge, & yet all theſe vtterly falſe. But they which iudged thus peremptorily, knew not what reſiſtance the beſiedged made,what good prouiſion they had, what ſtrength of men, and all thinges requiſite to defend themſelues, beyond the expectation of the beſiedged; who might be abuſed by his ſcowtes and ſpies, and diuers, making report of the eſtate of the place, and of ſome other exteriour ſemblances,whence might be imagined,what was within the Towne.

Example of a Generall in his beſiedging a town or Citty, and what raſh imputations (vndeſeruedly)may be laid vpon him

They that ſee by imagination, are worſe then blindmē.

So fareth it with the Phyſition, who beſiedgeth any diſeaſe, treacherouſly entred into the bodye of Man, to enforce him forſake the place. Oftentimes, hee is abuſed by exteriour ſignes, and very goodly outward reſemblances: whereby, thinking that he is at the end of the Cure, he is compelled to beginne againe. For, hee meeteth with more corruption and ill humours, then hee knew how to fore-ſee, the Diſeaſe making farre greater reſiſtance, then the Phyſition thought on: reenforcing, and repayring it ſelfe dayly more and more, againſt the beſt ſuccour and remedies applyed. So that the ſickeneſſe will laſt longer, then himſelfe that hath it expected, and cannot be cured ſo ſoone, as (perhappes) the Phyſition promiſed, or others immagined, that had intelligence thereof. Whereuppon, hee groweth ſuſpected preſently, eyther of ignorance, or of negligence, of couetouſneſſe, malice, or ſome other vice, which induceth him to lengthen out the diſeaſe, longer then it ought to be.

The former diſcourſe aluded vnto the Phyſitions labour.

The beſt Artſman may bee deceiued in his owne skill.

As touching ignorance, I ſuppoſe it could not bee ſo, but that the Phyſition was held to bee skilfull, expert, and an honeſt man. If he prooue not ſuch a one, it was ill done to call him, and to commit the patients life into his handes: ſo that the Patient may well ſay, as Ieſus Chriſt replyed vnto *Pilate*, Iohn 19, verſe 11. *He that deliuered mee to thee, hath the greater ſinne.*

Concerning ignorance in the Phyſition.

Iohn 19,11.

As for negligence, I grant that there are Phyſitions learned, expert, and men of good eſteeme, who may paſſe (ſomewhat ouer-lightly) their viſitation and curing of ſicke perſonnes: but I can neuer thinke, that it ſhould bee to any ſuch end, as to prolong the paine; but rather that it is a negligence of inaduertence, as may happen in diuers of their other affayres. For which, there is very good remedy,by erneſt ſolicitations, inciting them (as they ought) to doe their dutie, and wiſhing them to be more frequent in attendance; or elſe, by giuing them a coadiutor or aſſiſtant, to make them the more diligent in their care.

For Negligence in their attendance on ſick & weake patients.

The moſt that is to bee doubted (in mine opinion) is greedie Auarice: For the vulgar ſort thinke, that Phyſitions (commonly) lengthen out Diſeaſes, and draw thē into ſome time of continuance, to deriue the greater profite from them. Wherefore, I would gladly ſtand ſomewhat the longer vpon this point,to refute this falſe opinion, which is the moſt erroneous of all.

Auarice and couetouſneſſe to prolongthe patient in paine.

Firſt, I am of the minde, that the the Phyſition ſhould bee an honeſt man, in regarde, that hee ought to loue his owne Honour and Reputation. I deſire alſo, that hee ſhould profite in his profeſſion; as euerie one ſhould gette Goodes honeſtly by his Vocation. If hee bee an honeſt and Worthie man; hee hath bowelles of Chriſtian Compaſſion, and neuer will ſuffer any man, (by or with his will) to languiſh out in ſickeneſſe or diſeaſe: but if hee bee no ſuch man, hee ought not to bee employed, as I haue formerly ſaide. But if hee be badly enclined; he may make his aime and intent, to graſpe vp Wealth; getting a name for no other end, but to become rich. Yet let me tell yee, if hee prolong Diſeaſes, which he may and can ſhorten: he

The Authors anſwere concerning this couetous point, in behalfe of good and honeſt Phyſitions.

he is no able man, but goeth quite contrary to his intention. For, if he can cure in leſſer time then other men do; he ſhall be in the greater requeſt: hee ſhall haue ſuch crowdes of patients reſort vnto him, as hee can hardly come neare them himſelfe, and rather they wil giue him a french Crowne, then a Teſter to any other. For, what is hee, that would not rather pay double, treble, yea foure-fold more then ordinarie, to be ſo ſoone recouered? If, to ſome other Phyſitian, who commeth ouer-late to the cure, ten Crownes bee giuen: there needeth no complaint, if fiftie Crownes be diſtributed to him, that ſhall abridge the time of a mans agony, in halfe the third or fourth part of ſufferance.

It is a matter of no great conſequence to be famous and to haue great reſort of Patients.

But, to ſpeake vprightly, it is not in the Phyſitians power, to doe any ſuch acte at his owne pleaſure. He would gladly wiſh it ſo, that he had ſuch a vertue, as to heale by touching, ſeeing, or the very firſt receipt giuen, or onely by good gouernement, or any other ſuch light direction. He ſhould haue the leſſer paines, be tenne times the more eſteemed; and gaine infinitely to his owne aduantage. Oh good God! how ſoone might hee be rich, that could be ſo proſperous and ſucceſſefull. It is not then to be imagined, that Phyſitians (prouoked by couetouſneſſe) ſhould delight in prolonging diſeaſes: ſeeing they may gaine ſo much with good-will, reputation, yea, and extraordinarie recompence, if they had power to cure with ſuch expedition. But I pray you tell me one thing, Is there a Phyſitian, that hauing parents, kinred & familiar friends, of whō he wil take nothing for his paines? Can hee cure them (for his credite ſake) in leſſer time: the diſeaſe being alike, and the ſubiect anſwerable? Hee winneth nothing by the length of ſuch ſickeneſſes; it is enough if he looſe not the good opinion conceiued of him, and diuers kind offices done vnto him. Let mee ſay moreouer, when himſelfe, his wife, or children lie ſicke; they depend vpon his owne expence, and neede not to haue any delay in their recouerie: but can he ſooner cure them, then any other beeing in the ſame diſtreſſe? Queſtionleſſe, it is a great follie, to thinke, that Phyſitions ſhould be ſo forgetfull of themſelues, as, to prolong diſeaſes willingly, and with their knowledge; in regard of iuſt affection to their owne honour and profite.

Phyſitions are not able to cure or recouer at their own pleaſure.

Phyſitions ſhould take ſmall delight in lingring diſeaſes.

It may fall out with them, as it often doeth to hardie Souldiours, in beſieging ſome appoynted or determined place, who thinke to effect the buſineſſe in three dayes compaſſe, and yet continue there a moneth before it, without diſſembling or ſparing any paines. They were perſwaded, that a wall could not reſiſt tenne ſhotte of the Cannon; and yet it out-ſtoode more then an hundred. They held opinion, that the beſieged were not ſtored with victualls and munition, for aboue eight dayes; and finde them furniſhed for more then two months. Whatſoeuer is thought or conceiued in this kinde, be they neuer ſo many, they are but coniectures, idiomes of ſome reſemblance, examples and obſeruations, which faile as often as they ſpeed. And yet (for all this) the valiant Captaine aſſaylant, ought not to bee accuſed, for ill doing his duety, when hee perfourmed all that Arte and Induſtrie could require.

Another familiar alluſion of Martial diſcipline, to Phyſicke.

In all reſpects, this is the Phiſitians caſe, who is moſt excuſable altogether, when hee fayleth in the quantity and efficacie of his remedies. For this is the principall matter (as *Galen* auoucheth in many places) that makes the Arte of Phyſicke coniecturall, *Defining coniecture to be a meanes or condition, between perfect knowledge, and pure ignorance.* Therefore it ought to bee interpreted to the beſt, and taken in good part, what ſucceſſe the remedies ſort vnto, which a learned, expert, diligent and honeſt Phyſition applyeth fitteſt for the purpoſe, and the moſt iuſtly as is poſſible for him; euermore referring the euent and iſſue to Almighty God, who giueth and taketh, augmenteth and diminiſheth the power of thoſe remedies, according as it beſt pleaſeth him, whether the diſeaſe ſhall be ſoone or ſlowely ended; one while indifferently amending, an other while agayne as doubtfully depending.

Mallice or ſpleene now remayneth; which may be ſuſpected in the Phyſitian. If there be the very leaſt occaſion of rancour, hatred and ill will betweene the Phiſitian and his patient: there was no good aduice or diſcretion, in calling ſuch a man to the buſineſſe. For (on the contrary) it is very expedient, that the ſicke perſon

Of mallice or hatred in the phyſition towards his Patient.

ſon ſhould loue his Phyſitian, and he him agayne in like manner, although they haue no knowledge of each other, eyther by name or action. In this caſe, a ſtrict concordance of amity, ought to be contracted betweene their hearts: For otherwiſe, the patient will neuer kindely receiue his Phyſitions beſt ſuccour, nor the other care for adminiſtring, where hee findeth his paynes not to bee affected. As for deliberate and purpoſed mallice, with an intent to doe hurt ſecretly; if there be any Phyſitian to be taxed with ſuch a ſin: hee ought rather to be rancked with impoyſoners, and not any way to bee imployed.

Of purpoſed mallice to do harme priuily

But, I vnderſtand by the vulgare ſort, that they take this word Mallice in another kinde of ſence, to wit, that Phyſitians (with their intent and knowledge) doe caſt downe their patients bodies ouerlowe, by abſtinence and euacuations, euen endangering the very lateſt paſſage. And that this is done, but in oſtentation of their Arte, and to winne the worthier reputation, when they can come off with any credit: or elſe they ſalue and ſhield it, with ſome prognoſticke opinion, conceyued at the beginning and vndertaking the buſineſſe, that the patient was (euen then) in daunger of death; but this doth proceede from ſuch, as haue formerly fallen into the ſame perill. Thus doe I comprehend the doubtful coniecture of the common people, and (many times) they ſpare not to ſpeake it.

How mallice in the Phyſitian is vnderſtood by the common people, in their vulgar interpretation.

In very truth, it were moſt maliciouſly, traiterouſly and wickedly doone, if anie Phyſitian ſhould play ſuch prankes with a poore ſicke bodie: yee, as vilely done, as if a man ſhould throw ſuch a one into a riuer, as knew not how to ſwimme, hoping quickely to caſt a cord after him, thereby to get him on ſhoare agayne. For, it may ſo fall out, that the party thus ſowſed and ſubmerged in the water, knowes not how to catch the cord, or cānot hold it ſtrongly enough, or hath not power ſufficient to be drawne foorth, and ſo is drowned in this diſtreſſe. But ſurely, it is not credible or likely, that any Phyſitians ſhould be ſo bad minded, as to bring ſicke bodies ſo lowe by their applications: which (if they are not) ought to bee well inſtituted, and accordingly as beſt appertayneth to the caſe. It is the diſeaſe it ſelfe, which continually vndermineth the forces of nature, encreaſing ſtill his owne power to a certayne poynt, which is the vigour and ſoueraigne condition of the ſickeneſſe. After which, if the diſeaſe be curable, enſueth the declination and diminution of the maladie; and thorow all theſe accidents, the patient proceedeth on to health, as wee ſhall haue fitter occaſion to ſpeake of heereafter.

No excuſe can ſalue or couer ſuch treacherous dealing in any Phyſition.

How ſickneſſe vndermineth the ſtrength of Nature, to gaine the vpper hand thereof.

There are people ſomewhat more modeſt, who ſay not, that Phyſitians do take downe their patients bodies ſo lowe, and bring them into daunger: but that they ſtretch foorth the ſickeneſſe in length, eyther by their indulgence (that is, by ouermuch pleaſing the ſicke perſons humour) or to binde him in the larger aduantage to them, by recouering him out of a long lingering maladie. As touching indulgence, or tender-heartedneſſe, it is verie true, that many ſicke men affect rather, to be ſlowe in recouering, then ſpeedily, only by being the gentlier handled: which is an excuſe ſufficient for the Phyſitian, prouided, that hee makes proteſtation thereof, for ſafetie of his owne honour and reputation.

Of ſuch as are more modeſt in complaining on Phyſitions, for lengthning their diſeaſes.

As for ſuch as prolong ſickneſſe, thereby to deriue the greater benefite: that were a ſmoothe-faced kind of treaſon, and (indeede) meere villany. And ſurely, it cannot be credible (if the Phyſitian do vnderſtand himſelfe well) that he ſhould (at any time) offer to delay a diſeaſe. For, he is not able to meaſure, or comprehend the times length; and, by giuing way to ſuch protraction, the interiour euill may grow the worſſe; wherein is greater perill, then delaying ſimply, or the cure wexing long. It is another maner of thing, then vlcers dealt withall by the Chirurgian: for they may well bee maintayned, without any preiudice to the perſon, becauſe the inner parts of the body may be ſafe enough, purging themſelues by the vlcer, and that there be no other harme, then the vlcerated parts.

Of prolonging ſickneſſe for the larger benefit.

Vlcers and ſickneſſe of the body are not equall in curing.

For proofe whereof, wee oftentimes appoynt, that Fiſtulaes ſhould be entertayned with delay, and make iſſues and fontanelles in many places of the body, which wee muſt haue kept open for verie long time. But inward maladies are of an other conſideration, and neuer ought to be dallyed withall: but if they can be cured,

Inward ſickneſſe is to be ſpeedily cured and no way delayed.

red, to procure it with all poſſible ſpeede, or ſo ſoone as may be.

That phyſitions doe nothing elſe but abuſe the world by their confuſed dealing.

Another point of calumny, is, that Phyſitians doe abuſe the world, that men may well be cured without them; nay, much better and ſooner: and, they doe nothing elſe but deale confuſedly. Wee haue already ſufficiently confuted this follie, by the ſacred authority of *Eccleſiaſticus*. Notwithſtanding, I will borrow one ſimilitude more from that famous (and as much wronged) Militarie profeſſion, our Arte holding therein equall compariſon. Some places doe gladly yeeld themſelues to the beſieger, in regarde hee hath cutte off all their victualls and prouiſion. Others, at the very firſt view of the Cannon: Other at the firſt aſſault: And contrariwiſe, ſome there are that remain impregnable. Now, if we ſhould argument in this manner, we daily ſee places, that yeelde themſelues without enforcing: what neede is there then of beſieging, aſſaulting, fighting, ruinating the walles or any other hoſtile acte? What neede we to make warre on Towne or Cittie; when (many times) wee ſee them voluntarily ſubmitte themſelues? It is then but an abuſe, and a fooliſh idle expence to the country (how ſeditious ſoeuer it be) to haue Souldiers, Artillerie, and any other furniture for warre: where ſuch employment is counted a meere inuention, and cheating of the people, who liue free from ſuch moleſtation, and all goes well with them.

Another alluſion to Military ſeruice.

The Country that is free from warre, hath no need of weapons.

To our purpoſe then. If all places be feeble, and no reſiſtance is made, by men well munited, and prouided with courage, and other things requiſite for their defence; thoſe places may eaſily yeelde themſelues. As the like doe light diſeaſes, againſt which needeth no force of notable remedies; but many times do weare away of themſelues: yea, and ſometimes the very ſtrongeſt, as burning feauers, when there is no great munition within the body to entertaine them, but that the naturall forces make worthy reſiſtance, againſt the inſolencie of the euill. Otherwiſe, there is neede of ſuccour, to employ batterie, and all kindes of the beſt remedies: albeit often it commeth ſo to paſſe, that all theſe doe aduantage nothing, the diſeaſe remayning ſtill incurable.

Sickneſſes incident to the body with their apt cõparatiues.

What benefite is it to ſorrow then, or ſay, that the partie might haue beene better holpen without all this, or that the patient is meerly abuſed? Rather account that truely for an abuſe, if a man promiſe cure of a diſeaſe, which is held to be incurable; hee not knowing any remedie, that hath power ſufficient to ouercome it. Euen as he ſhall be abuſed, that attempteth to compell a Towne to yeelde, by blowes of his fiſts, or to beate downe the walles with a harquebuze ſhot: where the Cannon is rather too little, and no anſwerable engin or inſtrument is to be had. Such are the notable abuſes, & true cheateries, which Mounte-banke Emperickes impoſe vpon the people, promiſing the curing of all diſeaſes, and more then all many times. Wel may it be ſaid, that they abuſe the world, and not naturall Phyſitians, being learned, expert, and approued honeſt men.

Where the Phyſition is refuſed, no meruaile if the cure grow deſperate.

Such are thoſe beggerly wãderers about the countries.

CHAP. VIII.

¶ *That it is neither ſinne, or any acte ill done, to call for the Phyſition, and to vſe his remedies, when men are diſeaſed.*

THere is an other kinde of error grounded on the fooliſh ſuperſtition of ſome Ideots, who thinke it an offence to God; if they call for the Phyſitian, to cure their harms & ſicknes; ſaying, *It is to contradict, and oppoſe our ſelues againſt the will of God, who hath viſited them with ſuch an affliction, and onely for their good: becauſe, by chaſtiſing the bodie, the ſoule is purged from ſinne.* Adding further, as maiſter *Guydo Chauliac* declareth in his ſingular chapter. *God hath ſent it me, as he pleaſed, and he will take it from mee, when he pleaſeth, the name of God be bleſſed, Amen.* Referring their health and recouerie (wholy) to the interceſſion of he Saints and ſhe Saints of *Paradiſe*, making Vows, Almes, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, &c.

Curious Coxcombes that well vnderſtand not what they ſay but rather offend God themſelues by their nice curioſity.

This opinion moſt erroneous, is eaſily refuted, by that which wee haue alreadie alleadged, out of the Booke of *Eccleſiaſticus*, where he piouſly exhorteth the ſicke (and with great wiſedome) *To reconcile himſelfe firſt to God, whome hee hath offended: and after, to giue way to the Phyſition, whom God hath created, & giuen him knowledge,*

The aduice of the Wiſe man to euery ſicke perſon.

God onely is the giuer and maintainer of helth, by such meanes as he hath appointed.

ledge, to be glorified in his wonderfull works. It is most true, that God sendeth afflictions for our chasticement, and hath made vs subiect vnto them, because wee should acknowledge our owne infirmities. From him also proceedes health and recouerie, by those means which he hath ordered in nature: giuing vertue to plants and other creatures, to ouercome and expell diseases: ordaining the Science of Physicke,& the Apothecaries skill to that effect, euen as well as Tillage and husbandrie, ordayned for the sustentation of men, and support of this fraile and mortall life.

Well may wee say then, that these are the meanes which ought not to be despised; for, a wiseman will no way disdayne them. Otherwise it is to tempt God, as if (vainely) wee would haue him to worke myracles,according to our appetite. For, he that saith, *If God will that I shall be healed of this sickenes, I shall be healed, without vsing the Physition: And if I must die, the Physition can not saue mee.* This is euen as if hee should say; *If I must yet liue a yeare longer, and that it be so appoynted by God: I shall safely liue without eating or drinking, and then such expences may well bee spared. For, if I must liue so long, it is impossible that I should die before, although I neither eate nor drinke.*

Proud and arrogant words in tempting God.

An extraordinarie follie and rashnesse, for a man to promise to himself, that God will worke a miracle vppon him: euen to tempt him by such an essay, hauing foode fit for him, and appointed by God for the nourishment of his body. Is not this meerly tempting of God, to trie whether hee will worke against the order of nature, or no? He may suffer him to die in this follie by meere extreamitie of hunger: and the poore Idiot shall then finde by effect, that he vainely collected this fantasticke brutalitie in his minde, that God should maintaine him in life, without receiuing sustentation. If God will, he can doe so, but we know the ordination of his owne will, for all men to make vse of his blessings in their foode; whereto we are to keep vs, and not to seeke after other extraordinarie means, which are vnknowne to vs, and not to bee imployed, according to our presuming appetites.

There is small wisedome to tempt God in such bolde manner.

Al things that God can doe, he will not do to please presumptuous men thereby.

So standeth the case of Physicke, appointed by God, for the health of the sick, and conseruation of them in sound condition. For, whosoeuer will be cured otherwise, and hath gotten an opinion, that if he must haue health, he may haue it without helpe of the Physition, who hath the only meanes to doe it: he tempteth God, and expects, that hee should perfourme a miracle, foolishly contemning the naturall course, which God ordained against diseases. Euen as if his house were on fire, and hee will suffer none to quench it with water, saying: *If God will that it shalbe saued, the fire will be quenched by other means.*

Physicke ordained by God, for benefit of the sicke and healthful, and that no man should despise it.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Concerning the ingratitude and vnkindnes in sicke and diseased persons, towardes Physitions.

INgratitude is most odious both to God & men, and hath iustly bin reputed for so notorious a vice: as he that speaketh of Ingratitude, speakes of all the euills in the world. And this sin is so common amongst men, especially in the case of Physitions; as I am amazed many times, that any generous heart will be a Physition: his profession beeing euerie where subiect to calumny, and cosine germaine to Ingratitude.

An ingratefull man is the onely foule name in the World.

But there are some friends, men of reason, honest and acknowledging, who can yet cleanely couer this offence: seeming willing in any goodnes towards the profession, and not altogither so vnthankefull as others are. For there are some so compleate in courtesie, as they haue protested publikely, & very often: that (next vnder God) they hold their liues of such & such Physitions. And, hauing acknowledged (according to their faculty) the labor and industry of the Physition; will also confesse freely, that they are vnable to recompense him with all their goodes, as therein they speak no more then truth. For, if they owe their liues to the Physitions succour, and life is of greatest valew aboue all their goods: it is not in their power to discharge that debt, though they gaue him all their substance.

Outward professors of loue to physitions, all in ceremony, but little in acte.

Life is more worth then all the wealth in the world.

But the chiefest poynt of recompence, is, their thankful protestations to the Physition, saying; they stand obliged to him, and

Wherein the cheefest point of recompéce consisteth, in gratifying Physitions.

and are indebted to him for their life. This is euen as much, as if a man should snatch a sword out of anothers hand, that stoode ready to kil him therewith; or a strangling cord, by which he meant to end his daies. Were it your case, stood you not beholding to that man for your life? And could (all you had) make him sufficient recompence? Some will say, I haue well payed my Physition, yea, ouer-payed him; I haue giuen him so much euery day, I owe him nothing. If he haue made me well, I haue as wel requited him. Alas poore man, that which is giuen to the Physition, is a small acknowledgement, for so great a good as thou hast receiued: for thou payest or recompencest him with the fruit of his own labour: If hee preserued thee from death, (as happily he did, the grace of God assisting) there is no equal recompence in thy power, except thou expose thy life for him, as he made no spare of his for thee. In this maner thou remainest (for euer) indebted, and thus thou confessest truely thy obligation, when (with an intire and vpright heart) thou makest such an acknowledgement to him.

The common words of many ingratefull men in these wretched times.

How the words of sauing life, and preseruing from death, are harsh to many nice hearers.

I know there are some, who wil thinke these words to be hard, and harsh; when I say, he saued thy life, and preserued thee from death; notwithstanding, it is discerned euidently. Put the case, that a man being wounded, loseth his bloud in extreme abundance, and doubtlesse dyeth instantly, except the bloud be staied: he that puts his finger into the wound, & thereby ceasseth bleeding; is not he worthily said, that hee saueth life? As much, and farre more doth he, that restraynes it by medcins, and so consolidates the wound, as (otherwise) it could not be healed. As much also doth he, that restrayneth a fluxe in the belly; an extreame vomiting, or some other pernicious and deadly vacuitie: Or (conueniently) healeth a Pleurisie: Or him, whom the Squinzie hath stuffed and halfe strangled. As much also (questionlesse) doth he, that catcheth a child out of the fire, where he had beene burnt to death, but for such present succour.

Cures performed by physicke in extremity of danger.

No lesse account ought to be made of Physitions, who make prouision against inward euilles, and succour nature secretly by diuers means, the power whereof appeareth by worthy effects; because they are (as *Herophilus* saith) *The hands of God.*

The words of Herophilus, concerning physitions.

For he releeueth and draweth from deadly dangers, by the means of apt remedies, which the Physition vseth in needefull time. Is it not then a worke more diuine then humane, and can no way be sufficiently recompenced? whereof *Ecclesiasticus* spake very well. *The Science of Physicke, and knowledge in the Physition, shall exalt his head, and make him admirable among Princes: the Physition shall be honoured of Kings.* Ecclus. 38, 3. 4. These are the principall acknowledgements due vnto him, honour and gratitude, as a certaine obligation: and not perswasion, that money can returne him sufficient, or equall recompence.

But there are some, that doe deale farre worse, who, after they haue beene healed, by the means of good and loyall succour: can not endure to be tolde, that they are beholding to the Physition, but growe hatefull against him, that saued their liues. Oh extreame ingratitude! but yet not only in these our dayes: For *Hyppocrates*, in his Epistle to *Damagetes*, maketh *Democritus* to speake in this manner. *I thinke* (saith he) *O Hippocrates, that in our Science, many things are subiect to obloquie and ingratitude. For, sicke persons (if they escape) referre their recouerie to the Gods, or else to Fortune, or else to their owne good complexion, robbing the Physition of all honour: Whome (oftentimes) they hate afterwards, beeing angrie and offended, that anie should thinke them beholding, or indebted to him.*

Ingratitude in the very highest degree, to hate him that preserued their liues.

Hip. in Epist. ad Damaget.

Moreouer, they will not attest or confesse their obligation: but rather are well pleased; that ignorants in the Arte (who neuertheless liue by the Profession) should be of the same temper, kicking enuiously against him, &c.

This suiteth (best of all other) with these our dayes. For, the most part of sicke people now referre theyr recouerie wholly, to some he-Saint or she-Saint of *Paradise*, to whome they vowe and deuote themselues.

Our times learnd ingratitude of former Ages, but not a iote of thankfulnesse.

And although (many times) they do not perfourme their vowes; yet can they follow that which the Italian sayd: *Passato lo malo gabato lo Santo*: The disease being past, the Saint is cheated. Euen (for all the world) as men make great promises to the Physition; so long as the extreamitie of anguish lasteth, protesting to giue him mountaines and maruailes; yea, to pay all in Golde and precious Stones, or else, a good pension all his life time.

In

Mountaines promised, and not Mole-hils performed.

In briefe, much goodnesse is pretended to be doone him; but when the patient commeth to health, then hee is of a quite contrary minde: Eyther, that the Physition performed not the cure, but that it might haue beene doone without him. Or else, from the sollemne vowe he made, came the cause of his recouerie, with the good attendance of his Keepers, and diuers comfortable broaths. Or else, from the Apothecarie, to whome hee rather will attribute all the successe, rather then to the Physition; although the other did nothing but by his direction. Else, hee will attribute it vnto the goodnesse of his owne complexion: or to some casuall chaunce, by some disorder in him committed and doone: some of these must haue the reference of his healing: So that the Physition shall surely haue the smallest part, or rather none at all, of the honour, gratitude, kindnesse and recompence.

All means deuised, to rob the Physition of his due honour.

For performing of promises to physitions.

And as concerning promises, the man beeing recouered, then he considereth, what charges the sickenesse hath cost him; how long hee hath depended vppon the cure, and what an hinderance it hath bin vnto him. Thus his debt to the Physition is forgotten, and to him hee imputeth a part of his expences, reputing all superfluous, and keeping his bedde ouer long, hoping hee should haue beene restored much sooner, and with a great deale lesser charges. So that (in his account) the Physition should be indebted to him: and if hee could finde Iudges answerable to his minde, hauing iudiciall authoritie; he would haue him condemned in the greatest part of his expences. Heere is good acknowledgement of a benefite receiued; was there euer the like ingratitude?

There are too many such in these vngratefull times.

Surely, I can compare it with none other, then as if a man should strangle himselfe by despayre; or otherwise, and some one comming to succour him, did cut the cord: when the other (maliciously) afterwards, should make him pay for cutting the halter. Or an other man, ready to be drowned in the water; any man endeuoring to saue him, put his own life in perill (by chance) teare a lapper of his garment; and the drowned man (after) to enforce repayment for his torne garment. So, they which should be payers, doe become demaunders; confessing neyther gree nor grace, for all the good seruice performed vnto them: but rather affect, that an ignorant varlet, or some charre-chamber woman, procured their healthfull recouery, then the care and industrie of the painefull Physition. And I guesse this to ensue from one of these two reasons; eyther that they are so dull and sottish, as they haue not the capacitie of comprehension. Or else, knowing it well enough; they are ashamed and confounded, for not hauing the will to acknowledge and confesse it. Well may I then conclude, as I beganne this Chapter: Ingratitude is most contemptible to God and men.

Two apt comparisons agreeing with the physitions fortune.

Two imagined reasons of this base ingratitude to well deseruers

CHAP. VI.

¶ *That the vulgare sort doe account it nothing, if they be not cured or healed contrary to their owne opinion. That the latest applyed remedies haue all the honour: And happy is the Physition that commeth to the declination of the disease.*

OVr next ensuing errour, is strongly in cõiunction with the former, and (oftentimes) is the cause of the sayde Ingratitude. For, if a sicke person bee not healed against his owne opinion, or of such as come to visite him; there is nothing at all doone, and therefore they know not how to conceiue of the Physition.

Recouery cõtrary to opinion, is distinguished two wayes.
1. Of healing in lesser time, then the disease lasteth.

Now, to heale or recouer a man against opinion, consisteth of two partes: One is, to heale in least time, and (as it were) at vnawares. As, if the disease last commonly with so much accesse, or so many dayes; to cure it in much lesser space. For otherwise, say they: Well sir, the malady hath made his full course, and yet the Physition hath doone little or no seruice at all; as well might it haue beene done within the same time. Poore iudgements, doe yee not beholde, that in one and the same kinde of infirmitie, some are short, and others long? There are tertian Feauers or Agues, and of conti-

Of tertian Feuers, and them of continuance.

nuance also, which last and hold for a moneth or two,, you imagine, that the Tertian should not exceed (at the most) a seuenth accesse, which are fourteene daies, and the continuer to consist of seauen, eleauen, or foureteene, as you haue heard Physitions speake, which is the tearme of exquisite feauers. But you know not, that of a thousand, we shall hardly meete with two such, because the most part are confused and mingled, whereby their tearme is much more lengthened, as in all diseases engendred of diuers humours.

You imagine (and it is true) that if the tertian Ague doe end within three weeks, or a moneth, beeing well beaten by our remedies: that (but for such encountring) would haue endured two or three moneths, as hath bin seene in many others. Was it not well rebated, and cunningly out-stept for the patient? Yet nothing at all is doue (saith he) if much more be not performed, then he pretended. For, he is of the mind, that a Physition may handle sickenesse, as men doe Stirrop-leathers, in lengthening or shortening them as they list. The acte is not sufficient to abate or extenuate a quarter, a third part, or the moitie of the paine, and to hinder or appease those diuers accidents, which commonly happen in all kindes of diseases, deliuering sound and probable reasons, for the best account that can be possible, and the charges equall to his owne desire.

The sick man accounteth nothing to be well done, if it be not answerable to his owne opinion.

Yet this is falling into an other part of vulgar opinion, as namely, that all is nothing worth Sir, except ye can heale such as are held for dead. For, admit the sickenes to be deadly, as all diseases are, which we call eager (that is to say, cutting, goes on swiftly, and is not without terrible accidents) if the patient or his visitants hold opinion, that this great danger may be recured, and it prooue to be so: yet still nothing is done. Contrariwise, if the sicke man chaunce to die, then the Physitian is in all the fault. For, the assistants were perswaded (though the Physition found the contrarie in his prognosticke rule) that he might be recouered. But if they imagine that a man will dye, or hold him alreadie for dead, then the Physition beholdeth great wisedome. For, though he doe nothing else, but appoynt Broaths for him, with some drogueries or confections, especially restauratiue and cordiall things

2. It is nothing to cure sicke men, except they be reputed for dead, or very neere it.

Men repute themselues iudicious and wise in their owne conceit.

(albeit they are not to any purpose;) yet hath he performed a chiefe piece of work. Heere is a rare cure; hee hath recouered such a man, giuen ouer for dead: he hath raysed him agayne: Oh, he is a great and worthy man, & pitty it is he should want.

The same Doctour, at the very same time, hath another patient, whose sickenes is not reputed deadly, because the euill lies more closely concealed. He takes very great payns to restore his health, and to compasse his intent, imployeth all his skill and industry for the patients safety: whom he knoweth to be in greater daunger, then all the friends (standing by) doe or can imagine. At the last, he dyeth, quite contrary to their common opinion. Look then vpon Maister Physition, his reputation is sodainely lost, and then they tell him: That hee meddleth with too many matters at once: The other man was much better gouerned. Thus, neuer is any thing doone of value, if it be not performed, against the hope and expectation of the vulgare.

The recouery of one patient, is not a warrant for all other in the like case.

An other errour propounded in this Chapter, is, the attribution of the successe in the cure, to the latest administred remedies: euen as they referre the occasion of sicknes, to the last hurtfull acte that the party committed. As if a man had fed on some fruit, salad, or other thing lesse ordinary, & (soon after) the party falls sicke, of some disease more then of a months continuance) yet that must be the only cause: neuer remembring other precedent disorders, which procured the greater part in preparation. For, euill humors will haue a meeting together by little and little, till they come to a certayne quantity, against which, nature hath power to resist no longer. Euen as wee see a Glasse (set in the raine) to fill it selfe by many drops of water, so long as till they come to the brim: but being full, the least drop then following, makes an ouer-flow. Euen so, the least addition, to that which nature hath already supported, makes hir to sinke vnder the ouer-plus: as a yong Mule, vsed to a common charge: how little soeuer is added to her vsuall burden, she is (by no meanes) able to beare.

3. The third proposition.

Sickneſſe imputed to later occasion, whē the infirmity hath bin of longer continuance.

It was not then the last morsell, meate, or disorder, that did the harme, the precedent riots had perfourmed their parts before. Euen as in the felling of a tree, 100.

Nature is so sufficient of it selfe, that needlesse addition breedeth but diseases.

cuts

Sickneſſes may ſeeme ſudden, but they haue other precedent occaſions.

cuts(giuen with an Axe) appeare to be in vaine, and ſtil it ſtands; for tis the hundred and eleauenth ſtroake that ouerthrows it. Now, if a man ſhal ſay, the laſt odde blow did the deed; ſhould he not do great wrõg to all the reſt? As alſo, when a ſtrong Tower hath endured 1000. diſcharges of the canon, and at the laſt ſhot of all, it falleth: Did the laſt do any more then the firſt? It is all one in iudging of remedies, which abate the harme, and expell ſickeneſſe out of the body. The laſt application(whatſoeuer it was)may haue the honor by vulgar cenſure, ſpeaking according to their capacity: but what was the labour and paines perfourmed before, of purging, glyſters, drugges of diuers kinds, adminiſtred both within and without, did all theſe nothing? In the end, ſome one thing is added, and then the man is made well. Poore idle opinion, if this laſt admired acte had beene done at the firſt, it had ſerued to no vſe at all: but, after the hot ſeruice of ſo many other remedies, which controuled and diſheartned the euill, ſhaking, and renting it from the root; the leaſt thing in the world could then quite diſplace it.

Ir is not the laſt application in phyſick, that is the Maſter-piece.

Like to poore beſieged people, no longer able to hold out; let but a man be ſlain among them, and they yeelde themſelues immediately. Shall it therefore be ſayd, that all the battery, all the aſſaults, cutting them off from vittailes, and other good means for conquering; theſe ſerued to no purpoſe at all? But only he did the deed, that diſcharged the laſt Musket; and yet (notwithſtanding) he killed but one man: If he had ſlaine a chiefe Commaunder, it had bin a matter of much more moment: Euen ſo, a briefe or ticket, hung about the necke; or drugges tied about the wriſt of a man; ſhall haue the honour of healing Agues, affirming, that they could not bee cured by any other applyed good orders, directions, remedies, and great medcines. This is all one, as if the diſeaſe hung but by a twine threed, which may eaſily bee broken by perſwaſion and opinion, and thereupon the ſicke man reſtored: but if this had beene applyed in the beginning, the patient could not haue beene cured, by an hundred times as many perſwaſions, or the very ſtrongeſt imaginations. Perſwaſion & imagination may do ſomwhat in healing, but not all, nor alone of themſelues. Thus you ſee how true and

The Argumẽt ſtill holding between phyſicke and Military Diſcipline.

Perſwaſion may do ſomewhat in phyſicke, but not abſolutely performe the Cure.

certaine remedies, are robbed of their due honour, by iudging ill of the ſucceſſe; becauſe men would be cured ſudenly, before any thing at all is done to effect it: otherwiſe, all indeuor elſe is but in vaine, & ſerueth to no purpoſe. He only is the author of the happines, after whom (immediatly) a man findes himſelfe to be recouered.

And bicauſe it is commonly ſaid(which is the fourth poynt of this Chapter) *Happy is the Phyſition, that comes to the declination of the diſeaſe*; we muſt imagine, that what ſoeuer was done before, health ſtoode at the doore, tarrying but for his entrance, & healths introduction is attributed to him. And although that Phyſitian ſhall do nothing at all, nor appoint or giue direction; yet (ſay the people) he is the cauſe of the happines: and if he had bin ſent for at the beginning, the ſicke man had ſooner bin ſet on foot. But if the Phyſition be wiſe & honeſt, he will not be bonneted with this honor, conſenting to thieuiſh larceny and detraction; againſt them that well entreated the patient, & (vnder God) were truly the Authors of his reſtoring: Rather he will reforme thoſe poore opinioniſts, by ſhewing them, that the accidents formerly paſt, were of the nature of the ſickenes, which hath had ſuch a courſe; and that (by good directions already adminiſtred) all ſucceeded well, and to the aduantage of the patient.

4. The Phyſition is eſteemed a happy man, that comes to the ending of an infirmity.

No honeſt mã will be the baſe preferrer of another mans truely deſerued reputation.

If he doe otherwiſe, and attribute that honor to himſelfe, or accept it from their vulgar ignorance; he commits a ſhamefull wrong, and the like Iewell may afterwards hang at his owne eare. For, of what ſufficiency or reputarion ſoeuer he be, it may ſo come to paſſe, that another Phyſition ſhall be called, vppon the ending of ſome cure by him taken in hand at the firſt, and he may requite him in the ſame kinde. Euery man therefore ought to be well aduiſed, and honeſtly content himſelfe, with ſuch honor as is due vnto him; not robbing his colleague or fellow-labourer in painefull endeauours, yeelding good and faithfull teſtimony, of ech others laudable performed actions. Accounting himſelfe happy (neuertheleſſe) that he came to the declination of the diſeaſe; where, taking no more pains, yet he ſhared a part in the gratefull acceptation, due vnto them that were employed from the firſt beginning.

Whoſoeuer doth another man wrong, may meete with the like himſelfe.

A duty neceſſarily required among learned and honeſt phyſitions.

CHAP. XI.

Against such as censure and iudge of Physitions sufficiencie, by their successe: which oftentimes is more due to a happy chance, then skill or knowledge.

Badly can a blinde man iudge of colours, no more can a foole of Physicke.

IT is a great matter, that the Science of Physicke shold be so obscure & profound, as nothing more: and yet notwithstanding, there is not any so foolish but will take on him to censure the knowledge of a Physition. To iudge soundly & iustly, concerning the sufficiencie of anie man: it behooueth him (at the least) to be of the same profession, and to know somthing therein too. It must needs then be great rashnesse, for men that vnderstand nothing in Physicke, to enterprize to iudge, who are the best and most skillfull Physitions. Their eye and censure waites on the successe of their practise; & if som one heale (by chance, or sodainely, as we said before:) he is censured for a singular Physition, although he did not any thing deseruing speech. On the contrarie, the Physition little knowes, whether the patient shall die, or linger long in the agonie; which the vulgar esteeme lightest of all. Modesty will neuer say, such a mā is more or lesse skilfull, if he be reputed learned among men of knowledge: but will rather say he is not happy among sicke men, and consequently, no great Physition; euermore censuring by the successe.

Successe of practise is the vulgars direction in cēsure on the paines of any Physition.

It is vndoubtedly true, that in al things there is a happinesse and vnhappinesse, & (as the *Italian* saieth) *La buona é la male sorte, Good fortune and bad.* And the best happinesse for the Physition is, not to be called or employed, for such as are certain to die. For, there is no reputation to bee had, no, not in respect or friendship; neuertheless, he shal be sure not to escape blame, although he hath done his very vttermost endeuour, and ought to bee no lesse esteemed, then if the patient had escaped. Euen as we may say of a Captain, that shall defend a Town to the very latest Effort and labour, hauing eaten vp all the horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, Rats, which the besieged place could afford, hides, parchments, and other vile foode (as is sayde of them of *Sanserre*, in the yeare 1573. who fed vpon the very tiles and slates, making bread of them, as I know not how.) Hauing lost the most part of his men, the wal all battered, and no meanes wherby to resist any longer; constrainedly (in the end) renders vp the Towne. Shall hee deserue lesse commendation (nay rather not farre more) then he that saued his own towne, being well munitioned and prouided of al things needfull, which he preserued without any paine, & very easily might do so?

Good and ill hap awaiteth vpon the actions of al men, and consequently vpon Physitions.

No thanks for a Generall to saue a Town, when he is able to withstand all resistance.

If this case should bee controuersed, it were easie to be discided; prouided, that the censurer be a man of iudgement, and not transported with affection; as the most part of men are, in being wilfully blinded. Whereuppon ensueth, that they will not bee perswaded, but that there must bee a fault in the Physition, if the patient (of whom he is most carefull and diligent) amend not as they desire and hope. Nor doth this case differ from the Captaines, that was the Gouernor of the lost Town, against whom remaineth continuall rancour and discontentment; because he did not sufficiently foresee the sieges affaires; but thus is all his paines baffulde in particularities of opinions, euen to the valewe of a straw. Whereas contrarywise, he shal be accounted for a valiant man (although hee bee the basest villaine in the world) if hee haue but good successe in his enterprizes.

Men are ouer much addicted and led by their own selfperswasion, & wilfully blinded.

Assuredly, it is no meane matter, for a man to bee happie in his attemptes; but this happinesse dependeth not vppon his knowledge or sufficiency, because it is an especiall gift of God; without which, he may be called to succour such as shal escape, continuing and effectuating the vertues giuen to remedies; as also, in not being called to such as shall dye, to whome the greatest paines and skill profiteth nothing. It is then verie ill done, to censure the sufficiency of a Physition by successe, which is more due to happinesse, and to the grace of God, then to all the knowledge that can be in man.

It is a great matter for a man to bee happy & successefull in his affaires.

And yet wee may not from hence inferre, or conclude, that it is all one, whatsoeuer Physition is called, to say; If God will that the sicke man shall recouer, hee will bestow his blessing on the remedies, if they bee ministred by the most ignorant man

man in the world, and they ſhall prooue happy. It is very true, but yet it is to tempt God, as we haue formerly alleadged. As if we would haue him, that of ſtones, he ſhould make bread; and, of a remedie to no purpoſe, make it profitable. It is a common ſaying: *Helpe thou, and God will aſſiſt thee*. Let all the beſt meanes bee ſought that may be vſed, and referre the iſſue to God, in whoſe hands are all things.

CHAP. VIII.

Againſt ſuch men, to whom all things are ſuſpected, and Phyſitions ſlaundered, in the moſt part of thoſe accidents, which happen in diſeaſes.

A heauy burden to the very beſt Phyſition.

ONe of the very great paines, which a Phyſition (beeing the moſt generous, and of beſt ſpirit) hath, is, to ſupport the reproaches, and falſe accuſations of the ſicke perſon, or of his aſſiſtant friends, who are ſo vnreaſonable; that all the accidents which do happen in ſickeneſſe, they attribute them to the remedies; and thoſe of good ſucceſſe, they doubt whether they are due to the Phyſition, or no.

Accuſations vpon the patients weakneſſe, and imputed to the Phyſitions error.

For, firſt of all, when they ſee the perſon very weak, they accuſe the abſtinence and paucitie of food, appointed to him by the Phyſition: or elſe letting him bloud, or the purgation, and that they are the cauſes of the weakenes; imputing no vertue to the remedies, which (in diminiſhing the euill and bad humours) ſuſtained the ſicke body in farre greater ſtrength; for, but by the vſe of them, his eſtate would be a great deale weaker. That this muſt needs be ſo, do we not ſee ſome, who, condemning abſtinence, bloudletting and purgatiues, become in farre more feeble condition? If they that make no vſe of ſuch remedies, maintaine themſelues in greater ſtrength then other; one then might better ſay, that the remedies are the occaſion of weakenes but on the contrary, we behold thoſe deſpiſers to be more feeble, and (in the end) to die ſooner then the other.

For ſuch as deſpiſe all good meanes ordayned for their health.

Imputation laid vpon diuers other accidents, by ignorance of ſuch as are ſeuere cenſurers.

So is it of the other accidents, imputed vniuſtly to the remedies; as vomiting, flux of the belly, diſtaſte of meates, alteration, paine, want of ſleepe or watching, rauing and ſuch like, happening by reaſon of the diſeaſe properly, & from the nature thereof: but not from applyed remedies as ignorant people ſuppoſe. For, if after the patient hath taken ſomething, by ordination of the Phyſition, or onely ſome matter is applyed vnto him, and then (quickely after) he hath a caſting, or fluxe in the belly: this was the cauſe, by reaſon he did it not before. After ſuch a medicine receiued, this Syrrope, that Reſtauratiue; this Cordiall potion is ſo diſtaſtefull, as nothing can be more, alteration hath made the impreſſure far greater then before.

Of idle Arguments, pretending cauſes without any true ſence or reaſon.

It is true, that theſe occurrences happen after, but not thereby cauſed. And is it not as ill argued, if a man ſhould ſay: Since it ſnowed, my cloake grew more torne then it was before; therefore the ſnow was the cauſe thereof. Or otherwiſe; Since I fed on that Capon, I haue had the head-ach, the Collicke, or fluxe in the belly; therefore the Capon cauſed al theſe accidents. Sillie capacities, whatſoeuer commeth after, proceeds not from all that which hath preceeded. The fluxe in the belly, the caſting, diſtaſting, alteration, lacke of ſleepe, rauing, and the like other cauſes (to you vnknowne) which produce ſuch effects in their due time: was, as the learned Phyſition knew how to direct the medicine, by breaking the courſe of the diſeaſe, foreſeeing the dangerous accidents, and diminiſhing them. All which notwithſtanding, in deſpight of what hee hath doone; the ſickeneſſe will make his part good againſt him, and encreaſe it ſelfe to a certain point commonly called, the eſtate of the diſeaſe: but that may grow on more gently, then is to be permitted.

When the ſickneſſe is violent, it checketh much skill in the phyſition.

And if alteration, diſtaſte, and other accidents doe encreaſe, after the vſe of ſome medicaments well appointed: beleeue aſſuredly, that they are from the diſeaſes further progreſſion, notwithſtanding all the re-trenchings and reſiſtances formerly made. Credite alſo, that the ſickeneſſe would haue beene more furious, and the aforenamed accidents leſſe ſupportable, if no meanes had beene made againſt them: as wee ſee by good experience, in ſuch as miſ-priſe thoſe remedies. For if it be true, that many do die through want of helpe (which is a Maxime receyued generally) it muſt needes fall out then;

Wilfull refuſall of helpe killeth many, and diuers dye for lacke of helpe,

that they haue had more accidēts,& more tediouſnes, then ſuch as eſcape in the like perils. There is no need then of ſuſpecting, or calumniating the remedies, which haue bin followed by ſome accidents, olde or new, and then to ſay; This frontall (after the vſe of it) he hath ſlept leſſe, or raued more; for the fronrall was no cauſe thereof, but the ſickenes it ſelfe, that could not by the beſt meanes then be tamed.

Faults are eaſily found, but few good reaſons can be ſhewne for them.

Next, after the Cordiall potion, he had the hiccoke, the diſſenterie, or the cramp. It is very true: but this taile belongs not to this Calfe, as we ſay in the common Prouerb, this is another maner of ſtraine. I deny not, but remedies may be ſhrewd occaſions ſometimes, for they may be ill ordered, and but badly to the purpoſe. But I euer preſume, that the Phyſition ſhould be learned, diligent and affectionate: of all which he ſhould continually reliſh, for the better interpretation of his ordināces, and receuing them in the more reſpect; attributing rather to the diſeaſe, or the expreſſe will of God, thoſe accidents which happen (be they new or olde) then to the remedies. For there are diuers ſodaine incounters, and which cannot any way bee foreſeene, to make a guarde or preuention of them: as ſometimes of a very light medicine, we ſhal proceed ſo far as bloud, becauſe the patient was then vppon the poynt, of hauing the fluxe in his belly.

Of diuers encounters, no way to be foreſeene or preuented.

The Phyſition, who can not diuine, eſpecially on a neutrall body, neither ſicke nor ſound, that keeps not in bed, becauſe he would be no ſicker then he liſted: if nature make ſome euacuation of it ſelfe; hee (knowing it needfull) makes his medicine light enough. It hapneth hereupon, that after the operation, nature paſſeth on further, and makes a flux in the belly, which continueth inordinately: becauſe the expultrix vertue, being pricked by the eagre and mordicant excrements, cannot of her ſelfe reſtraine them. And the matter being corroſiue, cuts out the way as it paſſes along, that bloud enſueth of it. The medicine muſt endure the accuſation of al this, which (notwithſtanding) gaue but two or three ſmall ſieges: all the reſt was but a ſurrounding, & as a meere torrent of humours, gathered together of longer time. As ſomtime it comes to paſſe, that a man pulling but one ſtone out of a wall; a fadome or two follows after, becauſe it was ſo old and ruinous. Againſt a ſtrong wall, there needs a Cannon or double cannon; but for a weake and feeble wall, a fielde-peece there will make a great breach.

Nature will haue her free paſſage in the body of man, beſide all application of phyſicke.

And alſo, to iudge well of the effects of medicins; their true condition & eſtate muſt firſt be knowne, which none can ſo well do as the Phyſition, and not to iudge only by the effects. For, if during the operation, or ſoone after, we ſee that happen, which is not of that nature, caried or forced from the medicine; it is not to be attributed thereunto. No more then as if a child, ſhould giue a blow with his fiſt to a drunken reeling man, and hee ſhould ſodainely fall to the ground. It was not the ſtroke of the hand, that had ſuch ſtrength; but the wine or ſtrong drinke which had ouercome him, whereby the fal happened to him.

The quality & condition of remedies muſt be knone rather then their effects.

Neuertheleſſe, ſome one may reply by the ſelfeſame compariſon, that in like maner, to a ſicke man (very weake) a light medicine being giuen, it hath the power to ouerthrow him to the ground. Then may we well couple therewith this other compariſon; If a man ſhould giue a fillop on the arme, to a woman beeing great with child, immediatly after ſhe ſhould miſcarry. Hapned this by the fillop? The arme is far enough from the belly, & the fillop too light to enforce it: It is to be vnderſtoode then, that from ſome other inwatd occaſion, this ſo ſodaine miſ-hap receiued ſuch vigour. Euen ſo, many other things doe meet together of themſelues, not any way depending one vpon another; but caſually & accidentally, & the cauſes (commonly) neuer pretēded, or by any means diſcernd.

Compariſons that hold no true correſpondency with the rules of phyſicke.

CHAP. IX.

¶ *That there are more ſtore and plentie of Phyſitions, then of anie other ſort of people.*

I Finde recorded, that *Alphonſo de Eſte*, Duke of *Ferrara*, being on a time in familiar cōference, demaunded; of what trade or profeſſion there was moſt people. One anſwered, of Cordwainers or Shoomakers; another ſaide, of Tailers; another, of Carpenters; another, of Mariners; and another, of Lawyers. *Gonello*, a famous Buffone,

A prerty queſtion moued by the Noble Duke of Ferrara.

Buffone or Ieſter, replied, that there were more ſtore of Phyſitions, then of any other kinde of people: and waged agaynſt the Duke his maſter (who was far off from any ſuch conceite) that he wold approue his wordes, within the compaſſe of foure and twenty houres.

The policy of Gonello, to make good what hee promiſed to the Duke.

On the morrow morning, *Gonello* went from his lodging, with a great Night-cap on his head, and a Kerchiefe binding vp his chin, and then a huge hatte couering them all, beſide a warme cloake about his body. In this furniſhment, hee tooke the way towards the Pallace of his Excellencie, along the ſtreete called *La rue des Anges*. The firſt man he met withall, demanded of him, what he ayled? Whereto hee anſwered, that he had an outragious pain in his teeth. O my good friend (ſayde the other) I know the beſt receit in the world for it, telling him the matter & the means. *Gonello* wrote downe his name in his Tables, making ſhew, as if he had ſet downe the receipt. Not two paces further had he gone, but hee found two or three talking together: who demaunding of him the ſame queſtion; each man declared to him a ſeuerall remedy; he writing downe their names, as he did the firſt.

Many are medlers in giuing councell but fewe or none can giue right directions.

As he held on his way along the ſame ſtreet, going a ſoft and gentle pace, euerie man he met withall, ſtil gaue him counſel for ſeuerall receipts, and no one agreeing with another; yet ſtill each friend aſſured him, that (what he ſpake off) had bin approoued certainc and infallible; and ſtill he wrote downe euery mans name. Being come to the low Bulwarke of the Pallace; hee was round engirt with many people there attending; becauſe he was moſt familiarly knowne to them all; and euerie man pittying to ſee him thus diſtreſſed, (vnderſtanding the reaſon of his pain) aduiſed him to many receiptes, which each man auouched to be the verie beſt in the World: he writing downe their Names, gaue them infinite thankes at his departing.

The fool cunningly beguileth the Duke his maſter, for the winning of his wager.

Being entred into the Dukes chamber, his Excellencie no ſooner ſawe him, but running to him, ſaide: How now *Gonello*, what ayleſt thou? In pittifull manner hee replyed (euen as if he had bene ſcarſe able to ſpeak:) Ah my Lord, I haue the toothake, in the moſt cruell manner that euer man had. Whereuppon, his Excellencie ſaide vnto him; Alas poore *Gonello*, I know a thing that will helpe thy paine preſently, yea, if thy teeth were ſpoiled and rotten: *Meſſer Antonio Muſſa Braſſouolo*, my Phyſition, neuer found a better in all his practiſe; take it, and it will immediatly helpe thee. Sodainely, *Gonello* threw off all his ſickely outſide, ſaying out alowde: How now my Lord, what are you become a Phyſition too? See heere my roll of Phyſitions, how many I haue met withall, betweene mine owne Lodging, and your Court: they are in number almoſt two hundred, and yet I haue paſt through but one ſtreete only. I will gage as much more to my wager, to finde aboue ten thouſand in this Cittie, if I ſhould but go thorow it, as I haue done this one ſtreete: finde you out as many more my Lord, of ſome other profeſſion.

Euery man perſwadeth himſelfe, to haue much more knowledge, then diuers Phyſitions haue.

A hiſtory well met withall to our purpoſe, and verie true; for, euery man will be a Phyſition for one thing or other, and there are very fewpeople, but they pretend to knowe enough, nay more then ſome Phyſitions do. I ſet aſide ſome Chirurgeons, Barbers, Apothecaries, Nurſſes, or attendants vppon ſicke perſons, wiſe women, Mountebankes, and other Emperickes, euen to very Merchants, who, to make ſome profeſſion of a part of Phyſick become meere Polypragmons; pretending to vnderſtand more then Maiſter * *Mouche*, making great outward ſhewes, and medling with many diſeaſes, accompanied with ſhameleſſe aſſurances, and no meane promiſes. I would leaue them, but that they are ſuch a goodly number, and daily they encreaſe by multitudes, out of the baſeſt mechanical trades; as it is moſt lamentable to behold, and many liues periſh by their meanes.

The name of a cunning Iugler, a Mountebanke in France.

There are diuers of them, that will controule the directions of a Phyſition, preſuming to handle the pacients pulſe, and obſerue his Vrine. Deliuering theyr own aduices, quite contrary to that which the Phyſition appointed. If there be any, who are better aduiſed heerein; I thinke the number of them to be ſo ſmall, as a man had much rather write of thoſe preſumptuous companions, making vp a role of ſo manie vndertakers, as (indeede) they would appeare to be infinite. Some of thē are ſo bold and impudent, as before the learned Phyſition (yea, euen in his preſence)

Among verie baſe mechanicall Trades there are plenty of theſe Phyſicke profeſſors, leauing their owne, becauſe they cannot liue by them.

sence) they will deliuer opinion, whether the patient should be let blood, or no: and when he bleedeth, that so much may bee taken, and no more: That it is not good to purge, the season is not proper, but fitter for nourishing; when to minister restoratiues, diets, coullises, pressis, *Orges mondes*, &c. which must be giuen by their order, or else the patients friends will neuer be quiet.

The verie chiefe controler of all Arte and knoledge.

In briefe, the great controller, euen the prime and cheefest Iudge of all, is, the ignorant vulgar, most vniust and vnindifferent, who (as *Terence* saide) *Thinke nothing to be well done, but what they do themselues.* And if their aduice be not followed, it is attributed to the Patients death, or to the prolonging of his sickness, if that some other course is nottaken. Let thē but imagine, and the Patient bee perswaded (by them) that it must be so; all other proceeding is absolutely erroneous, and thinges else is blamed, be they applied to the true purpose indeede. Is not this a miserable ease? In other Arts, which are lesse obscure and difficult, and all thinges (well-neere) apparant to euery eye; the Arte-zan is permitted to follow his owne mind.

All Arts else but Physicke, are not subiect to so much controule & obloquy.

In Physicke, the most secret and hidden of all, and wherein the people cannot discerne a iot; euery man will dominere, like Rats in straw. Nor shall wee euer see better succesſe by the order of Nature, for the most part of diseases, in persons of degree, that haue great visitation of followers: but alwayes they haue health soonest of whom the least account is made.

CHAP. XIIII.

That it is not for the sicke Patients profite, to haue many Physitions, as in ordinarie: but one Physition sufficeth, being assiduate and skilfull.

The Authour writeth heere to such as are Physitions indeede.

THis proposition may be vnderstood, by what we haue lately saide, touching vulgar estimation of Physitions: but I would not be mistaken, becauſe my meaning here properly is; of such as are truely Physitions, in skill, knowledge, and profession. It is very reasonable and necessary, that the aduice of many should bee had, in difficulties, and matters doubtfull concerning a sickenesse. For (as the common saying is) *Foure eyes may see more then two*; that is, supposing them all to see clearly; for, one may aduise one thing, and a contrary party another; whereby, their meeting and agreement, is to the profit of the patient. But to haue many Physitions, in ordinary (as it were) and all to haue equall care of the sicke person; can no way bee for his good and profit. For, in euerie purpose, they may contradict one another in some thing, or else about a matter indifferent, one in enuy of another, and more for ostentation then necessity.

Aduice of one Physition to another, cannot be hurtfull to the patient.

Pliny did very well obserue and note this writing thus. *It neede not to be doubted, that Physitions (coueting reputation by some nouelty) make a sodaine Traffick of our souls. Hence ensueth those miserable contestations, about sicke bodies; none of them beeing of one and the same opinion, becauſe no repetition must be made. Thence came that superscription on the vnhappy Tombe: I was spoilde, by hauing too many Physitions.* Meaning thereby the Emperor *Adrian*, who (in dying) cryed out: *That the multitude of Physitions had kild him.*

Pli. in l. 29. c. 1.

The words of the Emperor Adrian on his death bed.

The reason of this mischeefe is diuers waies vnderstood. As first, the enuy or ielousie, which (commonly) one man beareth to another; especially such, as are the worst created, ambitious, and couetous, beyond the ordinary course of other Artesmen. For, it is vsually seene: *That one Potter is enuious at another*, according to the ancient Adage. But much more (without comparison) the Physition, becauſe he desireth, that the whole honour should be referred to him, of well predicting, well ordering, and well finishing the disease. Wherefore, hee cannot willingly endure, that any other should share a part with them. I speak of the couetous ambitious man: who is likewise (comonly) quarrellous, a detractor, and insupportable.

One Begger is wo, another by the doore doth go.

Of couetous, ambitious, & quarrellous Physitions.

You haue some men very modest, but yet iealous of the honor, which they conceiue is due to them; chiefely, in such occasions, which they thinke may bee done by themselues, as being cases light, common, and ordinarie. They can bee well con-

contented, not to be contradicted; & yet notwithstanding, they will giue consent, and yeelde to the desire or pleasure of the Patient, or those friends that are about him. But this is not for the sicke parties profit, as I haue vndertaken to proue. For, although there be three or foure Physitions, one assisting to another for cure of the man, being all modest, peacefull, and skilfull: yet notwithstanding, wee knowe not how to preuent and auoide, the most part of such inconueniences as I will sette downe, and are (oftentimes) ordinary. For I leaue to them, who haue obserued it by others, to iudge, how much this maner of proceeding is incommodious, and hurtfull to poore patients.

Of the first inconuenience by multiplicity of Physitions.

First, if there be but one or two Physitions ordinarily employed: they will (no doubt) be most carefull, most diligent, most affectionate, to come off with theyr credit and honour. And yet one man alone, who shall haue the charge layde on his shoulders, may be there much more attentiue, because the trust is wholly reposed in him, and all the worth must redound to him. If that man haue a good heart, he will studie and labor, to do much better, then if he were consorted with another; considering euermore (as he ought to do) that in all difficulties he may quickly haue counsell.

Of the second inconuenience.

Another discommodity is, that manie Physitions can hardly meete together, to visit the sicke patient, and all at one hour. For each of them haue other cures of visitation, beside some hapning in the meane while, and other affaires of importance: whereby, men are ofttimes compelled, to faile of the appointed time, that all cannot be present with the sicke person. In this case, the Physition most vsed, or such as meete there, are greatly hindered in giuing their aduice, or for ordering against some occasion which may happen; fearing least the absent parties or partie, shall not allow their iudgement; whereupon, it may breede an error in the patient, or his assisting friends, who will after knowe his opinion, and demand it alone by himselfe. Sometime, this may chance but about a Cherry, or a difference of as small moment, deseruing (of it selfe) not to bee spoken of; but yet al must agree togither, and giue consent in the case. This keeps the attending Physitions in no meane affliction, and many times the patient in much more.

Many Physitian can hardly meete al at an houre.

In like manner (comming now vnto a third point) they may endure many small things, which the ordinary and present Physition would order otherwise, following such occasions as present themselues at euerie moment. I do call them small of themselues, yet often might bee brought to the patients great benefit; but hee dare not apply them, dreading discontentment in them which are absent. Hereby the patient may passe thorow diuers afflictions (from which hee might haue bene freed) as, during too much drought, or beeing kept ouer-hot, or too much pressed vvith foode and Medicines, or prohibited of some pleasure and recreation, no way preiudiciall to his healing, and such like. I hold my selfe satisfied, in setting downe these three inconueniences, which are ordinary in the plurality of Physitions; to shew and approue, that it is much better (without comparison) to haue but one Physition; prouided, that he be assiduate and carefull.

The 3. inconuenience.

Many afflictions hapning to a man in sickneſſe, yet easily holpen.

It is the greatest happinesse for the sick man (that can be) to haue but one Physition, that goeth not away from him: For, by visiting him once or twice in a day, the patient cannot bee well cured: this may be called healing in grosse, and not exactly. For the present Physition, obserueth many particularities, which causeth him to change opinion euery houre; as wel of his nourishment, as in other Remedies. Wherefore *Celsus* saide very well, where he sheweth, what diligence a Physition ought to vse, in well directing the patients foode, for due houres, and measure of them, because it is one of the cheefest points in the whole cure. For (as hee writeth) *Foode fitted to purpose, is a most singular Medicine and remedy. It ought alwaies to be obserued, and generally, that the attending Physition do continually respect the Patients strength: When it shall be good & able, to vse abstinence; and when hee beginneth to doubt his weakenesse, then to make supply of food. For it is his duty, that he surcharge not the sicke body with superfluous matter; neyther to betray it to feeblenesse, by famine, or staruing, &c. Heereby may easily bee vnderstood, that many (together) cannot bee cured by one Physition: & that he (if he vnderstand truely his Art) is most proper, that neuer parteth*

Great happinesse to a sicke patient, in hauing but one Physition, that shall attend him diligently.

The words of Celsus, a most learned Physition.

teth from the sicke person. But such as are addicted to gaine, beecause much is to bee had by a multitude of people: they willingly embrace those Rules, which require no such great curiosity, as in this case. For it is verie easie, to account daies, and houres, and other times of accesse; especially in such, as vse not often to see their patients. But it behooueth him to be attendant, that must haue a care of all needfull things, and when the patient shall bee once feeble, to see that hee haue good nourishment.

The great importance of the sick mans seruice.

Heereby you may perceiue, how important the sicke mans seruice is, that he must alwayes be assisted by a good Physition, both for his gouernement, and also for the vse of remedies. For, by being present, hee may aduance or tardie, encrease or diminish, and doe many things in other manner, then when the sick-man is seene but by starts and leysures, as is too much practised vpon the people. Wherefore, it is best to haue but one Physition, though he be of the lesse sufficiency or reputation (and consequently of lesse pressure; so that he be honest, most frequent, and diligent. For diligence, vigilancy, & carefull obseruation in the ordinary Physition; may counterpoize one of greater knowledge, that is not halfe so much imployed.

One honest painfull Physition is better then twenty.

CHAP. XV.

Against such as complaine on the ouer-short visitation of some Physitions.

Hip. in Epist. ad Demag.

OVr life is ful of contrarieties, according as *Democritus* declared to *Hippocrates*, in the conference which they had together: as *Hippocrates* writeth to *Dæmagetes* in his Epistles. For, that which pleaseth vs now, will discontent vs within an houre. The labourer would bee a souldier, and (in short time) fall to his former condition againe. The Merchant would be made a Gentleman, and (soone after) returne to his Merchandize againe. But contradiction is yet more palpably discouered, when wee see contradictorie quality in one and the same thing. As, to

Al conditions are ful of contrarieties.

be a soldier, and yet not engaged to follow war, to be a great landed man, and yet not subiect to suites in law; to haue Varlets and Drabs in the house, and yet to be free from robbing; to liue dissolutely, and neuer to be sicke. So is it in many, who would haue Physitions of greatest following, and most reported of for practise, (of whome the vulgar giue great iudgemen, that they are men of singular knowledge, as oftentimes it so fals out, though not alwaies.) And sodainely they make complaint, of their too short or seldome visitation, and that they come not (so often as they ought) to see them.

Contradictions contrarie to themselues

Complaint made of Physitions visitings.

This is a complaint commonly made of our *Parisian* Physitions, being the most famous, who in so great a Citie, haue ordinarily such plentie of patients, as it is vterly impossible, that they should stay long with any one of them. For, if a Physition haue twentie patients to visite in a day, is is not much, if hee abide with each one a quarter of an houre at a time? For, in the longest day, which may consist of xvi. houres, I would haue him begin to visite at fiue of the clock in the morning, and so continue vntill ten: then begin againe at noon, and hold on till fiue in the euening, heere are ten houres imployed in visitation. It is verie necessary, that hee should haue some time of rest, as from tenne to twelue for his dinner, & refreshing from fiue to seauen in the same euening, and then to sleepe in quiet: for if he cease not day nor night, it is not possible for him to haue long continuance.

The Physitiõs of Paris in France.

Allowance of times for visitation.

I will yet allow six houres for the morning, and six more after dinner. For, to go from one house to another, to mount and descend againe all the staires; importeth wel the space of two houres, in visiting of twentie seuerall persons. For no man whatsoeuer, can ride in poste quite thorough a Cittie; and then in the Sommer, when the dayes bee long, the swiftnesse of motion is very dangerous, by ouer-heating, sweating, alteration of body, and other such like accidents. There remaineth then ten houres wholly cleere, that the Physition may bee by each sicke mans bedde, and that is the most for such imployment: And howe much time is heere allowed then to each of the twenty? If I could account well, there were (for euerie one) a quarter of an houre in the mor-

Six houres for morning, and sixe more for afternoon for visitation.

A very short time for visiting twentie patients.

morning, and as much againe after dinner.

But very certaine it is, that the most famous Physitions, haue to visite (som such dayes) aboue thirty patients; and besides that, to vse consultations, where a man is constrained to stay longer then a simple visiting. Whence ensueth necessarilie, yea, and inequitably, that each of the other visitations, cannot bee halfe a quarter of an houre. For, hee must content euerie man, and he that imparts himselfe among so many, must needes allow euery one a little. Thus the Physition doth but enter and depart, and (cursorily) informeth himselfe of the patients estate; feeles his pulse, obserues his vrine, speaketh a word of that which is to be done, and then away to another.

Famous Physitions haue many cures to attend on.

Physitions that vse summary visitations, with nimble celerity.

He is nor iustly to bee blamed, for his celerity and summarie visitation, seeing it is not possible for him to doe otherwise; and they that call such men to their cure, are not well informed. Nay more, if the Physition answer sometime, that hee can haue no leysure, considering the great number of patients he is to attend: some one or other will reply, *O good Sir, if you do but looke in a doores, and then depart; the sicke man will thinke, that he shall bee healed by your verie sight onely: if you woulde but once in a day see him, as you passe along, hee were well satisfied.* As much saith another, yea, three or foure: What shall we say to such a man?

That great persons shall bee more respected, then men of meaner quality.

Parents and kindred chalége no mean priuiledge in ceremony and respect.

But some one will answere mee: He ought to haue regard of the persons quality, and make longer stay with a great Lord, Byshoppe, Abbot, Earle, Baron, President, Councellor, Treasurer, Generall of the Finances, and other men of Honour, who haue wherewithall to acknowledge and recompence him better, then ordinarily other men doe or can. I heare one make reply, that he ought to do his duty towards all men, and to acquitte himselfe faithfully of his Charge. Beside, that (by some) he is to be much more cõmanded; as his parents, neerest Kindred, Friends, Familiars, and some to whom he standeth in high degree obliged. Such persons indeed (according vnto humane sense and iudgement) ought to be preferred before the other, what ranke or degree soeuer they hold. And such, of whom no money is to be taken, in regarde of the fore-named obligation; do iustly require of the Physition, much more care and diligence, then they from whom hee may expect recompence. And therefore, it is no small matter, to haue a learned & wise Physition obliged and affected vnto anie one, who will alwayes make more regard of friendship, then of greatnesse.

Great men are guided by the fame of Physitions.

And although the most part of our greatest personnes, haue no other knowledge of the Physition, but by his Fame onely, and are much lesse knowne to the Physition; yet such knowledge being not reciprocall, and hauing no familiaritie, friendship, nor mutuall Obligation; the Phisition is no more proper to them, then any other beside of the same profession, who hauing fewer crowds following thẽ, may (happily) as soone minister succour, and giue more respect. But passion is so preualent in these our dayes, as none must bee had, but hee that is in most request; and euery man would very willingly haue him, which properly is no way possible, and yet they complaine of his slack attendance too.

When all will haue one man onely, what vse is like to be made of the rest?

If a man say, I am none of the meanest persons, and I haue wherewithall to pay him, as wel as another: you shal haue an hundred to speake the same Wordes. What shall the Physition then doe? But diuide his visitations into so many pieces, as euery one may haue a little. But euer more let him reserue the longest, for such to whom hee is most obliged, and standeth engaged; as reason and humanitie commandeth him.

Men of lesse note may haue as good experience as greater boasters, & what they prolong, performe in lesser time.

Wherefore, it were much better (in my minde) that men heerein would take more aduisement, and to desire ŷ which they may haue: that is, a Physition easyer to bee had, among them that are accounted learned and expert, and yet haue not such busie imployment; because their season is not as yet come, beeing post-posed to others, that haue more name, and longer time. And if there bee any difficultie in the disease, it may as iudiciously bee consulted on, as they that bragge most, and performe least. Beleeue it vndoubtedly, that if the Phisytion be an able mã, he can soone vnderstand, and hath fewest words; which he had rather shold appeare by proofe, then waste the time in vaine lip-labour.

This is the best aduice that a sicke patient

tient can take, of what quality ſoeuer hee be, for his ſooneſt helpe and ſuccor. And if his meanes be ſuch, as to haue the Phyſition ſtill with him, or that hee goe but little from him: it wil be much the better for him, imitating what hath bin diſcourſed in the precedent Chapter.

CHAP. XVI.

How much it importeth, that the ſicke patient ſhould repoſe confidence in his Phyſition.

The Authors clearing himſelfe concerning the former chapter.

SOme may miſ-vnderſtand, that which I haue ſet down in the neighboring Chapter; as if I reprehended the affection which many haue to be viſited by the moſt famous Phyſitions, and who (for their great reputation) haue moſt acceſſe in the beſt Cities. God forbid, I ſhould therein do wrong to very venerable and rare perſons, who (by their merit) haue acquired ſuch renowne: And I ſhould alſo offer iniurie to the sick if I perſwaded them from affection, and recourſe to the healers of theyr harmes. For, on the contrary, if men may ioy plainely, and ſo much as neede requireth; none in the Worlde may better doe it then they.

He taxeth nothing but vulgar cõplaints onely.

I taxe onely vulgar complaint, and in ſuch as (to their owne ſhame) are diſcontented, becauſe they cannot enioy what they would haue. I alwaies maintain, that they are onely the meereſt men, in regard of themſelues, and for their reſpect. Onely this is my deſyre, that men of ſuch fame and reputation, remaining alwaies in ſo great requeſt: ſhould alſo be moſt skilfull and expert, happy in their practiſes, and conformable to their patients. For otherwiſe, their high ſailes will ſtrike, and their reputation (badly grounded) will flie vp in ſmoake.

In commendation of the renowned generally by the world.

But for the choiſe men themſelues, they are verie meete, apt, and correſpondent, to cure the greateſt diſeaſes, and in the worthieſt perſonages: in which reſpect, they holde reputation, and the cheefeſt ranke among Phyſitions, onely for happineſſe in their cures. Becauſe opinion conceiued of them, giues certaine confidence to the ſicke man, to bee recouered better, and more ſecurely by their means, then any other whatſoeuer. Whereupon, we commonly ſay in our ſchooles, *He healeth moſt diſeaſes, in whom moſt confidence is repoſed*. And this proceedeth from ſtrong imagination, which hath mightie power, to make impreſſion in vs; as I ſufficiently haue ſhewne, in the Preface to my 2. booke of Laughter.

Confidence in the patient, is halfe a help to the Phiſion.

It is a power of the ſoule, which ſtrongly mooueth the blood and ſpirits, in ſuch a ſtrange manner; that if ſhe walke along (hand in hand) with firme opinion and confidence, the very powers of Nature aſſemble, to fight againſt the ſicknes. And thereupon, great changes are noted in the Patient, onely at the very preſence of a Phyſition deuoutly attending. For, deſire and hope being ſatisfied, the ſoule releeueth it ſelfe, and re-enforceth againſt the ſickeneſſe. So that (verie often) Nature maketh ſome braue ſally and effort; chaſing the matter of offence impetuouſlie, by a *Criſis* as we vſe to call it, which is the conflict of Nature and Sickneſſe. Contrariwiſe, if the Phyſition be not verie anſwerable in liking to the patient, perceiuing him not ſo ſuccourable, as hee deſireth or would haue: ſuch a Phyſition ſhal neuer proceed ſucceſſefully, and the sicke man (contriſting and diſcouraging) will become much more feeble then euer hee was. For his ſpirites being danted, they haue no vigour at all; onely by the feare and diſtruſt which hath before ſeized vpon his heart.

The power of Deſire and hope on their ſatisfaction.

An vnpleaſing Phyſition can do no good to his patient.

There is another benefite, which returneth to the patient, by hauing a Phyſition at his owne deuotion, and according to his wiſh and liking; becauſe from him hee hopeth to haue great comfort. For, hee willingly apteth and accommodateth him ſelfe, to whatſoeuer he ordaineth for him: with a chearefull confidence, that all this will ſurely helpe and heale him. As on the contrarie, what hee receiueth (from another Phyſition) all is in miſlike & diſdain, whereby, nothing can be profitable vnto him. For, although it were the beſt, and moſt delicate thing in the world, if hee haue not a good opinion of it; the ſtomack fals to a loathing, and neuer can it come ſo gladſome to his heart, as when he takes it with a chearefull diſpoſition. Wine, the brothe of a Capon, and the Brawne of a Par-

Nothing can be welcom to the patient, if he be out of loue with his Phyſition.

Partridge, are moſt excellent nouriſhments, delicate, and dainty: but if a man take them frowningly, with an ill opinion of the Butlers bringing them, or that the Cookes dreſſing them is not agreeable; all will doe no good, the ſtomack being directly oppoſite vnto them. What will he thinke then of things, which (are of themſelues) very vnpleaſing, and ſickneſſe abhorreth naturally, as medicines & other druggeries?

Many afflictions happens to the patient if he bee not confident in his Phyſition.

It followeth moreouer, that the patient will endure many annoyances, wherein he ſhall be greatly impatient to his owne preiudice: if he haue not a good opinion of his Phyſition, and be confident in him. For, hee may approoue him to bee ſuch a man, as the credite of any other could neuer perſwade him. Therefore, it is not in vaine, that poore ſicke men ſhould deſire ſuch as holde great reputation, and of whom (commonly) paſſeth good opinion; for ſuch haue the beſt efficacy in their proceedings and directions. But yet they are not ſo much to bee affected, as no reſpect at all ſhould be vſed of other: whereof choyſe alſo may bee made at a ſecond or third time of occaſion, and they then muſt needs bee vſed, for want of the former. When any ſuch man happens to be called: the patient muſt likewiſe repoſe his truſt, confidence, and affection in him, without deſiring any other; relying onely vpon God, who giueth vertue to remedies, at his owne good will and pleaſure.

Mariage vſed as a comparison with the preſent argument.

For, in mariage, Maids couet to match in great houſes; but if it will not come ſo to paſſe, they muſt content themſelues with meaner place, giuing all their loue and affection, to the husbands choſen by themſelues. And God may giue them as much (or more) happineſſe and contentment with their meane match, then if they had the richeſt husbands in the Worlde. This may redound to an honeſt houſhold life, whereas the other might haue prooued iuſt nothing like the Phyſition, ſtanding out of his patients affection, beeing daily deſirous of another.

CHAP. XVII.

Of ſuch as will haue Phyſitions, and yet deny to do as they appoint and direct them.

The Negatiues of Phyſitions better credited then their affirmatiues.

NOt long ſince, I met at *Narbona* with a Gentleman of *Venice*, who was Ambaſſador to the Seigneury, and he talking purpoſely concerning Phyſitions, pleaſantly ſaid: That he wold beleeue them well in their Negatiues, but not in their affirmatiues. This was a good old man, gallant and pleaſantly diſpoſed, who came from *Spaine*, hauing accompliſhed the tearme of his legation with King *Phillip*. Hee thus interpreted Negatiues prohibited by Phyſitions: As not to drink Wine, nor eate fruite, nor to feede on windie meates, and ſuch like. And their affirmatiues were, to take medicines, glyſters, Inleppes, and other things by them appointed. Was not this a goodly propoſition, which many put in practiſe, to their extreame harme. For, they are willing to haue Phyſitions: but go looke for ſuch as ſhal do as they direct them. Hardly will they keepe within the boundes of this *Venitian*, who (at leaſt) would abſtaine from what he was forbidden: but the moſt part of patients now a dayes, do quite contrary. What auaileth it to haue a Phyſition, if a man bee reſolued, not to execute and accompliſh his counſell, for the defence of his owne life?

The Phyſition may be kindly welcome, but his counſell nothing reſpected.

Friuolous anſwers in denying the Phyſitions counſell

Some will anſwer, that the preſence of the Phyſition comforteth, delighteth, and encreaſeth courage; whereby they feele the infirmity to diminiſh, & their ſtrength to augment. Another ſaieth, I will doe ſomething that the Phyſition doth aduiſe mee, at leaſt of foode and gouernement; but of his Drugges I will not heare him ſpeake.

Well may wee compare this caſe, vnto people beſiedged in a Towne or Cittie; calling ſome good and expert Captaine or Commander, for their ſuccour and defence. Hee being come to them, they wil not obey him, nor accõpliſh any of his

ordinances, but ſay: That they are vvell pleaſed with his preſence, and they are ſufficiently fortified; it is enough for them, if he but take order for victuals, & be prouident in policie. As for fight, mounting the Artillery, and other needfull preparations, they will not heare a word of that. Is this any thing elſe, but meerly to mock a braue ſoldier for his paines, & ſend him away with loſſe of credit?

Eccleſ. 38, 4. I durſt not tearme this folly, if *Eccleſiaſticus* had not taught me, ſaying; *Hee that is wiſe, will not abhorre the Phyſition.* Oh, but Phyſicke (ſay ſome) is very irkeſome to take. It is true, and God hath ſo ordained it, that it may the better fight againſt the euill. For, as health is pleaſing and acceptable, ſo is it entertained with as acceptable things: and as ſicknes is vnpleaſing, ſo muſt diſtaſtful things helpe to conquer it. It is not wiſedome, if we apply not our willes, to whatſoeuer the Phyſition appointeth, without contemning any thing. For oftentimes, thorough defect of one obſeruation, which may ſeeme but ſmall: the diſeaſe impaireth, euen to death. Like as a Towne may (ſometime) bee loſt, by lacke of a Sentinell; or by the meanes of a little hole or paſſage, which appeared to be of no importance. Sometime, a ſparke of fire enflames a whole heape of Straw, and thereby a houſe, and of one houſe, a whole Burrough or Towne. If a ſmall fault grow into exceſſe, or faileth of help in due time, no meane diſorder enſueth thereon.

By taſting ſicknes, we know the better how precious a thing health is.

Small errours may grow ouer great to be eaſily appeaſed.

Contemners of Phyſicke ſeek for helpe thereby, when it is too late.

What then ſhall become of ſuch as deſpiſe the Phyſition, when he (many times) hath worke enough to doe, to ſaue them, that are willing to doe whatſoeuer hee would haue them? Commonly, it falleth out with them who are ſo difficult, that (in the end) they would yeeld to all, & more, euen then when there is neither meanes, nor time, and can no way bee preſerued from death, as they might haue bene before, by Gods gracious aſſiſtance. Euen like to beſiedged people, that began but coldly in their owne defence, not imploying all their means; but ſparing theyr bedtickes, balles of Wooll, Cheſts, Cuppeboords, and other mooueables; for re-impairing their victualles and money, that their Soldiers, Armes, and perſons might be the better ſecured, and to fight valiantly. But at length, beholding themſelues conſtrained; then they can offer bags of Gold, Plate, Iewels, yea, all to their verie bowels, onely for ſafety; when there is no remedy at all to ſted them, but become wiſe too late, with the *Phrygians*, according to the Prouerbe. Wherefore, let euery man determine with himſelfe (euen in the very beginning) to doe willingly what the Phyſition ſhall counſell and ordaine for him, without reſtriction, or diſtinguiſhing Negatiues and affirmatiues, that God may the better giue his bleſſing, to concurre with the Phyſitions true endeuour.

Delay in ſuch caſes is euermore dangerous, & hardly recouered.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of ſuch as in their ſickneſſe, will admitte no medicine or remedy; but only for the preſent paine and anguiſh.

IObſerued this opinion, in a Gentleman of *Viuares*, affected greatly to his pleaſures. He made no particulare account of infirmities, which were without greeuance, thinking remedies to ſerue little or nothing at all for them; euen as if it vvere neceſſary, that the diſeaſe ſhold haue his courſe. And whatſoeuer was done, the infirmity would paſſe his foure times, if it were recouerable: but if it were deadly, then there was no remedy that could bee proper for it; which were erroneous ſpeeches, grounded on thoſe folies heretofore refuted. In breefe, he would not allow of any Phyſition, nor any medicine; but to take away inſtant anguiſhes. But, if he wer falne into a palſie, which is a diſeaſe without paine, I beleeue he could gladly haue deſired, that it might be cured by medicin, or any other helpe elſe whatſoeuer.

No application of remedie, but to the place of preſent paine.

Now, concerning dolorous and painefull diſeaſes, it is to bee vnderſtoode, that greefe there is not the principal (although of very great importance) and that the euill muſt and ought to be taken away, frõ which the anguiſh proceedeth, if men do deale iuſtly in their cures. For, if one ſtand trifling ſimply vpon the paine, & the cauſe is miſtaken (which is the ſourſe, root, and mother of euill:) there are then but two meanes;

Concerning dolorous and painfull diſeaſes, wherein anguiſh is not chee e-

meanes; the one is by *Anodyne* medicines, which diminiſh the pain in ſome meaſure, and cauſeth the party to endure the reſt more patiently.

The other is by *Arcotick* medicins, that is to ſay ſtupifying, making the member ſleepy, in aſtonning the Naturall heate. Which is not to be vſed, but in extreme neceſſitie, and very wiſely: but, as wel the one, as the other, do not let paſſe or leſſen the greefe, but onely for a time.

Euermore, wee ſhould come to Cure the principall, otherwiſe it is ſtill to begin againe. And if our remedies ſerue not to take away the euill, which is without paine, or which cauſeth paine: that were the greateſt falſhoode in the worlde, as I haue apparantly proued before, where I ouerthrew the idle imagination, that Phiſitions ſerued to no purpoſe, but abuſed the world. If any yet ſhall reply vnto me, that many are well re-cured, both without Phyſitions and Medicines: I anſwere alſo in the ſame manner, that as many loſe their greeuances, without Phyſicke, or any other applyed remedies, whereby that propoſition is meerely confounded of it ſelfe.

The ground & cauſe of euils are to bee taken away, or elſe all our labour is to no purpoſe.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ *That ſuch as are ſubiect to diſeaſes, are in like manner ſubiect to Phyſicke: and others not.*

MANY throw aſperſions of blame and reproofe, on ſuch as obſerue ſome orderly rule and gouernment, ſubiecting themſelues to certaine remedies, to maintaine their healthfull condition, and preuent ſome knowne euilles, whereto they are ſubiect. They that condemne thoſe meanes, are (doubtles) verie healthfull, and of good Complexion: in which reſpect, the poſition is verie true, according to that which is ſaide in Sacred Scripture, *The law was not giuen to the iuſt.* But more expreſſely, where it is ſaide; *The whole need not the Phyſition, but they that are ſicke.* Theſe words likewiſe do confirm the contrary, to wit; That ſuch as are ſick, haue need of the Phyſition; & ſuch as are ſubiect to any ſickneſſe, are alſo ſubiect to ſome rule. Euen according as we are ſubiect to ſin, ſo are we ſubiect to the Law.

Men ſtrong & healthful, condemne ſuch as are weak, and ſickly.

Math. 9, 12.

I ſhall alwaies giue conſent with moſt eloquent *Celſus*: *That the healthfull Man, while he tarieth himſelfe well, and is truely himſelfe: needeth not to be tyed to any Law or Gouernment, nor to imploy the Phyſition. It is very expedient, that he ſhould haue diuers manners of life; one while in the field, then againe in the City, but more often in the field: To Nauigate, hunt, to be at reſt and eaſe ſometimes, but yet to exerciſe himſelfe more oftē. For, ſloath and idleneſſe, maketh the bodye drowſie and dull; but trauell confirmeth it: The one is the haſtner of Age, the other is the continuer of iolly youth.*

Celſ. in lib. 1. cap. 1

Excellent aduice giuen by lerned Celſus, to a healthfull man.

It is good alſo ſometimes to bath, and ſometimes to vſe colde waters; one while to annoint, then againe to forbeare. Feare no kind of meats, that are vſed among ciuill people; to be ſometimes preſent at Feaſts, another while to refraine them. One while feede ſome-what immeaſurably, and afterward ſoberly. Make two meales a day more oftner then one, and alwayes eate well, ſo long as it may haue digeſtion, &c. As concerning carnall Copulation, it may not bee deſired too much, nor too much feared neither: That which is rare and ſildome, exciteth the body; that more frequent diſſolueth it, &c.

Theſe rules are to be obſerued by ſuch, that haue their health firme, and can ſo keepe themſelues; that remedies ordayned for euil carriage be not employed & conſumed in vaine. In this maner are men of ſound health indifferent to all, and ſubiect to nothing, while they beare themſelues well, and are ſo firmely in health, as *Celſus* hath limited. It were very great ſhame for a man, to make himſelfe delicate, ſoft, and tender, ſoupling and eneruing his good and ſtrong Complexion; which would extend it ſelfe a great deale more, by bolde, valiant, and manly exerciſes. But for valetudinarie perſonnes, vnhealthfull, ſubiect vnto manie Diſeaſer, as Epilepſies (commonly called, *Mal de S. Iean*) Megrimes, Rheumes, Catarhs, ſhortneſſe of breath, Ache in the bones, Oppilations in the Liuer or Spleene, the Winde Collicke, or Stone, Gowts, and the like infirmities (whereof the moſt part are Hereditarie, yea, and the Leaprofie too) who makes any doubt or queſtion, but that ſuch men ought to liue

He that is well & cannot keep himſelf ſo, the blame is his owne.

Many diſeaſes and infirmities, that are ſaid to bee hereditarie to ſome men.

Concerning Students and men in publike offices.

within rule, if their owne eaſe they be not enuious of, and deſire to ſee manie dayes?

Such alſo as addict themſelues to ſtudie, or vnto publike charges in the Common-wealth, becauſe they are ſubiect to many neceſſities, ought to be gouerned; otherwiſe, they often fall into diuers infirmities. For they tie & conſtraine themſelues to ſtore of things, which are verie hurtful for them. And *Celſus* in the words before alledged, preſuppoſeth, that the healthfull man, muſt alſo be wholly himſelfe in all reſpects.

How we are to vnderſtand our being ſubiect to ſicknes

Now, in the poſition formerly alleadged, ſaying, *Subiect to diſeaſes*; we vnderſtand a particular ſubiection & aptitude. For all men in the world are ſubiect to all kinds of ſickneſſe, euen as we are all ſubiect to death. But we ſay, ſome are ſubiect thereto particularly, that haue an inclination and diſpoſition to ſome euil, the rudiment wherof is in them: not that they are already ſicke, but becauſe a ſmall matter will throw them into ſickneſſe; and therefore, they ought the more reſpectiuely, to carry themſelues. By example of him formerly ſpoken of, who being the only ſick man in his time: made ſhift yet to liue an hundred yeares, by great cunning, and exquiſite manner of life.

CHAP. XX.

That ſuch as know ſome little matter in Phyſicke, are more dangerous to be neere ſicke perſonnes, then they that know nothing at all.

In the 13. chapt. before.

IMuſt confeſſe, that this error ought to haue followed a former Chapter, where we declared, that there were more Phyſitions, then of anie other profeſſion. But fearing to offend any ſuccorable people, I had a long conflict with mine owne cogitations, whether I ſhould taxe and reprooue them in ſuch publique manner. At length, I concluded to holde on my courſe; knowing, that ther is more danger (then we wold eaſily think) in ſuch as know ſomething, and imagine to know all things. For out of this ouer-weening, either they preſume, and vndertake the very greateſt cures; or withſtand and hinder Phyſitions, from beeing imployed in principall remedies, neceſſarily requiring quick and ſure healing. But theſe inſolent controllers, keep them ſo engaged to fear; that they neither dare, nor vvill aduenture.

The leſt skill or knowledge in ſome ſmall matter, preſentlyinciteth to preſumption.

There are ſome perſons, who know not any thing in Phiſick, in regard of diſcourſe and reaſon; as ignorant women, who can neither write nor reade; but onelie haue certaine obſeruations and rules, knowing how to make a good Broth, a Culliſe, a Reſtoratiue, to make a bed well, and knit a kerchiefe about the ſick mans head. Beſide, they know ſome infant remedies, againſt itch, ſcabs, burnings, falling of the *Vuula*, wormes, the Mother, &c. Hereupon, they imagine themſelues compleat in knowledge, and make many things out of their owne braine and fantaſie; and if their experiment ſucceede ill, they ſpare not to vaunt, that the Phyſitions great Gowne ſhall couer all this.

Of ignorant women Phyſitions, that can neither reade nor write, yet haue knowledge in ſome petty cures.

It were very good and expedient, that aſſiſtants about ſicke patients, did knowe nothing elſe, but to obey the Phyſitions directions. It were a knowledge very beneficiall to the patient; for, ſuch as do not preſume of thēſelues, will neuer attempt to execute any thing, but what is preſcribed, ordained, and commanded. Others, that dreame they haue knowledge; they will adde, diminiſh, alter, or elſe do iuſt nothing at all. Like to lewd Apothecaries, who execute the Phyſitions directions at their owne pleaſure, as preſuming to know the curing of the diſeaſe, and the nature better in courſe, then he doth: being drunke with ſome opinion concerning the like; as hauing obſerued diuers the like ſickneſſes, attended many Phyſitions, and ſeene the ſucceſſe of the like receipts.

There ſhould be no preſumers about ſicke perſons, when they lye vppon their ſicke beddes.

O dangerous ouer-weening! ſee here the verie ruine of moſt ſicke perſonnes. It were much better (before God I ſpeak it) not to know any thing, then to know thus in this Empericke manner. What more vnhappineſſe for the patients life, and honour to the Phyſition, then to haue an Apothecarie ſo ouerweening, temerarious, and preſumptuous? In *Italy*, and in *Spain*, the

Better to kno nothing at all, then to haue knowledge in dangerous manner.

the ſicke are in much better manner ſerued. For, the Apothecary goeth not to ſee the ſicke man, except it be in courteſie and friendſhip; and yet not as an Apothecary neither: nor do the Phyſitions vnder write their bils of receipts, by or for whō the remedies were compounded. Whereby, the Apothecarie knowes as litle of the Phyſitions intent, euen as if hee were acquainted with nothing. By this meanes, hee cannot abuſe the Phyſitions directions; or, much leſſe then our Apothecaries, to whom all is imparted ouer familiarly.

A great inuectiue againſt ouer preſuming Apothecaries.

Next to Apothecaries, I ſpeak of thoſe vile and bad (not good, prouident, modeſt, and honeſt people, that meddle not, but what they haue to doe withall) yea, moſt dangerous keepers or ſeruants, attending about poore weak patients, who thinke they haue more knowledge then the Phyſition (eſpecially, if they be anciently traded in the buſineſſe) touching nouriſhing principally; beecauſe it ought to be of ineſtimable importance, qualitie, fit houres, and meaſure. True it is, of the quality they credite enough by the Phyſitions order; but for the houre and meaſure, they do all at their owne liking. I ſpare the drugeries they couertly vſe, and the omiſſions of Ordinances appointed to them, when they meete with patients fitte for their purpoſe. Such people are moſt daungerous, and much better to haue them that know no ſuch cunning, neither haue learned any other leſſon; but to doe what they are apointed, which is the main article of their duty.

For Nurſſes, keepers, and attenders about patients, pretending to haue no mean knowledge.

CHAP. XXI.

The manner of knowing Opportunity truely, for vnderſtanding or performing ſuch actions, as we would haue to be well done: And how our graue Elders vſed to depict or figure Occaſion.

Opportunity is the greateſt matter, belonging to the life of man.

THere conſiſteth no meane wit and iudgement, in knowing howe to make vſe of Opportunity; & to perform our actions in due time: beecauſe great care is to be had, either for doing, or not doing a thing at a time; in regarde there is no alteration or returning backe, when defect falleth vppon the aduenture. Heereupon, the Grecian Philophers lefte vs many notable ſentences in writing, making to that purpoſe: in regard that they truely vnderſtoode, what wiſedome depended vppon knowledge, for doing a buſineſſe in apt opportunitie, and taking occaſion when it is fairely offered.

Salomon ſaith in his *Eccleſiaſtes*: *To all things there is an appointed time. There is a time to be borne, and a time to dye: A time to plant, and a time to plucke vp that which is planted: A time to kill, and a time to heale: A time to builde, and a time to ruinate: A time for warre, and a time for peace.* In breefe, many examples might bee alledged, whereby to demonſtrate, what loſſe relyeth on dooing any thing out of due time; and what benefite redoundeth vnto men, when things are accompliſhed aptly to time and place.

Ecc. 3,1,2,3,4 A diſcourſe made by Salomon concerning times.

Menander, a Greeke Poet ſaid; *That all things done to purpoſe, & in time, haue great grace, for Opportunity hath more power then Law.* So that a little attendance giuen on time, is eſteemed highly worth. *Heſiodus*, a Greeke Authour alſo, appointed vs te keepe meanes and obſeruation of times: *For, the importance of all affayres* (ſaith he) *conſiſteth in attending on time and opportunity. Pindarus* ſaid; *Time hath great power in all things.* Alſo (according to *Horace*,) *A man ſhould alwaies ſet forward his affairs, when he ſeeth due time. Socrates*, writing to *Democritus*, ſaid; *All things are naught, being done out of due ſeaſon.* In breefe, there is no man of iudgement or experience, but will purſue his buſines in fitteſt times.

The wiſe ſaying of Menander.

Heſiodus.

Pindarus.

Horace.

Socrates.

Democritus.

All which notwithſtanding, it is to be noted, that as it is good to waite on Opportunity, and apteſt times to perfourme any thing: ſo likewiſe, the point or inſtant is not to bee ſlipt, for exact executing any matter when it commeth. This is that which hath commonly beene ſayde, Occaſion is neuer to be miſprized. For, all things ỹ are done out of their conſtellation, & conſent of the ſtars (although occaſion commeth otherwiſe) can neuer grow to good perfection.

Opportunitie muſt by no meanes be let ſlip, but taken while it may be.

And to ſpeake ſeriouſly, occaſion and opportunity for our actions, was in ſuch

high esteeme with our Ancients, as wéll Greeks as Latines; that they had alwaies her portraiture, like as a Mirrour before their eies. The Latines figured Occasion in the form of a woman; but the Grecians figured her in the shape of an infant, holding one foot vpon a turning wheele, and all before the face couered with Hayre, dangling downe in long tresses; but al the head behind was bald and shauen. This shape was giuen to occasion or Opportunity, by *Posidius*, or *Posidippus* as some called him, a Greek Poet, translated into Latine by the learned *Erasmus*, and *Ausonius* the *Lombards* Poet. Whom Sir *Tho: More* of *England*, a man much renowned for wisdome and learning, traduced into the *Castillian* tongue, in forme of a dialogue. For *More* said, that Occasion, standing so vpon a wheele, declared thereby her instability; and hauing wings both at her handes and feet, shewed, h ow lightly shee past away, without tarrying. Moreouer, said he, her forhead and face being couerd with hairy long locks, expressed; that she might easily be held, by such to whom she presented her selfe; but being vnwilling to be known to others, shee kept her face so couered, because she would escape away vnknown: being also bald and shauen behinde, for feare she should be stayed, after shee was once past. Whereby may be comprehended, that Opportunity once lost, is not to bee recouered, by all our paines applyed afterward.

Occasion or Opportunity, moralized in Figure.

Occasion familiarly described by Syr Thom. More, Englishman.

Ausonius making a further addition to this picture, placed the figure of Repentance, sitting vpon the shoulders of Occasion: declaring thereby, that whatsoeuer happeneth by the losse of Occasion, may well be repented. And truly there are two kinds of people, who might make good vse of this example. For, some are so sodaine in their affaires, that they can neuer bring them about, by not tarrying for opportune time. And others (on the contrary) are so long and tedious in concluding their businesse, beeing troubled with so many inconueniences, which may happen; that in the time of this lingering negotiating, Occasion hath past by thē. Both which extremities are to bee auoyded by men of good iudgement, who, in waiting the time for best performing their busines suffer no occasions (in the meane while) of faire offer, to ouer-slip them. For other wise, they may fall into a tardy repentāce, which will be little to their credite and benefite.

Repentance figured sitting on the shoulders of Occasion.

A worthy president for two sorts of people.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Fauour, Grace, or Good opinion: How it hath bene described by picture, and also concerning the Morall signification.

THe precedent discourse, cōcerning the portraiture of Opportunity, or Occasion, hath brought that to my remembrance, which the ancient *Romanes* gaue and granted to Fauor, Grace, or good Opinion: as well for the great cōueniency which these two things hold together, as also becausse the tru time and very occasion of wel-doing any thing is, when Fauour standeth faireſt for him; as much to say, as when the Prince lendeth an attentiue eare, and vouchsafeth (withall) a gracious countenance: For, a man that is in credite with a Prince, is very much made of by all men, euerie one thinkes well of what he doth, or saith; becausse all things succeede to his good and honor: for all are full of fauour towardes him, either with an honest heart, or else in outward ceremony.

The excelent correspondencie betweene Opportunity and Fauour.

Little need is there to produce Histoties or examples to this effect, considering that (at all times) it hath bin in practise, & euery yeare is a breuiate therof; wherfore it shal suffice me only to represent the true figure of Fauor, according to the draught of our graue Elders, which may som way conforme it selfe with that of Occasion. For, in their trueſt picturing Fauour, they figured a yong infant blind, being alone, & without any company. *Bartholomeus Dardanus*, moralizing vpon this picture (introduceth himselfe) speaking to the Painter *Apelles*, by way of dialogue, in this maner.

The fauour of Princes are no meane blessings to such as haue them

O Apelles! Perceyuing the great paines that thou hast taken, to portraite truely the Image of Fauour: I pray thee tell mee, of what race shee is descended? Whereunto *Apelles* sodainly replying, sayde; *Her Race is knowne, but to verie few people. And indeede, the Originall of Fauour is hardly to*

The true picture of Fauor, according as it was drawne by Apelles.

The imparlāce between Dardanus & Apelles.

to be found. For some say, that fauour commeth by corporall beauty: Others hold, that she commeth by aduenture, or good hap. Yet some will haue her to be the daughter of Fortune, or of accident. And yet neuertheless, many are of the minde; that sheeyssueth from true Noblenesse of the minde. As is easilie discerned, by this short Dialogue following, where a Poet, speaking to *Apelles*, beginneth thus.

A discoursiue Dialogue (according to *Morall sence*) betweene a Poet and *Apelles*, concerning the true Image of Fauour.

Poet. WHat is that Woman, standing on yonder side, who is neuer forsaken, but still hath store of company?

Apelles. *Her name is Flattery.*

Poet. And what is shee that attendeth, or followeth after her?

Apelles. *Her Name is commonly called Enuie.*

Poet. What people are they that so round engirt her?

Apelles. *They are such as continually keep company with Fauour, and are especially obedient to her: As namely, Riches and Pleasures, the sourse and originall of all vices.*

Poet. Why hast thou (in figure) giuen wings to Fauour?

Apelles. *Because she cannot step a foote abroad, but she mounts aloft, when the wind of good Fortune raiseth her.*

Poet. And wherefore hast thou painted her blinde?

Apelles. *Because such as are in credite, will no more take knowledge of their ancient Friends.*

Poet. And why hast thou placed hir feet vpon a wheele?

Apelles. *Because she followeth the steppes of Fortune, being euermore as inconstant as Shee.*

Poet. But why dost thou make her puffe and swell so proudly?

Apelles. *Because prosperity blindeth the vnderstanding of all men.*

This Dialogue, reported in the Language belonging to it, would haue much more grace, then any tongue else can bestow vpon it. Neuertheless, the most gracious Fauourites may heereby take aduice, to know, what companions attend vpon Fauour, and the instabilitie both of them and her. To the end, they may the better gouerne themselues with modestie in their credit, without puffing or swelling vp into pride. For, ouer and beside, that God is greatly there-with offended, there are many other dangers else, by the obseruation of passed times: as true testimonie hath beene made, by the vnhappy and lamentable end of many Princes Fauourites, that knew not howe to vse their credit so wisely, as they should haue done.

The greatest Fauourites of Princes, haue bene subiect to many misfortunes

CHAP. XXIII.

Of those seuen Wise men of Greece, commonly called the seuen Sages: With many notable Sentences which they left behinde them in writing.

AMong the ancient *Gracians*, such were called Sages, or Wise men, as now we vse to terme Philosophers. But *Socrates*, accounting the title of Sage or wise to be ouer-arrogant (because it was onely proper and peculiar to God, to bee absolutely called Sage or Wise) inuented the name of Philosopher, as much to say, as a louer of wisedome; and being somewhat better qualified, and more moderate then the name of Sage or Wise; so that al wise men, which were since the time of *Socrates*, were well contented with the Title of Philosophers. Notwithstanding, there were seuen seuerall men, vnto whom the name of Sages or Wise-men, were attributed, by common consent of all Greece, in regarde of their Knowledge and Vertue.

Socrates first inuented the name of Philosopher, as thinking the title of Sage or Wise, to be ouer-arrogant.

And indeede, many Authors (as well Ancient as Moderne) do make mention of them, and of notable sentences lefte by them for memory: whereof (I purpose) to set downe heere a breefe summarie, that vnderstanding Readers (yet ignorant in the originall Language) may the better be acquainted with their wittie sayings.

The Authors intention, concerning this Chapter.

Set-

Setting aside then that vaine and fooliſh Booke of the Seauen Sages, which hath runne thorow too many Countries, with many opinions divulged, concerning their liues (which yet were diſcredited, and rent in peeces by *Diogenes Laertius*) I will ſhape my courſe, according vnto that which hath beene auouched by Saint *Auguſtine*, *Eraſmus*, *Phillip Melanæthon*, *Beroaldus*, *Raphaell Volateranus*, and many other Authors of great fame. The names of thoſe ſeauen men, were *Solon*, *Chilo*, *Cleobulus*, *Thales*, *Bias*, *Pittacus*, and *Periander*, and they are all liuing together at one time: although ſome of them were more aged then the other, and (happily) liued longer then the reſt did. For, all of them were in perfect beeing, during the reigne of *Cyrus* King of *Perſia*, at ſuch time as the Iewes remayned captiues in *Babylon*: which was about the ſpace of fiue hundred and fiftie yeares, before the comming of our Lord and Sauiour Ieſus Chriſt, as *Euſebius* ſaith.

Authors of great & good ſufficiency.

The names of the ſeuen Sages of Greece

At what time the ſeuen Sages liued.

Euſeb. in Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 4. c. 7

We purpoſe to ſpeake of them particularly, and likewiſe of ſome of their principall Sentences, which they left reſpectiuely for vs: albeit memory hath embrared infinite common ſayings of theirs, as ordinarily all Authors haue concluded in their writings. *Auſonius*, a famous Poet of *Lombardie*, verie elegantly reduced into verſe, many notable Sentences of thoſe Sages, whereof he maketh very ample relation, in three ſeuerall Bookes publiſhed by him.

Anſonius the Lombard Poet.

FIrſt then, we will begin with wiſe *Bias*, who was borne in *Priene*, a Sea-coaſt towne of *Ionia*, a Region in *Greece*, hauing a very poore man to his father, named *Totamus*. This *Bias* was a great Oratour, a good Aduocate, and well ſeene in all the Sciences; beeing otherwiſe endued with many vertues. Among which, he held in higheſt eſtimation, to contemn the riches and honors of the world. *Cicero*, ſpeaking of him, ſaith, that when the enimy deſtroid the towne where he dwelt, and euery man labored to ſaue and carry away the beſt of his goods: *Bias* would not ſaue any thing belonging to him. And being demanded, why he was ſo reſpectleſſe of his goodes: he anſwered; *All my goods I carry with mee:* meaning his wiſedome, which (indeed) is the greateſt wealth of all.

Bias one of the Sages, and where he was borne.

Cicero in Orat. pro Cluent.

Omnia mea mecum porto.

Aboue all things, this man ſought ſtill to maintaine loue and amity, & therefore he was held the chiefeſt in the Commonwealth: hewould ſay, he had much rather be a iudge between two of his frinds, then between two of his enemies: for in condēning a friend, he ſhould looſe his frendſhip; but in iudging betwixt two enemies, hee for whome the ſentence was giuen, would become a friend.

Of Friends and Enemies.

A lewd man once demanded of him, what was to be pitied in religion? wherto *Bias* anſwered not a word: the man growing angry, mooued the ſame queſtion againe; and *Bias* replyed; *Why doſt thou aske ſuch a caſe of me, as concerns not thee at all?*

Irreligious fooles ſhould alwayes be ſo anſwered.

He vſed oft-times to ſay, that the greater part of men, were the worſt men; and *Auſonius* took great paines in confirming this ſaying. But it is ſo manifeſt and true, that it needs no other confirmation, then what is auouched in the Goſpell, where it is ſaid: *Many are called, but few are choſen.* *Cicero* alſo maintaines it to be true, affirming the race of the wicked to be great. *Plato* alſo ſaide to the ſame purpoſe, That good men were gone, and growne to nothing: but contrariwiſe, the vices of the wicked encreaſed daily, euen as if they were watered hearbs.

Auſonius in lib 1. cap. 5.

Cicero in Tuſcul. cap. 3.

Plato in Timæ.

There are ſome Authors, who alledge many other ſentences of *Bias*, very ſingular, and neceſſary; as, *Attribute to God all the good thou doeſt: Neuer be enuious at the rich. Hee may well be called a good man, that hath no remorſe of conſcience, The greateſt danger that happens to a man, commeth from man: The very richeſt gift in a woman, is to be vertuous and honeſt.*

Many worthy ſayings attributed to Bias.

Ariſtotle attributeth this to *Bias*. Degrees of honor and offices, do moſt manifeſt what a man is: for, many appeare to be honeſt men (as indeede their actions ſhew no leſſe) beeing priuate perſons: but hauing power to command, doe manifeſtly declare the malignitie of their hearts: He addeth alſo. That a man ſhould ſo carry himſelfe to his friend, as if (another day) he ſhould become his enemy: and ſo to deale with an enemy, as hoping (one day) he may be his friend. Yet *Ariſtotle* himſelfe reproued this ſaying, in his *Rhethoricke*. Notwithſtanding, in due conſideration of managing friendſhippe in theſe dayes, wee ſhall finde this Sentence to be moſt true.

Ariſt. in l. 7. c. 4.

Ariſt. in Rhetor. lib. 3. cap. 4.

There

There are many other sayings, well deseruing memorie, which are attributed to this Philosopher, & would aske too much time heere to insert : and therefore I will leaue them, hauing first informed the Reader, that after the death of *Bias*, his funerall was sollemnely performed, at the cost and charge of the Common-wealth, in signe of his perpetuall honour.

Bias buried at the Common welths charge

THe second Sage or wiseman of *Greece* was *Solon*, although some ranke him in the prime place. *Plutarke*, and many other haue written at large of his life, saying; That hee was borne in *Salamina*, an Iland in subiection to the *Athenians*, issued of an auncient and most Noble house; his fathers name being called *Aecrestides*. The *Athenians* made such pretious esteem of *Solon*, aswell in regarde of his wisedom, and the victories which he had obtayned against them of *Mytilene*, with sundry other enterprises, which hee had finished very dexteriously; that they limited themselues to his ordinances, which were great (as *Plutarke* affirmeth) recording many of them by particular mention.

Solon, the second Sage or wise Man of Greece.

Solon highly esteemed among the Athenians.

Plut. in vit. Solõ

Especially he moderated the Lawes of *Draco*, which were very rigorous, so that for the very least facte committed in *Athens*, life depended thereupon. For, *Demas* the Oratour sayd, *That the Lawes appoynted by Draco, were written downe with the bloud of men*. *Solon* therefore corrected them, and confirmed in *Athens*, the Councell of the *Areopagites*, according as *Aristotle* and *Plutarke* do plainly maintayne.

Draces lawes registred in blood.

Hee had a concurrent or corriuall in *Athens*, a kinseman of his owne, named *Pisistratus*; so that, the more *Solon* labored the libertie of his Countrey, so much the more did hee study and endeauour to oppresse it. Neuertheless, in conclusion, the eloquence of *Pisistratus* had more power, then all the approoued goodnesse in *Solon*, whereby hee possessed himselfe of the Seigneury and Rule of *Athens*; which *Solon* might haue done (much more easily then hee) if he would haue vsed but his owne meanes. For, when the men of *Athens* offered him the soueraigntie of their Citty, hee made them answer thus: *The house of tyrannie is very pleasing, but it must haue a winding stayres to mount it: And therefore, I will neyther be a tyrant, nor subiect to a tyrant.*

Pisistratus, an opposite against Solon.

Solons refusal of gouerning Athens, & his wise reason.

Heereuppon, after that *Pisistratus* had gotten full possession of *Athens*, *Solon* departed thence, and trauelled Countries for the space of tenne yeares, as well in *Egypt* as in other places. Till at the length, he came to the Court of *Cræsus*, the rich and powerfull King of *Lydia*, who hauing shewed him his aboundant treasures, demaunded of him, if euer hee had seene more Royall possessions? Whereto *Solon* (like a Philosopher and Free-man) replyed: That he had seene the possessions of diuers Fowles, Cockes, Capons, and such like, which seemed goodlier to him, because they were naturall to them. Againe hee demaunded of him; If euer hee had seene any man more rich, or so happie as hee was? *Solon* answered him (without flattery) that hee had seene a man in his owne Countrey, named *Tellus*, who (in his opinion) was more happie then *Cræsus*; for hee was an honest and vertuous man, and had seene his children, and the children of his children so well aduaunced, that hee receyued seruice from them in his age. Nay more, being growne into the extreamitie of yeares; he dyed in the defence of his Countrey, and repelling the enemy.

Solon left Athens, & trauailed Countries.

His comming to rich Cræsus, King of Lydia, and his conference with him, about his riches and happinesse.

The King being much displeased at the answer of *Solon*, sayd vnto him: Why dost not thou attribute to me some degree of happinesse? Whereunto *Solon* replying, shewed him the great trauerses and mutations, which may ensue vnto such as are constituted in great Estates: and they being subiect to such alterations, he conld not tearme them truely happie, alledging a common Prouerbe, vsed among the *Athenians*: *That the end of life must first bee seene, before any iudgement of happines passe thereon.*

Croesus wold haue some degree of happnesse granted to him.

A witty Athenian prouerb.

O most notable saying, though to *Aristotle*, it seemed not receiuable: for, while a man continueth in life, hee is alwayes vncertayne of his estate and condition, as also of his fame and reputation: as it was well approuedby the Wise man, who said, *Commend no man before his death*. And our blessed Lord also, would haue his Apostles and Disciples to make stay in no place, or to salute any bodie by the way: which some expounded according to the saying of *Solon*, who affirmed, that man (in his life time) could not assure himselfe

No man can be happy before his death

Eccles. 12, 14

Math. 28, 19.

selfe from falling into many ineuitable inconueniences. *Pliny* also conforming him selfe to *Solon*, sayd; *One day iudgeth another, and the last day iudgeth all*. *Ouid* maketh the like affirmation, saying: *Whosoeuer considereth the last day of man, which is vncertaine; it is not possible for him to say, that he can be any way truly happy.*

The saying of Solon approued by many good authors. *Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 10. Ouid. in Metamorp. lib. 3.*

But returne we againe to King *Cræsus*, who, notwithstanding the wise answere *Solon* had made him, he regarded him not, neither what great benefit might after befall him, by enioying the companie of a man so worthy, as neuer respecting future occasions to follow. Whereuppon *Solon* departed from his Court, with very vnkinde entertainement: but afterward, such an aduenture hapned, as made him dearely acknowledge his errour, and well to remember the words of *Solon*. For, Great King *Cyrus* waging new warre against him; and hauing vanquished and taken him prisoner, gaue Sentence, that hee should be burned aliue. Hee being vpon the pile of wood, and fire making readie to consume him: cryed sodainely out aloude, O *Solon, Solon, Solon*, remembring now in this extreamitie, that his saying was true, and that no man could be happy while he liued! *Cræsus* commanding the Officers to stay, and to keepe the fire from the pile: would needes vnderstand of him, wherefore he vsed that inuocation vppon *Solon*, or expected thereby for deliuerance from death? *Cræsus* reported the whole History to him, what *Solon* had sayd, concerning his imaginarie happinesse; the trueth whereof he had now too apparantly prooued. *Cyrus* being much amazed thereat, and entring into mature consideration, of the strange and vnauoidable mutabilities of Fortune; deliuered King *Cræsus* from death & captiuity, doing him so great honor, that he made him his associate in his kingdomes. Whereby we may perceiue, that this wise and worthy saying of *Solon*, was the meanes of freeing one mighty King from death, and made an other also much wiser then hee was before.

Solon departed from king Cresus, as a man vnregarded.

Cresus found Solons words true, to the no mean hazard of his life.

Cyrus giueth life to Cresus, and made him Competitor in his Kingdomes.

Aristot. in polit. lib. 3. cap. 13. The death of Solon in the Isle of *Rhodes*.

Solon, hauing attained vnto the age of foure score yeares, dyed at *Rhodes*, ordayning by his testament (as *Aristotle* sayth) that his body should bee burned, and his ashes scattered in the Isle of *Salamina*: because they should not be caried to *Athens*, for constrayning them (by that meanes) to keepe his ordinances. Because, before he departed from *Athens*, he made the *Athenians* to take an oathe, that they should keepe his Lawes inuiolably, vntill he was returned from his voyage. And indeede, according vnto *Aristotle*, the Commonwealth of the *Athenians* maintained themselues very prosperously, so long as they kept the Lawes of *Solon*.

Now, as concerning the sentences and sayings of *Solon*; for the most part, they were conformable to Christian Religion, and all Ciuilitie. As, *Honour God: Be helpfull to thy neighbour: Maintaine the vertue of thy friend: Obey the Lawes: Bridle thine anger: Honor thy father and mother: Sweare not: Keepe thy selfe from Enuy: Be not too light in confirming a friend, but learne to keep him when thou hast him. Marrie with thine equall: Reproue thy friend in secret, but publikely thou mayest commend him: Shunne the company of wicked people: Praise and follow vertue*. Hee sayd moreouer, *That Lawes were like to Spyders webs, wherein poore litle Flies were soone entangled, but such as were great and strong, could easily breake thorow.* Such, and the like notable Sentences, are found among his Lawes and Ordinances: And so much for *Solon*.

Solons saying conformable to Christian Religion and Ciuility.

Chilo, son of *Amaratus*, was also numbered amongest the seauen Sages of *Greece*. He was of *Lacedemon*, a citty highly renowned in *Greece*, where he was elected in the Councell of the *Ephori*, in regard of his great wisedome & knowledge: this was an Estate among the *Lacedemonians*, as the Conseruatours and Tribunes were among the Romains. *Chilo* was very summary and succinct in his Discourse, as (ordinarily) all the Lacedemonians were: and hee was likewise called *Aristagoras*, in regard of that qualitie. When any one compiled an Oration, in few and witty words, they vsed to say; That he had written a *Chilonicall* Oration. He liued so long (as *Pliny* and some others say) euen till nature fayled in him. Neuertheless, he dyed with a conceit of ioy, seeing one of his sonnes, to winne the prizes of Honour in the Olympian games, and after his death; the Lacedemonians performed his funerall with great solemnitie.

Chilo, the third Sage or wise man of Greece.

Chilo called Aristagoras, for his succinct discoursing.

Plin. in l. 16. c. 2.

The singular wisedome of this man, appeared sufficiently, by the notable Sentences

Chilo enstructed all men to know theselues.

tences which he had written; but especially in this, that he exhorted euery man to know himselfe. Which being heedfully obserued, men would not bee so vaine, nor so proude and inordinate, as vsually they are: because all vices and disorders do proceed from selfe-conceite, and no man truely knowing himselfe. Heereupon the Christian Church tooke an order, that euery yeare (in the begining of Lent) all men should bee admonished to remēber, that from dust they came, and to dust they should returne againe.

Plat.in lib.de legib.3.cap.9.

Plato recordeth, that this saying of *Chilo*, *Know thy selfe*, was written in letters of golde, vpon the portall of *Apolloes* Tēple. *Iuuenall* saith, *That this saying came frō Heauen. Macrobius*, in his Tract of *Scipioes Dreame*, saith; That the Oracle of *Apollo* being demanded the meanes, what course should be taken, for attaining to felicity, answered: *Onely teach a man to know himselfe. Demonicus*, being asked, at what time he began to be a Philosopher, answered; *when I began to know my selfe.* O most necessary rule; for if a man would consider himselfe well, and study but to vnderstand his condition, estate and vacations, and frame his life accordingly thereto: hee could neuer bee so changed, to attempt such things, as he neyther shold or ought to do, neyther would there bee so much disorder in the world, as now there is.

Iuuenall.

Things fit and necessary for all men to know and vnderstand.

Witty and graue sentences written & vsed by Chilo

Chilo also had an accustomed kinde of Prouerbiall speeches, to wit: *Remember thou must dye, and therefore prouide for thine owne saluation. Honour olde men. Be no murmurer. Speake no euill of an offendour. Chuse rather losse, then dishoneste gaine. In violence and constraint bee milde and humble. Labour rather to be loued, then feared. Try Gold by the touch; for, a golden-tongued mā, who speaketh all that comes into his mouth, men may often heare from him, such things as they would not.*

Questions moued to Chilo, and his discreete answeres.

Chilo being asked by one, named Æsope, what God had done, answered; *Hee exalted humble men, and suppressed proud ignorant Fooles.* Being demanded also, what was the hardest thing in the world to bee done, replyed: *To vse and imploy a mans time well, and to pardon iniuries and outrages receiued.* In briefe, he would vsually say, that he would so dispose the course of his life: *That the greatest persons should not despise, nor the meanest feare him.* Finally, *Chilo* both wrote and spake many notable things in his time, which would require ouermuch leysure to report: And therefore, we wil take our leaue of him, making way to entertaine our 4. man of *Greece.*

Cleobulus, the fourth wise man of Greece, a mā of learning and excellent composure of body.

Cleobulus, who was also one of the seauen Sages, was borne in *Lindos*, a City in the Isle of *Rhodes*; or as some others say, in *Caria*, a Towne of *Anconia*, a Region in *Greece*; and his Fathers name was *Euagoras*. This *Cleobulus*, beside his being a very singular wise man, was also of very goodly bodily feature, and wonderfully actiue of his person: so that eyther, or both these happy blessings togither, made him admired, and esteemed generally. The loue of learning preuailed in such sort with him, that he forsooke his Country, Parents and Friends; trauailing into *Egipt*, where (in those times) were many goodly and famous Vniuersities.

Cleobolina, daughter to Cleobulus, a woman of rare ingenuitie.

He had a Daughter named *Cleobolina*, that could inuent and write in prose, beyond ordinary compasse of men or women, and very skilfull shee was beside, in propounding questions of difficult resolution; as this one for an example. *A Father had twelue children, and each childe had thirty sonnes, all white by nature, and thirty daughters, all of them naturally blacke: all which were immortall, and yet (notwithstanding) were discerned to dye daily.* By which Enigma, shee vnderstood the yeare, that hath twelue Moneths, and euery Moneth thirty dayes and thirty nights.

Her witty Enigma.

But come we againe to *Cleobulus*, who after his returne out of *Egipt*, deserued so highly by his learning and iudgement, as to be ranked among the seauen Sages of *Greece*. And many of his learned sayings and sentences, were held as rules and directions for mens liues. Among other, he vsed most of all to say; *That Mediocrity was without compare.* And assuredly, these words greatly confirmed the saying of *Chilo*, who wold haue euery man to know himselfe: For if we knew our selues well, and as we ought to do, a meane then in all things would easily gouerne vs. By this sentence then of *Cleobulus*, making such precious account of Mediocrity; we may well conclude, that all extremities are vicious. As much to say, when there is too much, or too little: whereupon our ancient Philosophers vsed to say; *Beware of too*

Cleobulus his commendation of Mediocriry.

Omne quod est nimiū vertitur in vitium.

too much, declaring thereby, that all exceſſe is vile.

Ariſtotle attributeth this ſentence to wiſe *Bias*, and ſome other to *Solon*, but be it howſoeuer: Vertue alwayes conſiſteth in mediocrity: According to the ſaying of *Ariſtotle*; *Vertu tormenteth it ſelfe by too much, or too little*: For vertue is nothing elſe but a mean or mediocritie, conſiſting betweene two extreamities. *Horace* appointed in his Diſcourſes, that a meane ſhould be obſerued in all things. *For* (ſaith he) *all that goeth before it, or contendeth to come after it, keeping neither meane nor meaſure; can neuer be ſaid to be well accõpliſhed.*

Ariſt. in Polit. lib. 3. cap. 7.

Horace in lib. 1. cap. 6.

Approbation by the foure Cardiual Vertues, & their contraries or oppoſites.

An infinite number of examples may be alleadged to this purpoſe, eſpecially concerning the foure principall vertues, which are commonly called Cardinall. For, Fortitude is lodged betwixt Feare & Boldnes; & Liberality keeps the mid-way betwixt Couetouſnes and Prodigality; as the like may be ſayd of other vertues, and humane operations, which ought to gouerne themſelues by time and neceſſity: yet with this charge neuertheleſſe, to beware of ouer-much in any. This is a doctrine conformable to the ſaying of *Heſiodus*, oftentimes alledged by reuerend *Eraſmus*, commanding all men to obſerue a meaſure in their actions. Aſmuch maintaineth *Plato*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and many other Authors both ancient and moderne, euery one of them auouching commonly; *That happy men alwayes follow a meane in their trauells.*

Heſiodus. Eraſmus. Terentius. Plato. Plautus.

And (in this caſe) the reaſon is peremptory, for all things are euen as nothing, they haue their beginning and their end, and ſo they paſſe away: Reaſon then fits them with an apte concluſion, that theyr perfection conſiſts in the midſt of the fiue Zones or Plages, which girdle round the whole wide Vniuerſe; the two extremeſt are held to be inhabitable: and yet contrarywiſe, thoſe in the middſt are allowed to be moſt perfect. The Sunne which is held to be Prince of the Planets, is in the midſt of the errant or wandring Stars. Among men, the place of honour is in the midſt; & (indeed) it is hard to make any agreement, except ther be a third, to ſerue as the means. To conclude, the meane ſo much commẽded to vs in all things, concernes chiefly Chriſt, that hee would be caled the Mediator betwixt God & man.

Compariſon of the fiue Zoanes.

The Sunne, Prince of the planets.

The onely cheefe meane aboue all other.

He vſed diuers other notable ſentences beſide, as, *Beware of giuing thy friend occaſion to reprooue thee: ſhunne the ambuſhes of thy enemy: Before thou goeſt out of thy houſe, remember what thou haſt to do: and vpon returning home, conſider what thou haſt done: match not in marriage, but with thine equall, for if thou takeſt a wife of a better houſe then thine owne, thou makeſt thy ſelfe a ſlaue to her and her kinred: Pardon the errours of other men, and neuer be ſparing of thine owne: The more liberty thou haſt, ſo much the leſſe vſe make of it: Be not prowde in proſperity, nor faint-hearted in aduerſity. Inure thy ſelfe to beare the trauerſes of fortune patiently.* Many other ſingular Sentences are attributed to *Cleobulus*, which *Auſonius* and *Diogenes Laertius* haue recorded in their works, affirming withall, that he dyed at the age of ſeauenty yeares.

Other ſentences vſed by Cleobulus.

Auſonius in l. 3. Diog. Laert. in vit. Cleob.

NOw it remaineth to ſpeake of *Pittacus*, of *Mitylene*, the capitall Citty in the Iſle of *Lesbos*, and at this day called *Mitylene*, his fathers name being called *Hyrradius*. He was of ſuch learning, wiſedome and ingenuitie of ſpirit, that the Græcians placed him in ranke among the ſeauen Sages. The loue hee bare to his Countrey, moued him to make warre againſt the tyrant *Meleager* (who vſurped thereon) ſo that he enforced him to flight. In the war betwixt the Athenians and them of *Mitylene*, about a field then in controuerſie; hee was Generall for the *Mityleneans*, and became Conquerour, and ſlew *Frinenes* Generall for the Athenians in the open field. Whereupon, the Athenians quitted vnto *Pittacus*; the contentious field which they quarrelled for, in regarde of the victorie which hee obtayned againſt them: and gaue him the gouernment of their Common-wealth, which he ruled worthily the ſpace of ten years, ordayning many good Lawes and Conſtitutions for the benefit thereof. Which hauing done, he willingly gaue ouer his gouernement, as it was freely put vpon him: and liued vntill hee was ſeuenty yeares olde, beloued and honoured generally.

Pittacus, the 5. of the Grecian Sages.

He made war on the tyrant Meleager, & was Generall againſt the Athenians.

Pittacus made Gouernor of the athenians.

His ſayings and Sentences are no leſſe conſiderable, then thoſe of the other Sages, neyther the maner of his life. For, firſt of all, he made ſo ſmal account of the dignity, gold and riches of *Cræſus*, King of *Lydia*, that hee would not receiue any of him:

The ſlender eſteeme hee made of king Croeſus, and all his pompe.

him: but sent him word, that he had no need of his gold or siluer, because he had already a great deale more, then willingly he would haue. Giuing thereby to vnderstand, that hee was sorry for his Brothers succession, which happened to him, because he affected his Brother, better then his owne welfare. He often saide, that things to come, were very difficult to vnderstand; and that there was nothing in the world more certain then the earth; and contrariwise, that there was not any certainty in the Sea.

The earth reputed to be certaine, but the sea most vncertaine.

A wise man (quoth he) *ought to foresee disasters before they happen, the better to shun and keepe himselfe from them. Recouer that with patience, which force cannot command. He that knowes not how to holde his peace, knowes no fit time when he shold speak. In time of prosperity get thee friends, & make proofe of them in aduersity. Neuer boast of what thou wilt doe, least thou bee scorned if thou canst not do it. Looke how thou art towards thy Father, such shall thy children bee to thee.* So much for *Pittacus*.

Worthy sayings vsed by Pittacus.

Thales, the sixt of the Sages of *Greece*, was a Natiue of *Miletum*, a Citty much renowned in *Greece*; and for the many vertues abiding in him, deserued well, that the cheefe place among the Sages, should be assigned to him. For, in the first place, he was Soueraigne in Geometry, and the first man that discouered the principall secrets of Astrology: as the course of the Sun, the reason of his Eclipses; and likewise of the Moone, and the Equinoctials. In briefe, he brought to light the course of the Planets, and many other secrets of naturall Philosophy. Moreouer, he was the cause, that the proud Title of Sages, remained to the seuen learned men of *Greece*, by this accident.

Thales, the sixt of the seuen Sages.

Thales the first discouerer of Astrologie.

Vpon a day, sundry young men, and friendly companions of *Miletum*, had bought a draught of certaine Fishermen, hauing cast foorth their Net into the sea, and these young men were to haue the benefit, of al to be drawne vp at that time. A most admirable case suddenly happened; for when the Net was drawne vp, they found therein a Table of Golde, beautified and enriched in most costly and sumptuous manner. They which bought the draught, pretended, that the table of gold belonged to them, by their bargaine. The Fishermen (on the contrary) auouched it to be no fish, & that they bought nothing of them, but onely all the fish which shold be taken: and therefore (in that respect) they had no right at all to the Table. A long and great contention grew between them; which to be the sooner ended, by full consent on eyther side, they sent to the Oracle of *Apollo*, for a finall resolution: where he, or the diuell speaking by him, made this answere; *That the Table must be giuen to the only wise man of Greece.* Which beeing thus vnderstood, the golden Table was sent to *Thales*, as being the wisest man in *Greece*. But he was so modest, that he sent it to another of the Sages before named (for they were al liuing at that time) and hee sent it to another, so that the Table of gold passed from hand to hand, vntill at last it came to *Solon*, who likewise would not enioy it, but sent it to the Temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphos*.

A Table of gold drawne vp out of the Sea in a Fishermans net.

The Oracle of Apollo must end the controuersie.

The Table of gold sent to Thales, as the onely wise man of *Greece*

Ausonius, *Callimachus*, and many other write, that through the courtesie vsed in the Sages one towards another, the Table returned againe to the hand of *Thales*, to whom at first it was presented; and that he sent it to the *Delphian* Oracle. But howsoeuer those Authors write diuersly, concerning this History; yet all doe agree together in this, that *Thales* was the first mã, to whom the golden Table was sent.

Variation among Authors, concerning this History.

Aristotle making mention of *Thales*, reciteth many conceited sayings proceeding from him, especially in his Bookes of Pollicies, and namely one, which he vsed ordinarily. *That when he pleased, he could be rich.* Whereof he made good and sufficient proofe; for foreseeing by Astrology, that there would be a good season for Oliues, and Oyle of Oliues (soone after) was likely to be deare; he laid out his money, to buy Oliue-Oyle while the season serued, which afterwards hee solde at what rate he pleased. Not because thereby hee would enrich himselfe; but to make a manifestation, that when he listed he could be rich, considering what knowledge he had, both for times of abundance, & likewise of dearth, when they would happen.

Arist. in 3. lib. Polit. cap. 9.

Thales would be rich when he listed.

On a time it came to passe, that as he was gazing vpon the stars, he fell into a ditch; which an old woman seeing, & comming (vpon his outcry) to help him, in mocking maner said to him. *Tel me Thales, how darest thou presume to foretell of things to come, by consideration of the Stars, and yet couldst not*

Thales being fallen into a ditch, was reproued by an olde woman.

Diuers wise sayings often vsed by Thales.

see what was vnder thine owne feet vpon the ground. And yet notwithstanding, he was knowne to be an admirable wise man. He was wont to say; *That ouer-great assurance and confidence, was euermore accompanyed with repentance.* For many times, such as trust too much to others faithfull promises, are faine to pay the debts, from which no other caution could preuayle with them. He sayd moreouer; *That the true meanes of liuing vertuously, is, by not doing such things, as we condemne in other men.*

Being demanded, what was the easiest thing in the world to doe; he answered; *To know other mens faults, and none of our owne.* He sayd also; *That few Tyrants liued to be old.* *Diogenes* following the opinion of * *Hermippus*, sayd; that *Thales* vsed to thanke God for three things (though this Sentence is fathered on *Socrates:*) *First, that he had made him a man, and not a beast. Secondly, that hee had made him a man, and not a woman. Thirdly, that hee was borne a Greeke, and not a Barbarian.*

* A philosopher & scholler to Philo Biblius, a Iew, borne in Alexandria.

Periander the last of the seuen Sages of Greece.

Now we come to speake of *Periander*, the last of the Græcian Sages, of whom I haue no great matters to relate; because (according to diuers authors) he was not in the rancke of the seauen Sages, and yet a man of singular wit and vnderstanding. *Periander* was King of *Corinth*, and the son of King *Ciphilas*; the maner of his life being rather tyrannicall, as liuing like a Soldiour or Captaine, rather then a Philosopher. And hence it ensued, that *Heraclides*, and many more beside, esteemed this *Periander* to be none of the seauen Sages of *Greece:* but another *Periander*, who was (indeed) a great Philosopher; and a man highly renowned for vertue. Neuertheless, the most voices gaue the title of *Sage* to *Periander*; for although hee reigned by power at *Corinth*: yet notwithstanding, he was so discreet, valiant and of so absolute vnderstanding, that thereby he won the name of Sage among the *Greeks*.

Periander reputed not to be a philosopher, but king of Corinth

His answere when he wold not leaue his Kingdome.

It was demaunded of him, why he did not depart from his tyranny & kingdom? because (quoth he) I may fall into as great daunger, by willingly leauing my kingdome, which none other can dispossesse me of by force. He vsed continually many notable Sentences, and had the word *Consideration* very frequent in his talke, as declaring therby, that the principall thing wee should haue care of, is, to consider well what affaires we vndertake. The Poet *Ausonius*, expounding the word *Consideration*, saith; *A man should thinke tenne times on any thing, before hee presume to attempt it.* For men (often-times) fall into great daungers, through much inconsideration: especially, when they will not be gouerned by wisedome or councell, but rashly follow the perswasions of Fortune.

Ausonius, cõcerning the word Consideration.

Vertue (sayd *Periander*) *is immortall, but the pleasures of this world are of small continuance. In times of prosperity, be wise and modest, & in aduersity patient and constant. Liue in such sort, that thou mayest haue honour by thy life, and that after thy death, men may account thee happy. Let ancient Lawes and Ordinances be rules for thy gouernement, inducing no nouelties into the Common-wealth. Profite should alwayes be accompanyed with good grace and honestie. Performe that chearefully, which thou canst not preuent but cowardly.*

Wise & learned Sentences of Periander, left to eternall memory.

Compleate he was in these, and infinite other of the same nature, which breuity maketh me spare to speake of.

CHAP. XXIIII.

¶ *That Sight is the chiefest and principall Sence of all the rest. And of many being blind, who neuertheless were men of great honour and renowne.*

ARistotle had great reason to say: *Sight is the very principall of all the other corporeall sences.* For, it is seated as in the maine Cittadell, in the high & most eminent part of the body, whereby we may vnderstand, that it partaketh greatly with fire: by vertue and power whereof, it is placed aboue all the other sences. Touching hath a terrestriall participatiõ, for the earth is most touchable and tractable; and of all the Elements, Tasting holdeth with Aquositie and humiditie: for, without humidity, a man cannot taste any thing. As for Smelling, *Aristotle* attributeth it to fire, saying: *Heate is the foundation of odour, and her end consisteth in vapour, ioyned to an Ayre grosse, and full of exhalation.* Concerning Hearing,

Arist. in 1. Lib. Animal cap. 5 The eminent seate of sight.

The Elementary qualities of the bodily sences.

Hearing, euerie one well knoweth, that it partaketh with ayre, which entering into the eares, by ſound, cauſeth hearing; but ſight participateth with fire.

Sight holdeth more of Fire, then al the other ſenſes.

And although that the Eye were compoſed of a moyſt and wateriſh bodie, yet notwithſtanding, without Fire, it wer not poſſible to haue ſight: whereby wee may perceiue, that Sight or Seeing houldeth more of fire, then all the other ſenſes doe beſide. And becauſe the eye (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) doth more preſent the figures of things to a man, then all the other ſenſes: to it is granted, the beginniug of contemplation, and knowledge of all things. For from ſight proceedeth admiration, and the conſideration which a man hath by ſeeing, occaſioneth a deſire in him, of coming to vertue: So that (by good right) we may call the Eye, the Author and Inuenter of all Arts and Diſciplines.

Sight the beginner of contemplation.

The ſingulare benefit receyued by ſight.

In the prime place, by the Eye, a man conſidereth the admirable Architecture of the heauens, & of all the other bodies: by the Eye we diſcerne their colours and greatneſſe, their formes, number, proportion, and meaſure; their ſenſe, motion, & their reſting. And although Hearing had ſome concurrence in this caſe with Seeing, ſo that it might be tearmed a ſenſe of doctrine and of diſcipline, becauſe men learne vertue by hearing and vnderſtanding: yet (for all this) that title appertayneth principally to the ſight, as vnto her, that giueth the meanes to the vnderſtanding, to enquire by the plenitude of things which ſhe heareth, to come to the true knowledge of them; to the end, that this knowledge may afterward be communicated to other. Hereby then we may obſerue, that the firſt ſourſe or ſpring of inſtruction, commeth from the Sight, who afterward maketh Hearing miſtris of the worke, by comprehending thoſe admirable things preſented firſt to the eies cenſure. Wherein alſo may be noted, that Hearing can comprehend nothing of it ſelfe, without vſing the means of another; but the Sight comprehendeth all thinges (as it were) euen of it ſelfe.

Hearing cannot attaine to the prerogatiue of Seeing but becomerh thereby the better enſtructed.

Hearing comprehendeth nothing but by anothers helpe.

Moreouer, Seeing ſurpaſſeth all other ſenſes, in ſwiftneſſe and promptitude of her operations: for in an inſtant, and with no more then a caſt of the eye, ſhe perfecteth her deſſeignes: whereas the other ſenſes are long, & laborious in their working. For, Touching muſt haue one thing or another, to execute her power and office vppon, before ſhee can expreſſe her prerogatiue. Taſting alſo muſt needs tarry, for ſome things anſwerable to hir pallate. And Smelling requireth ſuch a leyſure, in receiuing an ayre qualified, as may penetrate into her noſtrilles: As the like doth Hearing, to comprehend a voice entering into the eares. But Sight only worketh inſtantly, and preſently comprehendeth the images of things preſented to hir in an vnſpeakable and gracious manner. For, blowes may bee ſeene giuen a great way off, and although the ſound or noyſe of them bee not heard ſo ſoone; yet notwithſtanding, there is nothing that can conceale ſight of the ſtrokes, for they are ſodaine and apprehenſiue vnto the Eye. And therefore, Seeing ſurmounteth the other ſenſes, becauſe it extendeth it ſelfe ſo farre.

The Eye diſcerneth a long way off from where the perſon is, ſo can none of the other ſenſes.

In this reſpect, by many Hiſtories and examples reported by *Pliny*, wee may eaſily gather, that Sight hath a farre larger extent, then all the other ſenſes, without any compariſon, or wearying her ſelfe tediouſly, as all the other do. For the Taſte tireth it ſelfe by too much feeding. The Eare is eaſily offended, by talkatiue babling. The Smell is trauailed extremely, by continuation of ſweete Odors. But Sight ſolie, hath no ſenſe of paine in her operations. Nor doth ſhe at any time ſo wearie her ſelfe, as to cloſe her lids retiredly; but rather, ſhe is neuer ſatisfied with Seeing. In briefe, the excellency of Seeing is ſo great, that the name of Seeing is attributed to all the other ſenſes, in theyr ſeuerall operations. For, men ordinarily ſay, Beholde the excellencie of this ſweete Odour a little while; or the Delicacie of this Muſicke; or the rare taſte of this Fruite.

The name of Seeing attributed to the other ſenſes in their kinds

The name of Seeing, extendeth it ſelfe to the operations of the vnderſtanding; for it is an vſuall ſaying; Marke how my intention will come to paſſe. It is likewiſe ſayde in the Goſpell, that our Lord and Sauiour ſaw (that is to ſay, knew) the thoughts of the Scribes and Phariſees. And verily, among the miracles & workes which our bleſſed Sauiour did in thoſe vnworthy Countreyes; it is helde for the moſt eſpeciall and ſingular, that he gaue ſight to the blind. And therfore ther is no

Seeing extendeth to vnderſtanding.

Matth. 12, 20.

Chriſt his giuing ſight to the blind moſt commended.

labor, wherein our Phy ſitions more gladly ſtudy and take paines, then to preſerue and maintaine the ſight of men.

A Hiſtory of Fredericke King of Naples.

I reade of a holy man named *Azarias*, who being preſent in a conſultation, that diuers Phyſitions made before *Fredericke* King of *Naples*, concerning the maintaining of mens ſight. When it came to his turne to ſpeake, he ſaid; *There is nothing better to comfort the ſight, then enuy; becauſe it will alwayes make the goodes of an other man ſeeme greater then they are*. This agreeth with *Ouids* ſaying; *Enuy euer thinks his neighbours Corne, more goodly then his owne*. Notwithſtanding, according to the opinion (almoſt) of all men, Spectacles do greatly ſerue to defend the ſight: and ſurely, they were a very good inuention, though the firſt deuiſer neuer knew it.

Of the enuious man.

Spectacles helpe to preſeruе the ſight.

I haue heard of a great Lord in *Spaine*, that would alwaies eate Cherries with his Spectacles on his noſe; onely to make them ſeeme the bigger and more nouriſhing: but yet this gourmandiſe was exorbitant. An other Gentleman, beeing quipt by K. *Phillip*, becauſe he fed ordinarily with Spectacles on his noſe; anſwered the king, Sir you count it not ſtrange, that I vſe my Spectacles in reading a Letter, in which can be no danger at all: why then do you blame me, becauſe I eat fiſh with Spectacles on my noſe, wherein are ſuch an infinite number of bones, as the very leaſt is able to ſtrangle me, & which I cānot ſee without my Spectacles? Spectacles then ſerue to very good purpoſe many times. But to our former purpoſe againe concerning Sight.

A gluttonous Feeder.

A Gentleman of Spaine alwayes vſed his Spectacles at his meales.

Although Sight is the chiefe guide of man; yet notwithſtanding, I haue read of diuers blind men, who were of no meane fame and reputation: Nature ſupplying their vnderſtanding, for whatſoeuer wanted in their ſight. *Appius Claudius* the great Orator, highly honored and eſteemed of *Cicero* and *Titus Liuius*, although hee was blind; was elected Cenſor at *Rome*, which office hee mannaged with ſo ſingular authority, as he only hindred the peace the whole Senate had concluded with King *Pyrrhus*. *Cicero* diſcourſeth amply, in the fifth Booke of his *Tuſculans Queſtions*, concerning the blindnes of *Appius Claudius*, and of remedies againſt diſeaſes in the eyes.

Diuers blinde men of great honour and excellency.

Blinde Appius Claudius, Cenſor of Rome.

Cicero in Tuſculan. lib. 5.

Caius Druſus, the moſt famous Lawyer and Aduocate, was blinde; and yet neuertheleſſe, his houſe was continually full of clients and ſuters, who rather affected to be guided by his darke wiſdome, then by their owne eye-ſight. *Caius Auphidius*, a great companion with *Cicero* in his youth, was Prætor of *Rome*; and yet left not to opine in the Senate, and all his friends receiued councell from him, in their very greateſt and weightieſt affairs. And notwithſtanding this blindnes, yet he digeſted a very notable Chronicle, of his own writing, whereof was made moſt high eſtimation. *Diodorus* a Stoicall philoſopher, was greatly renowned in his darkenes, and for all that imperfection, he could ſtudy in the night time, & play on his viole in the day; nay more, he taught Geometry publikely, a matter almoſt incredible, conſidering that it can not be practiſed but by the eie.

Caius Druſus a famous lawyer blinde, & yet wrote a worthy Chronicle.

Diodorus a Philoſopher who taught Geometry in his blindneſſe

Antipater of *Cyrenaica*, and *Aſclepiades* the Critike Poet, were both of thē blind; and yet bearing their diſaſter with patient ſoules, they neuer gaue ouer ſtudying Philoſophy, but therein ſpent their time to the benifit of many. And when certain Ladies (grieuing at his hard fortune) ſate weeping by *Aſclepiades*, hee ſaid to them: *Forbeare (noble Ladies) becauſe you know not what a pleaſure it is, to dwell in darknes*: they then demanding of him, what profit he receiued by his blindnes, he replied; *I haue a boy more now to keep me company then I had before*. *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, was blind alſo, as his name imported; according to the ſaying of *Cicero*: neuertheleſſe, tis vnknowne when he loſt his ſight; but true it is (as *Ouid* ſaith) that this diſaſter hapned to him in his olde age.

Antipater Cyrenaicus, and Aſclepiades Criticus.

Homer being blinde, was called the Prince of Poets.

Didimus Alexandrinus, may likewiſe be ranked with them that haue gone before, who beeing blinde euen from his youth, became (neuertheleſſe) a moſt perfect Logitian; ſtudying beſides, in all other humane diſciplines; and hee made a very notable Commentary vpon the *Pſalms* of *Dauid*. Such then, as wee haue before ſpoken of, perceiuing themſelues to be depriued of their ſight, did yet ſtriue and labour to perfourme things memorable, as Neceſſity is alwayes ſayd to bee induſtrious.

Didimus Alexandrinus, the famous Logitian.

But that which *Democritus* did to himſelfe, made the world both aſtoniſhed & ſmile

Democritus the Philosopher, pluckt out his owne eyes.

smile at together: For, (as *Lucretius* and *Aulus Gellius* do affirme) he pluckt out his owne eies, to inioy the more freedome in his contemplations. But *Tertullian* (who was an Author worthy of credite) maintaineth, that he did it, onely to auoide the inordinate appetites of the flesh.

Ziska, chiefe Captaine and Commander of the Bohemians.

Aboue all other men, subiected to the infelicitie of blindenesse, *Ziska* the Bohemian deserueth no meane remembrance, who being blind, was chosen chiefe Captaine and Commaunder of the Sect hee professed among the Bohemians; and so well executed his charge, that he obtained many victories against his enemies, and carryed himselfe so woorthily in his place, that hee atchieued immortall memorie.

Belus, the second King of Hungaria, made blinde by his cruell Vnckle.

Belus also, second king of *Hungaria*, being elected chiefe of the *Hungarian* army; had his eyes pluckt out by the meanes of King *Colomanus*, his owne vnckle. Being blinded thus, hee withdrew into *Greece*, where he made such plaine apparance of his manly spirit and wisedome: that king *Stephen*, sonne to king *Colomanus*, repealed him, and gaue him in marriage the daughter to the count of *Seruia*. In which dignity he carried himselfe with such rare integritie, as (after the death of King *Stephen*) hee was chosen King of *Hungaria*. And being blinde, reigned nine yeares; during which time he had diuers warres, and especially against *Broccus*, the bastard sonne to King *Colomanus*; whom yet he vanquished, so that he left the kingdome of *Hungaria* peaceably to his sonnes.

Iohn, the blinde King of Bohemia, who assisted Phillip of France, gainst King Edward of England.

The last blinde man, whereof wee will speake at this time, was *Iohn*, King of *Bohemia*, who reigned in the yeare of our Lord 1350. or thereabout. And surely, it is almost myraculous of this Prince, that blinde *Ziska* should maintaine his Commaunders place so worthily, being Generall of the *Bohemian* army, against *Belus* then reigning in *Hungaria*: yet I hold all nothing to blinde *Iohn* of *Bohemia*, who had so much valour (after his owne victories) to succour (in person) *Phillip* king of *Fraunce*, his kinseman, in his warre against King *Edward* of *England*. For, this blind King, euer affected to make one in the field; assisting also the Earle of *Flanders*, and many French Princes.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ That Auarice or Couetousnesse, is a most enormous vice, and subiect to great dangers: With sundry examples of diuerse persons, who were extreamely couetous.

The reason of inserting this Chapter by the Author.

THE Auarice of our instant dayes, induced mee to discourse on this sin, as a case of most perillous and extreame daunger: and to intermeddle among my relations, certaine histories of many couetous men, which may serue as exampls to other yet liuing. Desiring all Readers (in the meane while) to consider the estate of a couetous man, with the like eie, as common people doe diligently looke vpon a monster, which some Iuggler or Mountebancke bringeth into a city, for singularity & obseruation.

Aristotle. Cicero. Tho: Aquinas. The definitiō of Auarice.

As entrance then into our discourse, it is to be noted, that *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and many other Authours beside, haue diuersly defined what Auarice is; neuertheless, we may deriue this resolution from their definitions. That Auarice is an inordinate desire of a mans enriching himselfe, without sparing part of his goods to any other; so that we may well say, this vice is excessiue in desiring and griping, but very cold and slowe in giuing or parting with any thing. Vnder the cloake of this sinne, march a thousand disorders, infinite iniustices and abhominations, shelting themselues there so safely, as they cannot doe the like in anie of the other vices. For, as *Virgil* saith; *Execrable famine of gold, is there any vice, which thou inducest not into the heart of man?* S. *Paul* also saith: *Couetousnesse or Auarice is the sourse or roote of all euilles, hauing made many to wander from Faith, which otherwise would haue kept and followed it.*

Virgill, his exclamation on Auarice.

Rom. 9, 14.

Auarice causeth contempt both of God and Men.

That Auarice is a sinne most abhominable, appeareth sufficiently in this, because it makes a man hated both of God and men, being (of it selfe) quite contrary to Charitie: which is such a vertue, as conioyneth God and men together, euen as the opposite sinne maketh a man hatefull vnto himselfe. For, the loue of our selues is so rooted in our hearts, that wee respect not any thing, in regarde of our

selues, louing alwayes our owne profit, more then any others. And yet notwithstanding, Auarice hath gotten such preheminence ouer man, as he cares for nothing but getting money, beeing so forgetfull of himselfe, that hee will neyther eate, drinke, nor clothe himselfe decently; but rather is content to fast, and almost starue himselfe, because he will not allow the least leisure from the scraping goods together. Nay, he feareth not to hazard both his soule & body, so he may be sure to get money; which is a thing repugnant to the Lawe of Nature, who ordained and instructed vs, to affect and maintaine our selues, and contemne all things, before our owne liues. And yet the couetous man cares not to loose and condemne his owne soule; yea, and abridge his life, which he will endanger in a moment, for the getting of a Crowne.

Auarice maketh mē careless of themselues in getting money, yea and to endanger their bodies and soules.

Vndoubtedly, it is much to be lamented, that a man should not respect himselfe, nor his parents, wife, children nor friends; prouided that he may wallow in wealth and mucke of the world: such an one was the Rich man, spoken of in the Gospell. What a miserable and wretched follie is it, to endure hunger, thirst, colde, ill cloathing, and neyther sleep by day or night, but euery houre to endanger life, and yet make no vse of golde when it is gotten? It ought, and should serue for the sustentation of life, and to that end riches were ordayned. Obserue the words of our blessed Sauiour; *What auayleth it a man to winne the whole world. and loose his life, that is, his soule?* Surely, I am of opinion, that this happeneth by the Diuine permission, casting such couetous men into a reprobate sense, to the end they may die in that auaritious will and desire.

Men care neither for Parents, Wife, Children, Friends, nor themselnes, so they may get riches.

Luke 16.19.

And yet notwithstanding, God often permitteth, that wealth scraped together, by such toyle and trauaile: shall fall into the hands of other, to scatter as prodigally, as it was gotten wickedly, and wonderfully sparing. This is that whereof *Salomon* speaketh in his *Ecclesiastes*: *Such as heape vp riches, gotten by iniustice, leaue them for other to spend.* For, can that thing bee good for an other, which is euill in him who hath it? *Iuuenall* also vpon the very same words speaketh thus. *Some doe gaine and make profit, only to maintaine their life; and there are others, who liue not but to gaine.* In briefe, this wicked vice doth so captiuate a man, that it robbes him of all loue and respect to himselfe: so that there is not any wickednesse in this world, but it may well bee expected in a couetous man.

The niggard oftentimes gets goods together, for the prodigall to spend vnthriftily.

Eccles 7,9.

*Dion the Philosopher said; *Auarice is the head of all wickednesse. Euripides* saith, *An ambitious & couetous Iudge, can neither thinke or desire any iust thing.* Saint *Augustine* saith, *whosoeuer suffereth himselfe to be gouerned by Auarice, becommeth subiect to all vices and wickednesse.* And this is conformable to good reason. For, the couetous man (by Auarice) becommeth a tempter, periured, an euill payer, an vsurer, a deceiuer, a traytor, a turne-taile, a thiefe, a tyrant, and an idolater: so that it is not possible, that a couetous man should haue any good being; neyther as Lord nor vassaile, gouernour nor subiect, father nor sonne, nor friend or cousine, and in the end, neuer doth good, except when he dyeth.

* A Philosopher of Borysthenes.

Aug. in lib de lib. Arbit. cap. 5.

The true picture of a couetous man.

*Lucillius sayd, *An auaritious man is good to no bodie, because he is wicked to himselfe.* Democritus maintained; *That extreame Auarice, is worse then extreame Pouertie.* Aristotle in the first Booke of his *Politickes* saith: *Desire to become rich, neuer hath ending; and therefore riches serue as pouertie to a couetous man: because hee dare not vse them, for feare of empayring his estate.* The *Stoickes* had a saying, *That wishes and necessitie came not of pouertie, but of aboundance: for, the more that a man hath, so much the more needy is he.* Concluding, *It is good to haue a little, because at no time to be needie.* Plato gaue this councell to a couetous man, to become rich indeed; hee should not encrease his wealth, but rather decrease his auarice or couetousnesse.

* A famous Latine Poet, liuing in Italy.

Arist. in Polit. lib. 1. cap. 4.

The opinion of the Stoicks concerning wishes and necessitie.

All these notable Sentences before remembred, are intirely conformable to the sacred Scriptures, who declare; *That the eyes of a couetous man are insatiate.* Salomon also saith in *Ecclesiasticus*; *A couetous man is neuer satisfied with money: And that whosoeuer addicteth his mind to riches, shall neuer enioy them.* Saint *Augustine* compareth the couetous man to hell, which can neuer be glutted enough, and neuer saith it hath sufficient, although it hath beene so long time in filling. Euen so, the greedy

Sentences of Scripture, as touching couetousnesse.

Aug. in Ciuit. dei lib. 9. cap. 4

S.Ierome, his comparison of a couetous man.

greedy couetous man is neuer satisfied, but the more he gaineth, the more he gapeth still after gayne; thinking himselfe poorer and poorer. Saint *Ierome* sayth: *The couetous man is so needie of that which hee hath, as if hee had it not at all. And alwayes his auarice encreaseth, as fire doth, being continually fed with dry wood.* As much or rather more, haue many other holie men sayd; all in vtter detestation of this damnable sinne.

S.Augustine, concerning desire in men, and other cretures, but (aboue all) in the auaricious and couetous man.

Neuertheless, because I will no longer weary the Reader, I shall conclude this poynt with the saying of Saint *Augustine: How strangely insatiable is this desire in men? Other creatures haue their appetites limited; for they hunt when they are hungry, and being satisfied, they leaue their prey. But hee that coueteth the riches of this world, is insatiable: for hee seeketh and hoordeth vp daily, taking wealth from all hands, without fearing, eyther God or men; Hee knoweth neyther father nor mother; he maketh no account of his brethren, or any friends of his; hee neuer careth for keeping his word: Hee oppresseth Widdowes, robbeth Orphants, and and serues his turne with free-men, euen as if they were slaues: He is commonly a false witnes, and cares not how hee engrosseth vp dead mens goods: Are not these commendable qualities in a couetous man?* Let vs flie then from this accursed vice, which (ouer & beside the former notes of wickednes) is incurable (according vnto the saying of *Aristotle*) *for it encreaseth with age: so that Auarice is in his full reigne, when bodily strength fayleth in man.*

Arist in Polit. lib.1.c.10.

Examples of miserable wretched couetous men. Iudas Iscariot one of Christs Apostles.

To shunne one falling into this slauish sin, I will alleadge some examples of wicked couetous men, among whom, *Iudas Iscariot* marcheth in the first rancke; he being an Apostle and Disciple of Christ Iesus, was so subiected to Auarice: that he would robbe the money from the rest of his fellowes and companions, by bearing the bagge, and hauing the money in his owne possession. This wicked passion had so farre blinded him, that he accounted the precious Ointment to bee lost, wherewith *Mary Magdalen* anoynted the feete of our blessed Sauiour. For, if the Ointment had beene solde, hee would haue stolne part of the price. In the end, he was so strangely led by this sinne, that (for money) he solde his Lord and Maister. This onely example were sufficient to approoue whatsoeuer hath beene said concerning couetousnes: neuertheless, I am content to report some other, among which, *Tiberius Cæsar* Emperour of *Rome* is the formost man; and questionlesse, there is no other vice in the world, better to be exampled in the *Romain* Emperors, then this of Auarice.

Example of couetousnesse in diuers of the Romane Emperors.

This Prince, among other his notorious vices, (whereto hee was very easily mooued) was so subiect to penurious griping, and pinching, that although he was Lord of the whole world; yet notwithstanding, he put to death *Cnæus Lentulus* (whom he had instituted to be his heire) onely to enioy his wealth. As much did he to the King of the *Parthians*, who did come to liue with him vnder his safe-conduct; onely to possesse himselfe of the riches and treasure, belonging to the simply abused Prince. He so heauily charged the poore with taxes and toules, that they were enforced to forsake their countries, in such sort; that the Citties and Townes remayned desert and vn-inhabitable. In the end, pursuing on still his vnsatiable inclination: *Caligula* smothered him betweene two pillowes, and so hee dyed.

Tiberius Cæsar, who couetously put his own heire to death, to enioy his reuennues.

He was found smothered by Caligula.

Domitian the Emperour was more couetous then he: And the Emperor *Commodus* (therein) exceeded them both: for he (ordinarily) vsed to make port-sale of iustice: and therefore heauen iustly permitted them to be stabd to death by Ponyards. *Achelous* King of *Lydia*, was so ouercome with couetousnesse, that hee could not be contented with his Crowne lands, and very large ordinary reuenews; but layd (beside) such taxes and impositions vpon his subiects, that they arose in Armes against him, and hauing taken him, murdered him most miserably, and (afterwards) hung him vp by the heeles. *Pontanus* maketh mention of a Cardinal, who was so extraordinarily auaritious, as he would often disguise himselfe like vnto a poore groome or slaue, and steale away the prouender from before his owne horses. *Horace* saith, that there was a man in *Rome*, named *Ouid*, who was so aboundantly rich in money, that he could measure his gold and Siluer by many bushels: and yet notwithstanding, hee would goe starke naked, and neuer did eate halfe so much as would suffice him; as fearing still

Domitian and Commodus, two extreme couetous Emperors.

Achelous, King of Lydia

A most extreme couetous Cardinall

A wretched and miserable couetous man in Rome.

still least he should fall into pouerty, liued most wretchedly all his life time.

Many other might be spoken off, too much addicted to this detestable sinne, as *Primaleon, the brother to *Dido*, who slew his cousine, onely to enioy his riches. *Polistus* also, King of *Troy*, who put to death one of King *Priams* sonnes, being sent to honour him in his Court: but such prolixity of examples may prooue offensiue. We will content our selues then, to know how we ought to shunne this sin, which is the occasion of infinite euils: and so much the rather; because men are continuallie more enclined to Auarice, then to Liberality.

* Or Pigmalion, as some writers call him.

Polistus, King of Troy.

CHAP. XXVI.

A verie singular reason, deliuered by Phauorinus the Philosopher, concerning Astrologers; that it is not good to demand any Question of them, hauing relation vnto future matters.

Iudiciall Astrology continually misdoubted.

OVr Ancient, yea, and more moderne writers, were euer more doubtfull in the act of iudiciall Astrologie, which discourseth of thinges to come, and accidents happening to men, as wel in particular, as generally throughout the world; some condemning it, and vtterly reiecting it; others approouing it in part; some beside maintaining it by strong reasons, and by experience. Moreouer, there are store of bookes, which I could produce here, as warrantable presidents: but I mean not way that to troble my selfe, although I haue studied sufficiently in that part of Astrology, which discourseth on the course and motion of the Starres.

The Authour himselfe a student in Astrologie.

Beeing willing then, not to touch the honour and reputation of any person, I will onely alledge, what the Philosopher *Phauorinus* saide, according as *Aulus Gellius* relateth. He, being desirous to retreat and turne mens mindes, from reposing any trust in Astrologers, Caldeans, or Mathematitians, concerning the knowledge of things to come: vsed a reason very ingenious and acute, speaking in this manner, and as himselfe hath sette downe the words.

Aul Gel. in Attic Noct. l. 5 c 7.

Be well aduised, that thou giue no credite to Astrologers, in any manner whatsoeuer: For, although they tell thee true, that which they say, will be either good or ill for thee; and being good, it must be truth, or a lye. If it be trueth, thou maist receiue double damage by knowing it: for first of all, thy desire runs into further paine and trauaile, what good thereby shall happen to thee, and how soon. Secondly, a good or benefite to come (whereof thou hast thus receiued intelligence) is alwaies reckoned the lesse, because it cannot bee so compleate, as if thou wert possessed thereof instantly. If it be a lye, thou expectest in vain, the benefite which the Astrologer promised thee, in regard it shall neuer come vnto thee. What if that which the Astrologer foretolde thee, is ill and hurtfull for thee? Being euil & certaine; what more great disgrace can happen to thee, then to be possest of an euill turne, which thou must embrace, and is out of thy power to shunne or auoide? If it be a lye, why should a man be afflicted, or driuen into sadnesse, by feare of a mischeese that shall neuer come neere him? Be it therefore in what sorte soeuer, it is not good to enquire after future accidents.

The admonition giuen by Phauorinus against confidence in the saying of Astrologers.

For mine owne part, I finde the counsel of this Philosopher to be so good, that I hold it agreeable vnto the holy Gospell, which sayeth: *It is not for vs, to know times, seasons, nor moments.*

The Authors iudgement of the Philosophers counsel.

CHAP. XXVII.

Diuers examples of sundry accidents, whereby great plots and designements of great Politickes, haue bene dissipated and ouerthrowne. Also, concerning Policies, that (for a time) haue beene profitable, and yet in the end haue proued pernitious.

WE E reade in *Plutarch*, that the people of *Sicily* (beeing oppressed with diuers Tyrants) craued assistance of the *Corinthians*, who sent them (for their succour) a Captaine of theirs, called *Timoleon*, a man famous, not onely

Plut. in vit. Timoleon.

onely for Militarie discipline; but also for morall vertue and piety. This *Timoleon* had (within a while) such good successe, that the Tyrants despairing of ability eyther to ouercome him, or to defend themselues by force against him: One of them (being named *Icetes*) subborned a couple of desperate companions to kill him. And they perswading themselues, that it might best be done, as he should bee sacrificing to his Goddes; watched on opportunitie for that purpose, and finding him one day in the Temple, ready to sacrifice; they drew neere him, to execute their intent. But as they were readie to strike him, one of the standers by (who suspected nothing of their intention) vppon a sodaine, gaue one of the Conspiratours such a mortall wound, that he fell downe deade in the place. The other (seeing his fellow slain, and thinking that the conspiracy was discouered) fled into the Altare, and taking hold thereof, craued pardon of the Gods and *Timoleon*, promising, that (if he wold saue his life) hee would discouer all the practise.

An attempt against Timoleon, ouerthrowne by a strange accident.

These are the mercies of heauen, to preserue the liues of vertuous men.

In the meane time, hee that had killed the other Conspiratour, being fled; was taken and brought back, calling God and Man to witnes, that he had done nothing but a most iust and lawfull acte, in killing him that had slaine his Father. Which being knowne to some that were present, and testified by them to be true: filled all the assistants with admiration of Gods prouidence; who by such a sodaine and vnexpected accident, had not onely ouerthrowne the pernitious plot, and designement of the wicked Tyrant, and preserued *Timoleon*, but also had executed his iustice on a murtherer.

Murther is a sin so heinous that often it is reuenged by straunge meanes.

Heereupon, *Plutarch* maketh a notable discourse of Fortune, following the opinion of the *Platonists*, concerning the same (which they define to bee *Demoniacum potestatem*, &c. *An Angelicall power, connecting diuers and different causes, to produce some effect.*) And therfore, he noteth in this History, how the good Angel of *Timoleon*, did (for his preseruation) assemble, and (as it were) chaine things together, that had no coherence of themselues, making one of them to be the beginning of another. For, although the murther of his Father that slew the Conspirator, had no connexion with this conspiracie against *Timeleon*; yet, neither that murther had bene reuenged, if this Conspiracy had not followed; nor this Conspiracy had beene discouered and ouerthrowne, but by occasion of that murther committed long before. Thus discourseth *Plutarch* vpon this accident; which although he referred to Fortune (speaking thereof, according to the opinion of the Platonists) yet he ascribed it principally to the prouidence of God, who by the ministery of his good Angell, protected and preserued his seruant *Timoleon*, in respect of his great piety and deuotion: and this beeing well vnderstoode, is no way repugnant vnto Christian Catholike Doctrine.

The definitiō of Fortune according to the Platonistes.

Proclus in Comment in Timæum.

Plutarch ascribeth the preseruation of Timoleon, to the prouidēce of God, by the meanes of his good Angell.

But to come to examples neerer our time, *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, beeing at Warre with *Lewes* the eleuenth, King of France, had (for his Confederates) the Dukes of *Guienne* and *Britany*, whereof the first was the Kinges owne Brother. And hauing beene (in former time) twice deceiued by the said King, with false treaties, and now desirous to quite him with the like; offered him to abandon his two Confederates, vpon condition; That he would restore vnto him certaine Townes, which he had of his vpon the Frontiers. Aduertising his Confederats (in the mean time) that his meaning was not to forsake them, or to keepe any Couenant with the King; but onely to recouer his owne, and then to delude him, as he had bene before deluded by him.

Phil Com. c.58.

Another example of great designement of Charles D. of Burgundy, ouerthrowne by a chance.

The King (suspecting no deceit) accorded to the conditions, and sent his Ambassadors to Duke *Charls*, to take his oath for performance of the Couenantes on his part. The Duke sware, or rather forsware himselfe (promising vppon his Oath that which he meant not to performe) & then sent his Ambassadors in like manner vnto the King, to take his oath. In the meane time, before the Ambassadours arriued where the King was, it pleased God so to dispose, that the Duke of *Guienne* the kings Brother, and Confederate to *Charls*, dyed. Which the King vnderstanding, and seeing himselfe already deliuered (by his Brothers death) of the daunger of Ciuill Warre, which he most feared: refused to sweare, and stand to his couenants. And so, all the crafty deuice and subtle plot of *Charls* was ouerthrowne, by the sodaine acci-

A false Oath taken, iustly requited by a Confederates death.

accident of his confederates death, which he neuer dreamed of; and he himselfe forsworne for nothing.

Heereto I wil adde *Cæsar Borgia*, Duke of *Valentia*; whome *Machiauell* so highly admireth, that he proposeth him for a paterne or example to his Prince. This *Cæsar*, being become exceeding rich and potent, by the helpe and Authority of *Alexander* the sixt, his Father; and fearing nothing so much as his Fathers death, whereby it might chance, that some enemie of his might be chosen to succeede him; studied and laboured by all meanes possible to preuent that inconuenience, & to procure, that the election of his Fathers successour, might fall into the power of himselfe and his friends. Which when hee had prouided sufficiently, as he thought; it chanced by such meanes as I will declare.

The ouerthrow of Cæsar Borgia (Machiauels mirrour for a Prince) by a sodain chance

Guic. in Lib. 6

After a while, not onely his Father died; but he fell likewise so extremely sicke at that time, that hee could execute nothing of that which hee had before resolued. Whereby it came to passe (God so disposing in his iust iudgement) that an enemy of his fathers and his (being chosen to succeede) he was within a while vtterly ouerthrowne. In which respect, he himselfe was wont afterward to confesse, and lament the imbecility of mans witte, because when hee thought, that he had foreseene all inconueniences, which might happen to him by his Fathers death, and prouided to preuent them: hee neuer so much as imagined, that he should bee so sicke at the same time, that he should not be able to put any of his designements in execution.

Borgia the great politician preuented

Guic. in Lib. 6

And herein is also to be noted, for further proofe of the matter in hand, that he himselfe was the cause, aswell of his owne sickenesse, as of his fathers death, and (consequently) of his owne ouerthrowe, by a wonderfull chance, which hapned contrary to his expectation. For, hauing inuited his Father, and Cardinall *Cornetti* to a Vineyard, with intent to poyson the Cardinall, to the end to inherit his goods; hee re-commended a certaine Bottle of impoisoned wine, to a trusty seruant of his, with speciall charge to keepe it safe, and giue it to none without his expresse order. But it so fell out, by his seruants negligence (or rather by Gods iustice) that as the Psalmist saith; *Incidit in foueam quam fecit: He fell into the pit himselfe, that he had made for other.* For his Father, coming into supper very hot and thirsty, by reason of the great heates, and calling for wine; the seruant that had charge of the Bottle (not knowing it was poysoned; but imagining onely, that it was some especiall wine, more precious then the residue) & not hauing any other ready (because the prouision was not brought from the Pallace) gaue him of that wine, whereof not onely he, but his son *Borgia* dranke. And being both poysoned therewith, the Father (who was old and weake) died presently: but the Sonne being young, and more able to resist the force of the poison; had time to take great and potent remedies, whereby (after a long and dangerous sickenesse) he hardly escaped. Thus was his bloodye plot and pernitious purpose preuented, by an accident which he neuer minded.

Cæsar Borgia thinking to poison another, poisoned his owne Father & himself

Psalme 7.16.

Guicciard. Ibid.

But let vs come now to an example in our Countrey of *England*, which manie yet may well remember. The Lord *Iohn Dudley*, Earle of *Warwick*, and after Duke of *Northumberland*, in the time of K. *Edward* the sixte, meaning to aduance himselfe and his Family; married the Lorde *Guilford Dudley* (his fourth sonne) to the Lady *Iane*, daughter to the Duke of *Suffolke*; pretending to make her Queene after King *Edward*, in preiudice of the Lady *Mary*, daughter to King *Henry* the 8. and eldest sister to the sayd King *Edward*. For, by reason of the Kings lingering sicknesse, he had time to vse all the meanes, which he thought conuenient for the accomplishing of his desire. And therfore partly for friendship, and partly for feare, hee had heerein so farre preuailed, that there seemed to want nothing for assurace of his intention: but only to haue the Ladie *Mary* in his hands; whome therefore hee procured the Councell to send for in the Kings name; vpon pretence, that she should come to comfort the king; whereto she obeyed, not suspecting any sinister meaning in the Duke.

The plotte of the Duke of Northumberland, against the Lady Mary, eldest dauter to K. Henry the eight.

John Stow, in vit. Edou. 6.

But as she was vpon the way, and somwhat neere to *London*; before she fell into the snare prepared for her, it pleased God, that shee receiued aduice of the Dukes designement, from one of his own counsell: wherupon she returned sodainly,

Lady Marie aduertised of the treacherie intended towards her, by one of hi owne councel

ly, and within a while after, that she arriued at her owne house; she had newes of the King her Brothers death. And although she was destitute of men, money, counsell, and all other meanes to enable her, wherby to resist so great an aduersary as the Duke (who was not meanly prouided) yet such was her trust in God, as also the iustice and right of her cause; that she prouided her housholde seruants to proclaime her Queene presently, in the countrey Townes thereabout. Whereupon, first the common people of the countries adioyning, and (afterward) diuers Gentlemen of account repaired vnto her in so great a number; that the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Councell (who had already proclaimed the Lady *Iane* in London, and in diuers parts) thought it conuenient to leuy forces, and to make a royall Army, whereof the Duke himselfe (for the authority of his person) was Generall.

The Duke of Northumberland his ouerthrow by gods prouidence and iustice.

The Duke then presently put himselfe into the fielde, leauing the charge of the Citty & Tower of London, to the Lords of the Councell: who, vpon his absence, and vnderstanding the great concourse of people, to the assistance of the Ladie *Mary*, and the equity of her cause iustlie considered: they agreed amongst themselues, to proclaim her in London, as presently they did, and committed to prison the Lady *Iane*. Then sent they order to apprehend the Duke, who was so dismayed therewith when he vnderstood it; that he vtterly lost his high and hopefull courage; and being taken prisoner at or nere *Cambridge*, was brought to London, and there afterward executed.

These are cõmonly the ends of high and ambitious hopes.

By these examples, and infinite others which might bee alledged, it is verie euident, that there is no surety in the plottes and contriuings of men, be they neuer so wise, except they be guided by the Spirit of God particularly. For, when they haue built (as a man may say) Towers of policy, as high as the Tower of *Babel*: a sodaine blast of an accident vnexpected, shall cast them downe to the very grounde, to the confusion (many times) and ruine of the builders and contriuers.

But what shall we say of counselles and policies, that seeme not only to be grounded vpon great reason, and contriued also with as great prudence; but also succeede (for some time) notably well, & yet in the end proue to be pernitious? Wher of we haue seene sufficient experience in the *Romane* Empire, which was ouerthrowen in course of time, by that (which for many yeares) seemed to bee the strength and security thereof. For, whereas the first *Romane* Emperors, hauing oppressed the Common-wealth by Armes, perswaded themselues, that their seate was to bee established and conserued, by the selfesame meanes as it was gotten, and therefore resolued, that the safety thereof, & of theyr persons, consisted in strong Guards, garrisons, Legions, and Armies of soldiers, to be distributed throughout all the parts of their Dominions: it is euident, that the same was (in the end) one of the principall and cheefest causes, of the Empyres vtter ouerthrow, though (at the first) it seemed greatly to establish and assure the same.

The Romane Empire ouerthrown by the same meanes that preserued it for a time.

For, after the death of *Nero* (when the Family of the *Cæsars* was ended) not onely the Guards deputed for the custody & safegard of the Emperors persons, called *Pretoriani milites*; but also the Legions & Armies, disposed and placed in diuerse quarters of the Empire (seeing as wel the personnes of the Emperours, as also the strength of the Empire in their own hãds) did arrogate vnto themselues, such authority and liberty to chuse new Emperors: that they set them vppe, and pulled them downe at their pleasure. Wherby in lesse then one yeare after *Neroes* death, foure Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and *Vespasian*, were chosen by the Guardes, who forced the Senate to admit and confirme them. And their insolency grewe to such extremity in time, that after the death of the Emperor *Pertinax* (whom they killed) they made offer of the empire (by publike proclamation) to whosoeuer would giue most for it.

The factious election of Emperors, by guards and armies of soldiours.

Suetonius.

Plutarch.

Elius Spartan.

And whereas there was but onely two that offered money for it, *Sulpitianus*, and *Didius Iulianus*; they gaue it to the latter, partly because he gaue them ready mony, and partly because *Sulpitianus* was Father in Law to *Pertinax*, whom they had slain. And, whilest not onely the Emperours guards, but also the soldiours of euery army tooke vpon them to make Emperors: it fell out sometimes, that there were as many Emperors chosen at once, as there were

The Empire sold to such as would giue most money for it.

Trebel. Pollio in triginta tyrãnis

were diuers Armies in the Empire. Insomuch, that in the time of *Galen* and *Valerian*, there were no lesse then thirtie Emperours declared in sundry places, within the space of fifteene yeeres. Whereuppon it followed, that the Empire (beeing pittifully rent and torne with ciuill warre) was so weakened, that it became a prey to the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, *Alans*, *Hunnes*, *Lombardes*, and such other barbarous Nations.

Thus was the Romane Empire ouerthrowne, by the same meanes, that were not only ordained to conserue and maintaine it; but also did indeede (for a time) preserue it from many dangers, both domesticall and forraine, to wit, as well from inuasion of forraine enemies, as from rebellions of Subiects: which by the Emperours Guards, and the ordinary Legions, dispersed through all parts of the empire; were either easily preuented, or speedily repressed. For which cause, the Emperors themselues were content, to stand (as it were) at their mercy, to the end that they might (by them) rule and command others; which although to some it was a safegard and security, yet to manie more it brought ruine and perdition; as to *Caligula*, *Pertinax*, *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, *Pupienus*, *Balbinus*, *Galien*. *Seuerus*, *Macrinus*, *Aurelianus*, *Iulius Maximinus*, *Probus*, with diuers other; some of them being slaine by their owne Guards, and some by their Soldiers.

The ruine of many Emperors by their owne Guards

Suetonius.
Iul. Capitolinus.
Elius Lamprid.
Trebel. Pollio.
Flauius vopiscus

This inconuenience, the Emperors of Turkes doe seeke to remedy, in their Tyrannicall Dominion (which they also vphold by force, as the Romans did, thogh with lesse danger.) For, although they haue aboue three hundred thousãd horse, and foote euer in readinesse, vnder theyr Colonels and Captaines, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica*: yet they keepe them alwayes sundered, and farre dispersed, that they neuer come together in any number, vnlesse they are to be imployed in some forraine Warre. Neuertheless, theyr Guardes of Ianizaries, which they haue alwaies neere about them, for the security of their persons, to the number of thirteene or foureteene thousand, haue proued (many times) no lesse dammageable, then dangerous to their States. For they haue not onely sometime set the younger Brother against the elder, and holpe the sonne to depose the father: but also (euen in our Age) haue taken the most confident Officers, and greatest fauorites of the Turke from him by force, and smote off their heades; and compelled him to pardon them, yea, and to giue them whatsoeuer they would demaund, to appease them.

The Turkes great Guarde of Ianizaries, dangerous to his State.

Lazaro Soranzo in his *Ottoman. par. 1.*

Paul. Iouius, in Commen. rerum Turc. in Baiazet. 2.

Whereuppon, two considerations may be gathered; the one, the infelicitie of Tyrants, who while they seek rather to be feared, then louingly affected: are forced to make themselues subiects & slaues to those, by whome they keepe other in subiection and slauery. Whereby we see, how true it is which *Seneca* saith; *Quod alieno metu magnum est, suo non vacat. That which is great by others feare, is not voide of feare in it selfe.* The other consideration, is, how tickle the state of Princes is, how weake their policies, how vncertaine the successe of their plots; and consequently, how needfull it is for them, to craue and haue the especiall protection of Almighty God, in all their designements and actions; seeing the meanes whereby they labour to preserue themselues from dangers, proue many times more dangerous in the end, then the dangers themselues, which they seeke to auoid.

Tyrantes are slaues to those by whom they keepe other in slauery.

The dangerous & tickle state of Princes, without Gods especial protection.

This may further appeare, by the policie which *Rodericke* King of *Spaine* vsed, to assure his state against the children and friends of King *Vitiza*, whom hee had deposed. For, fearing lest his subiects might rebell in their fauour; he dismantled al the strong holds and places in *Spaine*, and disarmed the people. Whereby, though hee strengthned his state, in regard of domestical danger; yet he weakned it, in respect of forraine attempts. Insomuch, that the Moores inuading him shortly after, and ouerthrowing him in battel; found so slender resistance afterward, that in seauen or eight moneths, they conquered almost al *Spaine*.

Rodericke K. of Spaine, ouerthrowne through his owne policie. *Lucas Tudensis. Anno 713.*

The like also may be saide of the *Brittaines*, to whom their owne policie prooued most pernitious; for, being mollested by the *Picts* and *Scottes*; they called in the *Saxons* for their defence, who (for some time) serued them to good purpose; but in the end, they conquered them & their Countrey.

Ioan Vasæus in Cron. an. 714
Baron. An. 713.
Beda hist. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 14, 15

In like manner, the Queene of *Hungarie* thought it good pollicie, to procure the

the ayde and aſsiſtaunce of *Solyman* the Great Turke, againſt *Ferdinando* King of the Romaines, brother vnto the Emperour *Charles*, the fifth of that name; and (for a certayne time) ſhee was releeued and ſupported thereby: but in the end, *Solyman* comming into *Hungarie*, in his owne perſon, with a pretence to ſuccour her: he depriued both her and her ſonne of their Kingdome: Alſo *Amurath*, one of *Solymans* Anceſtours, conquered and ſubdewed the greateſt part of all *Greece*, euen by the very like kinde of meanes and occaſion.

The very worſt kindes of policies to ouer throw the deuiſers themſelues.

But peraduenture you will ſay, that this was ſo groſſe a follie in Chriſtian Princes (to put confidence and truſt in the helpe of ſuch potent and perfidious Infidells) that it is not to bee alleadged for an example of pollicie. I graunt that it was follie; but ſuch kindes of follie may bee committed and doone, euen by the wiſeſt Princes and their councells, when Almightie GOD will puniſh and afflict them. For, hee eyther taketh from them their polliticke wittes, to the end they may erre and precipitate themſelues: or, hee ouerthroweth their wiſeſt deſignements, by ſuch kinde of meanes as they cannot imagine: or elſe, he doth bring them to ſuch exigents, that they are forced (ſometimes) wittingly, to take in hand ſome daungerous and deſperate reſolution, whereby they are diſgraced and ruined.

No policie preuaileth againſt the wil of heauen.

CHAP. XXVIII.

¶ *A briefe Diſcourſe concerning the firſt foundation of Ieruſalem; What fortunes (from time to time) befell thereto: And of the Kings that there did reigne.*

The admirable graces & priuiledges of Ieruſalem in precedent times.

NEuer was there any Towne or Cittie (of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer) that had ſo many eſpeciall graces and priuiledges from Almightie God, nor euer had ſuch ſtore of ſacred myſteries therein perfourmed, as in the Cittie of *Ieruſalem*: although it had not had that (onely chiefe) note, that our bleſſed Lord and Sauiour was there crucified, dead and buried; and that the myſteries and ſecrets of our redemption, had not beene there accompliſhed. Contrariwiſe, there is not any City in the world, that euer endured ſo many miſeries and miſchiefes, or fell into ſuch ſlauiſh ſeruitude, as ſhee, and as is to be diſcerned at this day.

As concerning her riches, and ſumptuous buildings, no Cittie vpon the earth could euer equall them; as *Pliny* extolleth it aboue all the Cities in the Eaſt, and *Cornelius Tacitus* amply deſcribeth the ſcituation thereof: whereby wee may eaſily collect, that it was one of the moſt potent Cities in the world. As much affirmeth *Ioſephus*, who deſcribeth the three walles wherewith it was ingirt: which neuertheleſſe were adorned with goodly Towers, Bulwarkes, and buildings moſt rare; beſides the excellencie of the Temple, a thing beyond all compaſſe of compariſon. All which conſiderd, I thought it not vn-neceſſary, to make ſome brieſe report, concerning the firſt foundation of this Citty, with what fortunes happened thereto (as well good as euill) by a ſummarie Collection, of ſuch things as I find recorded in her owne Chronicles.

The wealth and ſumptuous buildings in Ieruſalem. Plin.li.2.ca.9. Cor.Tac.in lib.3.cap.4. Ioſep.de Bell. Iudaic.lib.6.

Ieruſalem was ſcituated and founded, in the very middeſt of *Iudea* or *Iewrie*, at the toppe or knap of Mount *Sion*; which is helde or reputed (commonly) to be the middle or centre of the earths ſuperficies. *Ezechiel* alſo ſaith, *That it was ſeated in the middeſt of Nations.* *Dauid* likewiſe ſayth: *That the ſaluation of men was perfected in the middeſt of the earth.* Which Saint *Hierome* declareth, writing on that paſſage of *Ezechiel* before ſpecified. Moreouer, it is written in *Geneſis*, That *Melchiſedech* (which, according to the interpretation of Saint *Paul*) is as much to ſay, as a Iuſt King, or a King of Iuſtice. *Abraham* hauing conquered foure Kings, that kept *Lot* priſoner) mett him and made a ſacrifice to God, and that this Prince baptized this Citty of *Salom*, or (as ſome ſay) *Salem*, which is as much to ſay, as *Peace*: in regard wherof, he was called *King of Peace*.

Concerning the ſeating or plantation of Ieruſalem.

Geneſ.14.18. Hebr.7.1.2.3

Salem then was the firſt name impoſed vppon this Cittie: although Saint *Hierome* is of the opinion, that it had the

Salem the firſt name giuen to Ieruſalem.

name of *Iebus* at the beginning. *Strabo*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and many other Authors beside, called it *Solima*, speaking otherwise of the foundation, then formerly hath beene sayd.

It was also called Iebus and Ierusalem.

This Citty likewise was called *Iebus* and *Ierusalem*, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures. Saint *Hierome* writing to *Dardanus*, doeth giue it three names: Notwithstanding, it was (in the end) called *Aelia*, in regarde of the Emperours name *Aelius Adrianus*, who caused it to bee re-builded and fortified. Saint *Hierome* sayth, that it had the name of *Iebus*, in regard of the *Iebusites*, who had founded it, vntill the time of the holy Prophet *Dauid*.

Ioseph. Ant. Iud. ca. 19. li. 1.

Melchisedech called it Ierusalem, *Vision of peace.*

Iosephus and *Aegesippus* say, that *Melchisedech* gaue it the name of *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as *Vision of peace:* making one word of *Iebus* and *Salem*, so that *Ierusalem* found it selfe to be composed of these two wordes, onely by chaunging *B.* into *R.* Others say, that it had the name of *Here*, that is to say, *Vision:* by reason of the Angell which appeared to *Abraham*, when hee would haue sacrificed his sonne *Isaack*.

The house or palace of king Salomon.

Some others say, that it was called *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as the house of *Salomon:* in regarde of the admirable buildings which King *Salomon* erected there: many other opinions are there vpon this poynt, which I passe ouer lightly; because I am of the minde, that as the Iewes called it in their tongue *Ierusalem*, so did the *Greekes* and the *Latines* name it *Ierosolima*, as wee may reade in *Iosephus* and *Aegesippus*, Greeke Authors. Yet,

The opinion of Nicholas de Lyra concerning Ierusalem.

Nicholas de Lyra will not haue it to bee so receyued, because hee sayth, that *Ierusalem* was first called *Luca* and *Bethell:* which I can giue but little credite vnto; for (according as Saint *Hierome* sayth) *Bethell* is twelue miles off from *Ierusalem*, as wee may see it also auouched by *Iosephus*. Notwithstanding all these opinions, it is to be noted, that *Ierusalem* (in former times) had many particular names; which were thereto attributed, in regard of the manifolde high mysteries therein accomplished. As, *The Holy Citty*; *The Sacred Cittie*; *The Cittie of Dauid*, and many other such like Titles, besides her owne proper and peculiar name, *Ierusalem*.

Many particular names giuen to Ierusalem.

But come wee now vnto the Historie. The *Iebusites* and the *Canaanites*, who were one and the same Nation (for *Iabus* or *Iebus*, was the sonne of *Canaan*, the sonne of *Cam*, Nephew to *Noah*, of whom these Nations tooke their name) were Lordes of *Ierusalem*, at such time as the Children of *Israell* (deliuered from the Captiuity of *Egipt*) possessed themselues of *Palestine* and *Iudea*. And it came to passe, that in the diuision or partage, which the twelue Tribes of *Israell* made of the Land promised vnto them: *Ierusalem* fell into the portion of the Tribe of *Beniamin*. Neuertheless, because this Tribe of *Beniamin* (notwithstanding all their aduentures in Armes) could not wholly cleare the Country of the *Iebusites:* they were constrained to let them liue there among them, for more then three hundred and seauenty yeares after, euen to the time of *Dauid*. Hee beeing both a Prophet and King, and descended of the Tribe of *Iuda*; expulsing the *Iebusites*, wonne their Fortresses from them, building them new againe; and erected there a goodly Pallace, as wee may reade in the Booke of *Kings*, and also in *Iosephus*. *Dauid* hauing thus expelled the *Iebusites*, called *Ierusalem*, *The Citty of God*, creating it to be the chiefe and Capitall Citty in all *Iudea*.

Concerning the Iebusites and Canaanites the lords and possessors of Ierusalem.

Ierusalem fell to the tribe of Beniamin in the diuision.

King Dauid expelled the Iebusites out of the land. Iosep. in Ant Iud. lib. 18 c. 9

During the Reigne of King *Dauid*, *Ierusalem* was in her triumphing iollity, and highly renowned among all the Nations, in regarde of the great victoryes which *Dauid* obtayned: after whose death, wise *Salomon* succeeded him. And although this King laboured to liue in peace, yet *Ierusalem* still encreased in fame, riches and sumptuous buildings: for *Salomon* enlarged the walles thereof, and erected there goodly fortifications. Hee builded many other costly Castles beside: but especially the Temple, so greatly renowned, in regard of the treasure and arteficiall cunning bestowed thereon, as neuer could any other building be compared therewith. For, as we may reade in holy Scripture, and also in *Iosephus*, the Furniture thereto belonging, was infinite and incomprehensible. So that the very fame thereof, incited the Queene of *Saba* to visite King *Salomon*.

Salomon succeeded his father Dauid.

Iosep. in Ant. Iudaic. lib. 8.

The Queene of Saba visited King Salomon.

Many

Many Kings likewise sent him choyse Presents to the same effect, Gold, Siluer, and Treasure, which they brought to him by sea, and in such abundance, as no more account was made thereof, then as stones in the streete.

This King neuertheless, forgetting the great blessings which God had bestowed vpon him; became an Idolater, so that God suffered his kingdome to be diuided after his death.

Solomons kingdome became diuided after his death

Hauing reigned forty yeares, *Rehoboam* his sonne succeeded him, against whom ten of the Tribes reuolted, who elected *Ieroboam* to be their King. *Rehoboam* had thē but two of the Tribes onely, to wit, *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, whereupon he fortified his Cities: and afterward, this Kingdome remaining to his successours, began to take and continue the name of *Iewes*, because of the Tribe of *Iuda*. *Ieroboam* and his successors, called themselues Kings of *Israel*, and chose *Samaria* to bee the chiefe Citty of that Kingdome: and by this diuision, those Kings were alwayes at continuall warre, each against other. Notwithstanding, although *Rehoboam* had but two of the Tribes subiect to him, yet his reputation was so great (because hee was descended of *Dauid*) that euermore hee preuailed in fight, and was much more feared and obeyed, then the King of *Israell*, so that *Ierusalem* became not a iote diminished, eyther in strength or riches. But when the Kings of *Iuda* and their people, grew offensiue to God by Idolatry: then this goodly Citty suffered many miseries and calamities.

The kingdom of the Iewes and the kingdome of Israell.

Reboboam thriued in all his attempts, being descended of Dauid

Rehoboam hauing strongly defenced his Townes and Cities, and they flourishing in all pompe and prosperity; hee notwithstanding, fell to Idolatry, as we may reade in the holy Chronicles, and likewise in *Iosephus*. In regard whereof, God raised vp against him, *Susac* or *Shishack*, King of *Egipt*, who came and couered his Country with twelue hundred Chariots, threescore thousand horse, and a countlesse number of Infantery, belonging to the *Egiptians*, *Ethiopians*, *Troglodites*, with many *Lybians*, which came from *Guynea*, to his seruice. Boldly they entred into *Ierusalem*, sacked the Citty and the Temple, from whence they carried infinite Treasures, as is to be obserued in his chronicle. After which chastisements, the anger of God being appeased; *Rehoboam* remained peaceably in his Kingdome, all the remainder of his life: and being dead, *Abias* succeeded him, who ouer-came *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; in which conquest were slaine fifty thousand men belonging to *Ieroboam*.

Shishack raised vp by God against Reboboam. 3 Reg. 14,3.

The first sacking and spoyling of Ierusalem, in the dayes of Reboboam.

After the death of *Abias*, who liued but a while (being also an Idolator; and yet God permitted him to haue this victory, in consideration of *Dauid* his grandfather) *Asa* succeeded him. This Prince was good, iust, and feared God, and therefore he gaue him many great and signall victories, against *Zarab*, King of *Ethiopia*: who had entred so farre vpon his Country, that he kept *Ierusalem* besiedged. In his time, the Kingdome of *Iuda* was so flourishing, that (vpon an account made) there were found fiue hundred and foure-score thousand men, able to beare Armes. I finde also in the sacred Scripture, that this King builded and fortified many Cities.

After Abias, succeeded Asa, a iust and vertuous Prince.

A goodly muster of men made in Iuda.

Hee being deceassed, *Iehosophat* his sonne came to the Crowne, during whose Reigne, *Ierusalem* was in great reputation: chiefely in respect of Prophets, as *Abias*, *Micheas*, *Osias*, *Elias* and *Eliseus*, who were all then at that time. This King found such fauour in the sight of God (according as wee reade in the holy Chronicles of the Kings) that the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and the Mountaineers of *Seir* (being gathered together, with an infinite number of people, to runne vpon this Prince) God sent a dissention among them, that they conuerted thence, and employed their powers to spoyle themselues, so that without striking a stroake, King *Iehosaphat* returned with great triumph to *Ierusalem*. Where hauing reigned peaceably, and in no meane power; he dyed, leauing the Kingdome vnto *Ioram* his sonne, giuing also to his other Children, diuers Citties, with great summes of gold and siluer.

Ierusalem blessed with many famous Prophets.

A mighty army preuented by Gods prouidence.

Ioram being come vnto the Crowne, he followed not the steppes of his Father, nor of his Grand-father; but gaue himselfe to impiety and cruelty, putting to death his owne Brethren. He laboured also to haue alliance with *Achab*, King of *Israell*, whose councell he mainely followed in his affaires, and likewise tooke his Daughter in marriage. Whereat

The impious and wicked rule of Ioram.

The countrey of Iudea ſpoiled & ruined.

God being diſpleaſed, ſuffered the men of *Edom* to reuolt from him. The *Arabes* alſo made warre vpon him; which proued in ſuch cruell manner, that the whole Countrey of *Iudea*, was thereby vtterly waſted.

Wicked liues haue commonly as wicked deaths.

After his death, *Ahazia*, or *Ochozias* his Sonne, ſucceeded in the Kingdome, with his Mother *Athalia*: and, as they were both of moſt Wicked life, euen ſo, hadde they as vnhappie an ending.

The Prophet Zacharie put to death by Ochozias.

Next him ſucceeded *Ochozias*, who gaue good apparance in the beginning of his Reigne, to doe all thinges for the beſt, as well in regard of Religion, as for actions of pollicie. For, hee reduced the Temple into the firſt condition, and re-eſtabliſhed all the damages and iniuries which the Kinges of Egypt (and eſpecially his Father *Ahazia*) had done. But ſoone after, hee fell vnto Idolatrie, ſo that (by common voyce of the people) hee cauſed the Prophet *Zacharie* to be put to death.

Another gret miſery happning to Ieruſalem.

So highly was the goodneſſe of Almightie God diſtaſted heerewith, that he ſent a terrible chaſtiſement vppon *Ieruſalem*, and that in the time of King *Amaſias*, Sonne vnto this *Ochozias*. Who hauing Warre againſt *Ioas*, King of *Iſraell*, and neuer remembering the great Victories, which God had giuen him againſt the *Idumæans*, and manie other Nations: both hee and his people were ouer-come, and beeing ledde Priſoner vnto *Ieruſalem* his owne Citty, was compelled to yeelde it to the mercy of *Ioas*, who cauſed it to be diſmantelled, and foure hundred fadomes of the Walles to bee beaten downe. He ſpoyled the Temple alſo, and poſſeſſed himſelfe of all the wealth and riches belonging vnto King *Amaſias*: returning home afterwardes (in Triumph) to his Cittie of *Samaria*.

Amaſias murthered by treaſon, his ſon Azarias ſucceedes him

Furthermore, King *Amaſias* beeing ſlaine by Treaſon, *Azarias*, or *Ozias* his Sonne next ſucceeded, who vvas a verie valiant and potent Prince. Firſt of all, he ſtrengthened *Ieruſalem*, and all the other diſmantled Citties, enriching his Countrey, by diuers great victories which hee obtained againſt the *Philiſtimes*, *Arabes*, and *Ammonites*, making them all Tributarie vnto his Crowne; ſo that the renowne of *Ieruſalem*, encreaſed day by day, while hee reigned; and hee founded and builded many Townes and Citties beſide.

Pride and arrogancy iuſtly puniſhed by the hande of heauen.

Neuertheleſſe, pride made him to forget his dutie; for, perceiuing that he had three hundered thouſand men ſubiect vnto him, and all in abilitie to carry Armes: hee grew ſo exceeding arrogant, that hee would needes vſurpe the High-Prieſtes Office. But as hee was perfourming his Sacrifice in the Temple; God ſmote him with a fowle Leaproſie, the which continued with him to the time of his death.

Iotham ſucceeded Azarias his father

After his deceaſe, *Iotham* his Sonne next ſucceeded him, being a Prince very wiſe, iuſt, and valiaunt; hee alſo enlarged *Ieruſalem* verie ſpaciouſly, by manie reparations and new foundations; beſides, the building of ſome other Cities. Hee likewiſe ouercame and vanquiſhed the *Ammonites*, from whom he brought backe great ſummes of Golde and Siluer. But after his death, Triumphing times beganne to weare away, and all vnhappineſſe fell vpon the people of *Iuda*: For, his Sonne *Achaz*, ſur-named *Eleazar*, beeing come to the Crowne; gaue himſelfe to Idolatry, introducing the ceremonies and ſuperſtitions of the Pagans. In regard whereof, God chaſtiſed them by the hand of *Raſis*, King of *Suria*; and *Phezias* king of *Iſraell*, who ſlaughtered (in one day) ſixe ſcore thouſand men. After which pittifull ouerthrow, they ranne thorow the Countrey of *Iudea*, robbing and ſpoyling it in lamentable manner; and becauſe *Ieruſalem* was ſtrong, it outſtoode the ſharpe beſiedging of theſe kings ſo long, til they deſpayring of their inſufficiency, were forced (vvith great ſummes of Golde) to buy their ſuccor of *Salmanazar* king of the *Aſſyrians*. And for the better ſatisfaction of him, they tooke the Veſſelles of Gold and Siluer, which onely were for the Temples ſeruice, to helpe them withall in this great diſtreſſe.

Pagane Ceremonies and ſuperſtitions brought into Iudea.

Ieruſalem reduced againe to diſtreſſe in woful maner.

Salmanazar beeing come to aſſiſt the king of *Iuda*, vanquiſhed and ouerthrew the king of *Iſraell*: and yet notwithſtanding, ledde away with him a great number of the Iewes priſoners, to whom he gaue the Region of *Ithena* to dwell in. And this was the firſt diſperſion and captiuitie

The firſt diſperſion and captiuity of the Iewes.

of

of the Iewes, since their miraculous deliuerance out of Egypt: and in short time after, the *Assyrian* king, compelled the King of *Israell*, euery yeare to pay them Tribute. At this very time, the Prophets *Osea*, *Esay*, *Amos*, *Micheas* and *Ionas* were in great reputation.

Ezechias the son to vnfortunate King Achaz, succeeded in the kiugdom after his Father.

After the death of this vnfortunate *Achaz*, next came to the Crowne his son *Ezechias*, a man farre beyond the Nature of his Father; for, hee was wise, iust, religious, and one that feared God. *Ierusalem* also (in his reigne) recouered once more her former credite; policy becomming better reformed, and the seruice of God reduced to such perfection: that (as the Scripture it selfe amply declareth) the Realme of *Iudah* neuer had a better king; liuing in great prosperity, and honouring his Countrey, with many famous Victories.

His rooting vp of idolatry and warning giuen to the tenne Tribes.

Hee could not content himselfe; with renting vp the rootes of Idolatry, whereto the people were ouer-much enclined; and bringing them entirely vnto the true seruice of God: but hee also gaue summons to the ten Tribes of *Israell*, to liue according to that Lawe, which God had deliuered by the hand of *Moyses*. Whereunto many condiscending, they came to Sacrifice in *Ierusalem*, and to celebrate Easter, according vnto the ordinance of *Moyses*.

Salmanazar and Senacherib, Gods scourges vnto the Iewes.

Notwithstanding, as the sacred Scriptures doe testifye, the rest perseuered still in their Idolatrie, and made a mockerie of those gentle inuitations, as also the aduertisements which the Prophets had giuen them. For which contempt, GOD layde his correcting roddes vppon them, aswell by *Salmanazar*, as *Senacherib*, kings of the *Assyrians*, who oppressed them greatly, in the first yeare of King *Ezechias* his reigne.

Also in the fourth yeare of the reign of *Ozias*, King of *Israell*, the *Assyrian* broght so heauy a warre against seuen Tribes of *Israel*, for the space of three whole yeares: as he inforced them to forsake their countries, and to go dwell as slaues among the *Medes*.

The dispersiõ of the Iewes into strange Countreyes.

Thus you see how the Iewes were dispersed heere and there, among forrayne and strange Nations, without euer returning againe home to their owne houses, so that none knew what afterward should become of them. For heere was the end and ruine of the kingdom of *Israel*, which had continued three hundred and seuenty yeares.

How the Samaritans first receiued that name.

On the contrarie, *Salmanazar* sent his *Assyrians* into *Samaria*, to inhabite there; who (vsurpingly) got possession of all the Countreyes (wherein the *Israelites* had formerly dwelt) and tooke the name of *Samaritanes* vpon them. Yet *Eusebius* taketh that name but as a Garrison, wherein his opinion (me thinkes) is not warrantable: for they were called *Samaritanes*, after the name of *Samaria*, the chiefe and principall Citty of that Countrey. The *Assyrians* made a mixture of the Iewes Lawes with their Idolatries; yet held them in abhomination, as excommunicated people. As concerning their actions, I shall be silent therein, because it no way concerneth my discourse: and if heerein I haue committed any error, I submit my selfe to the Churches correction.

The kingdom of Iuda remaining after the ruine of the Israelites.

After the ouerthrow and ruine of the *Israelites*, the Kingdome of *Iuda* onely remayned on foote: For the good King *Ezechias*, to saue his people from the fierce rage and furie of King *Salmanazar*, and to preserue his owne dominions in peace; gaue him great summes of gold, buying (by that meanes) peace for long time. Neuertheless, this Infidell King falsifyed his Fayth vnto him, and came with a mighty powerfull Armie, intending to ruinate the Kingdome of *Iuda*, as formerly hee had done the Kingdome of *Israell*. But GOD beeing pleased to defend his people, sent the Prophet *Esay* vnto King *Ezechias* to comfort him, (beecause this Prophet liued then) and in one night, the Angell of the Lorde, slew one hundred and foure score thousand fighting men in the Assyrians camp: by meanes of which great slaughter, the rest retyred thence. And *Ezechias*, hauing escaped this dangerous perill to himselfe, and his people, lyued the remainder of his dayes peacefully in his Kingdome. And God hauing euidently declared great Myracles, on the behalfe of this King, he dyed peaceably, leauing his Sonne *Manasses* successour in his kingdome.

One hundred and fourscore thousand Assyrians slaine in one night.

This Prince wandered from the good wayes of his Father, and addicted himselfe altogether to Idolatry, committing

Manasses reuolted from the wayes of good king Ezechias his father, and was led captiue into Babylon.

many most abhominable sinnes, directly contrary to the Law of God, and thereto likewise induced the people. Whereat God growing offended, raised vp the *Assyrians* against him, who so well chastised him; that, ouer and beside the ouerthrow of his people, himselfe was taken prisoner, and ledde away captiue into *Babylon*. Notwithstanding, he repented him of his sinnes, which caused God to deliuer him out of the *Assyrians* hands; so that hee returned home to his owne estates, and dyed there in peace. After him, succeeded his wicked son *Amon*, who was slain most miserably: the Prophets *Ioel*, *Nahum*, and *Habbakuk* succeeded in his time. Next him, came to the crowne his sonne *Iosias*, who was a Prince that feared God, & very vigilant for the reformation of his people; performing many other actions, rightly becomming so good and iust a King. For, he expulsed all idolatry quite out of his kingdom, which had taken deepe roote in the harts of men, and he repaird the Temple also. Neuertheless, the anger of God against the Iewes was not appeased, in regard of the abhominable idolatries committed, in the reigns of the Kings *Manasses* & *Amon*. Notwithstanding, in respect of King *Iosias*, who (thorough his owne folly) dyed poorely; God deferred to chastise the Iewish people, in such manner as he did afterward.

The deeds of the holy king Iosias, repayring the Temple, and expelling idolatry out of his kingdome.

King Iosias died of a wound needlesly receiud in fight.

This king dyed of a wound, which hee receiued on the day that hee had agaynst *Necar*, King of Ægypt, when hee might haue bin better imployed. For *Necar* had no matter of quarrell against him, but rather fought his friendship so much as hee could; and hauing no other intention, but to imploy his forces against the King of *Assyria*. Neuertheless, in a brauery of spirit, *Iosias* would needs meddle with him, which cost the deere price of his life. His death was very much bemoaned, especially by the Prophet *Ieremy*, who wrote his Lamentations on his behalfe.

The lamentations of the prophet Ieremie.

Ioachaz his son succeeded him, who was giuen to all iniquity and wickednes: wherfore God suffered him to reigne no more then three moneths: for *Necar*, who had before foyled his father, depriued him of his kingdome, making the countrey of *Iudea* tributary, paying an hundred Talents of Gold, and one of Siluer, euery yeare.

Ioachaz being thus defeated of his kingdome, and led prisoner into Ægypt, wher he dyed; *Ioachim* his Brother, was enstalled in his place, behauing himselfe verie wickedly; for hee was wholly affected to Idolatry, and prouoked his people to doe the like. In which respect, God stirred vp king *Nabuchodonosor* to be his enemie, who had already reigned forty foure years in *Babylon*.

Ioachaz dyed a prisoner in Egypt, led thither in captiuitie.

This Prince hauing won the victorie against the Iewish people, ledde away the most part of the greatest personnes in all the Countrey, as captiue slaues and Vassals, and tooke away also the Vessells of the Temple. The occasion of this warre grew, because *Ioachim* gaue ayde vnto the King of Ægypt, against *Nabuchodonosor*, contrary to the counsell of *Ieremy*. *Ioachim* hauing reigned eleuen yeeres, and liued prisoner three yeeres, dyed in great pouerty.

King Nabuchodonosor ouerthroweth the Iewish people.

After whom succeeded *Iechonias*, following the steppes of his Father, because hee was as wicked as hee. In his time, God began to display his rigorous rods of vengeance, prepared long time before against *Ierusalem*, but deferred in the regard of *Iosias*, according as the Prophets had foretold. For King *Nabuchodonosor* came in his owne person, with an exceeding great and powerfull Armie, to besiedge the Cittie of *Ierusalem*: but, *Iechonias* beeing not able to make resistance, submitted vnto his will, himselfe, his Mother, his Wife, and the principall personnes that were of his House. Moreouer, hee made him a present, of the Vessells and Treasures which remained (as yet) in the Temple. By which meanes, King *Iechonias*, and the cheefest men of his Court, were ledde away captiues into *Babylon*: But *Nabuchodonosor*, tooke all the assurances and fidelitie of *Mattathias*, vncle to King *Iechonias*, and made him king of *Iudea*, calling him by the name of *Sedechias*.

The long deferred anger of god against Ierusalem, now cometh to appearance in the war of Nabuchodonosor.

In speaking of this King, I must needs say, hee was one of the most Wicked and vnhappy Princes that euer reigned: For, not onely was hee ingratefull vnto Almightie GOD, for the great Graces which hee had bestowed vppon him (turning still his backe, and not willing to heare any thing which the Prophet *Ieremy* tolde him) but also did falsifie his word vnto King *Nabuchodonosor*; who

Sedechias one of the worst Kings that euer reigned in Iudea.

who had enstalled him in the Kingdome, denying him his friendship. And if this Prince was no more worthy; much lesse then were the sacrificing Priests, and least of all the common people: so that all abhominations and idolatries reigned in *Iudea*, euen to the prophanation of the Temple, which had beene held in such sacred esteeme. And notwithstanding all the aduertisements giuen to this King, by *Ieremie*, *Ezechiell*, and other Prophets: yet his obstinacy encreased daily more and more. Whereupon, God raised *Nabuchodonosor*, who, to reuenge the wrongs done him by *Sedechias*; In the ninth yeare of his Reigne, he came and couered the Country of *Iudea* with a mighty Army; and held *Ierusalem* besiedged, the space of two yeares, where King *Sedechias* had betaken himselfe for his more security.

The warning giuen to this vngracious King, by Ieremy, Ezechiel, and other Prophets.

The poore people languishing with famine & pestilence, were no longer able to endure the siedge; but being thus by extremity compelled, yeelded to the enemies mercy: when hee entring into the Citty, put all to fire and sword. *Sedechias* was taken in his flight, and being brought before *Nabuchodonosor*; saw his own children slaine before his face; and as for himselfe, he had his eyes pluckt out, and sent (in that miserable maner) captiue to *Babilon*. After the Conqueror was returned home, he sent to *Ierusalem Nabuzaradan*, who was one of his principall Captaines, with especiall charge, vtterly to ruinate the Temple. This was foure hundred yeares after the building thereof by King *Salomon*: as he performed the like, to all the Fortresses and sumptuous buildings of *Ierusalem*, beating downe the walles of the Citty, and defacing the Pallace belonging to the Kings of *Iuda*.

The wrath of God executed vpon King Sedechias & his Children.

The vtter ruine of the Tẽple of Ierusalem.

Hee carried away also all the mettall that was in the Temple, and ledde thence the Sacrificers, and all the chiefe men, as well of *Ierusalem*, as throughout the coũtry beside, with their Wiues and Children; who continued Captiues in *Babylon*, for the space of about threescore and ten yeares. This was the Captiuity of *Babylon*, which hath so much bene spoken of, and which happened about sixe hundred yeares before the comming of our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ. Thus you see, how the poore Citty of *Ierusalem* remained desert and desolate, except some few of the meaner people, left behinde to till and husband the grounds: vnder the charge (neuertheless) of *Godolias*, Deputy Gouernor in *Iudea*. But the people falling into mutiny, slew *Godolias*, and then fearing the fury of *Nabuchodonosor*; such as remained of the *Iewes*, went and dwelt in *Egipt*, leauing *Ierusalem* waste and vnpeopled.

The captiuity of the Iewes in Babilon, & how long it continued, as also the woful depopulation of the Citty.

S. *Hierome* saith, that after the surprizal and sacking of *Ierusalem*, there passed well neere fifty yeares, when neyther Man, Beast nor Bird entred into it: whereby may sufficiently be knowne, what great punishments this people had deserued, that were so highly beloued and priuiledged by God. Seauenty yeares being passed ouer, it pleased God with the eye of pitty, to looke vpon the Captiuity of his people: being then, when the Empire fell into the dominion of the *Persians*; who thereof disseized the *Assyrians*, and in the time of the puissant King *Cyrus*. He, being moued by the Spirit of God, suffered fifty thousand *Iewes* to returne home into their Country, vnder the conduct of *Zerobabell* their Captaine, and *Iosuah* or *Iesus*, the soueraigne Sacrificer or High-Priest: who beeing returned into *Iudea*, began to repaire the ruines of their Citties, and especially *Ierusalem*, which they re-builded with great ioy, offering sacrifices to God, according to the Ordinances appointed in his Law.

Hier. in Lib. Quest. Hebraic.

At what time God began to commiserate the distresse of his people.

Fifty thousand Iewes released by King Cyrus, and sent into their Country

CHAP. XXIX.

What difference there is betweene Leasing and Lying; And how a man may tell a leasing, and yet not to be saide, that it is a lye.

LYing, is one of the greatest vices that any man can haue; for it is not any way possible to negotiate, or to conclude any matter, with him that is a lyar, because lying maketh euery thing to be suspected. Moreouer, the horrour of lying sheweth it selfe sufficiently, in that it is directly opposite to truth, which is God: as likewise the diuell is called the Father of lyes. *Salomon* (in his

How detestable a thing is lying, making men not to be credited when they speake truth.

his Prouerbs) placeth lying in the second ranke, of the seauen vices greatly displeasing to God. In briefe, this vice hath (at all times) bene so abhorred both by Infidels and Christians; that a man knowne to be a lyar, was reputed as a plague to the Common-wealth, as we may perceiue in *Euripides*, according as is auouched by *Stobeus*.

The hatred to lying, both by Infidels and Christians.

But not to make any longer stay, in shewing how pernitious and detestable a thing lying is, in regard that it is so common and vulgar: I take it as a matter conuenient, to declare what difference there is betweene leasing and lying, according to the saying of *Aulus Gellius*, and of many other Authors more; for oftentimes, there is a great diffrence in these two bad qualities. Obserue we then to this effect, that to tell a lye, is to affirme the contrary, of that which a man knoweth to bee true. But telling a fallacie or leasing, is to affirme lying, with an intention to speake truth: wherein a man cannot be saide to haue lyed, when he speaketh not against that which he holdeth for truth, & knoweth it so to be.

The diffrence betweene lying & telling a leasing.

Contrariwise, a man may lye, and yet (notwithstanding) tell trueth, when hee speaketh against that which hee thinketh, although that which he hath said, be true. But when a man vttereth a leasing, knowing the thing it selfe to be otherwise then as he hath said; hee lyeth, and then it is a direct lye. From hence it ensueth, that it is impossible to tell a lye without vice or sinne: but he that speaketh a leasing, thinking to say the truth, lyeth not at all. This is that which *Nigidius* saith, according to the expression of *Gellius*: *That an honest man will neuer lye, and a wise man hates to tell a leasing*. For mine owne opinion heerein, I would aduise all men to auoyde both the one and other vice, although they may imagine to speake truely.

How a man may lye in speaking truth.

Aul. Gellius in lib. 1. cap. 9.

Heere it is to be noted, that although the tongue keepe silence, yet deeds sometimes may belye the person. For as Saint *Ambrose* saith: *He which makes profession of being a Christian, without conforming himselfe to the works of Christ, lieth, or is a lyar*. As also that man doth, which makes a solemne promise to obserue Religion, and yet notwithstanding, obserueth none at all. As much may we say of some vgly women, as black as faire diuels, who paint & paint to get them better faces, and look therby worse thē euer they did: And foolish olde men, that would be yong againe by fantasticke meanes.

Ambr. in Serm. de Cena Dom.

Of such lyars there are no meane store in the world.

I remember an old man, of whom *Theophrastus* speaketh, who being of great authority and credite, and hauing some important businesse before the *Lacedemon* Senate; was very much greeued, to appeare there in such antiquity of yeares as he was stept into; which made him to cut and shaue his head and beard, hoping by this meanes to seeme much younger. As the cause was in debating, *Archidamus* (speaking for his Clyent, against him) declared to the Senate, that no credit ought to be giuen to the words of him, that apparantly carried lying in his head & face. So that, according to *Archidamus*, such aged fooles can lye, without speaking any words.

A pleasant history of an ydle-headed olde man, before the Senate of Lacedemon.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare; how both Ancients and Moderne men vsed to figure them: And of some mysteries represented by them.

An argument discoursed by few or none.

NO great mystery consisteth in knowing the signification of the twelue Moneths by their figures. Neuertheless, considering that few or none haue written of them, in our vulgar tongue: I am the more willing to take a little paines, in acquainting some particular friends, that by looking vpon their portraitures, they may the better reach to their interpretation.

First of all then, beginning with *Ianuary*, it was presented by a man seated at a Table, holding a Glasse of Wine in his hand, as being ready to drinke. Whereby was intended, that in this Moneth, all creatures haue better appetite and desire to eate and drink, then at any other time: becausse heat is retired inward, & strengtheneth the stomacke in such sort, that it is capable of the easier digestion.

Ianuary.

February, was a mā heating his hands about his own body: for in this month, fire is

February.

is very requisite, in regard of the great coldes in Winter, caused by the absence of the Sunne.

March. *March*, was figured in form of a Gardiner: because (in this Moneth) the pores and spiracles of the earth, do open themselues, insomuch, that the moisture of the earth commeth (of it owne accord) to all the Trees, Hearbs and Plants. In which respect, all superfluities are to bee cut away, that the nutritiue humour may extend it selfe to the liuing Branches, for bearing the fairer fruite.

Aprill. *Aprill*, was made in the shape of a young man, holding a Nosegay of flowers in his hand: for in this Moneth, the earth hauing communicated his vertue to Trees and Hearbs, maketh euery thing to flourish, and bring foorth Flowers.

May. For *May*, a yong gallant Gentleman was portraited, being mounted on horseback, and brauely apparelled, bearing a Hawke vpon his Fist. Considering, that in this Moneth, the Trees commonly begin to beare fruite. Birds flye abroad merrily, and all creatures striue to haue their best pleasures, and make loue to one another.

Iune. *Iune*, was painted, carrying a Scythe on his backe; because in this Moneth, the Medowes must be mowed downe.

Iuly. *Iuly*, carried a Sickle in his hand, where-with to reape downe the ripened Corne.

August. And because these Fruites are commonly to bee gathered in *August*, and then they are to be laide and lockt vp in Barnes and Garners: *August* was figured like to a Country Carter, standing by his laden Cart, with a whip in his hand, as hastening homeward with his sheaues of Corne.

September *September*, was in the habite of a Vintager; as thereby signifying, that the beginning of Vintage is to bee in this Moneth.

October. *October*, was figured like a husbandman, carrying a Sack vpon his shoulders, and sowing Corne as hee passeth along. Meaning thereby, that as this Moneth is colde and dry; so is it very apt and conuenient, for the sowing of Seede.

Nouember. *Nouember* stood in the shape of a Thrasher, labouring his Flayle vpon the Corne in the sheaues. He had another companion standing by him, who with a pole did beate downe the Acornes from the Trees, because in this Month, Acorns serue best to fatten Swine; and then also they ordinarily kill Swine, for making Bacon.

December. *December* stood in the likenesse of a Butcher, with a knife in his hand, and killing a Hog. Thus were the twelue Moneths vsually figured.

The Yeare. As for the yeare it selfe, they made the modell thereof, in the resemblance of a Serpent, writhed into a roundle, & holding the tayle in the mouth: because the end of the yeare euermore is ioyned with the beginning.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of a strange Coniuration or Conspiracy, which happened in the goodly Citty of Florence, and of the slaughter which ensued thereon.

It is the common affection of all men to listen after nouelties. ALL the World is naturally desirous to heare and vnderstand the greatest enterprizes, and such strange accidents as happen to men: to the ende, that they may the better defend themselues, from falling into such inconueniences, as waite vpon inconstant and mutable Fortune. And therefore I concluded with my selfe, to relate a very rare and admirable chance, which happened in the wealthy Citty of *Florence*, and which (in mine opinion) is one that deserueth as much meruaile, as any other that euer I heard of.

The sumptuous and flourishing estate of Florence in those times In the yeare, 1478. the Citty of *Florence* was in great peace, abounding (day by day) in sumptuousnesse and riches, and the affayrs of the Common-wealth holding on such a prosperous course, that no imagination was so idle, as to thinke, that any misfortune had the power to alter this happinesse. In those Sun-shine dayes, the illustrious house of *Medicis* (of whom the Duke was *Cosimo*, and all the Dukes of *Florence* to this day are descended) gouerned the said State and Common-wealth: so that all affaires passed through the hands and intelligence of the two Lords, *Iuliano* and *Laurentio de Medicis*,

Iuliano and Laurentio de Medices, both Brethren.

cis, Brethren; who were highly eſteemed among the people, in regard of their Anceſtours, and eſpecially for *Coſimo de Medicis* their Grand-father, who had beene the onely and richeſt Merchant of *Italy*; althogh that in *Florence* wer very wealthy Merchants beſide.

Now there were (at this time) in the ſaide Citty, many other Gentlemen and rich Metchants, who thought themſelues euery way as ſufficient, to manage and order the Common-wealths affaires; as thoſe that were of the houſe of *Medici*. Neuertheleſſe, the *Medici* ſtill had the great opinion, being euery day reſpected, hayled and louingly entertained of the people. In the ende, the houſe of the *Pazzi*, *Saluiati*, and many other, iſſued of Noble and ancient Families in *Florence* (being moued by paſſion and particular affection (coupled with innated enuy, which they bare to them of the *Medicis*) contriued a ſecret complot, whereby to take the Common-wealths gouernment from the *Medici*. And this their intent could not be accompliſhed, without the death of *Iuliano* and *Laurentio de Medicis*, becauſe they were rich and potent Lords.

Emulation & hart-burning in ſome againſt the Medicis, in regard of their authoritie.

The death cõtriued of Iuliano & Laurentio de Medicis.

Franceſco and *Giouanni de Pazzi*, Couſins-germaine to *Giacomo de Pazzi*, and cheefeſt men of that houſe, vndertooke to kill the ſaid Brethren of the *Medici*, and ioyned with them the Family of the *Saluiati*; eſpecially Signior *Franceſco Saluiati*, Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, and they vndertooke to kill Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, Vncle to them of the *Medici*, & likewiſe *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, whom they had conſtrained into their league: all verily perſwaded, that being rid of them, they ſhould not meete with any reſiſtance in the execution of their purpoſe.

The combination for a moſt horrible murder.

This complot fully agreed vpon, and all things prouided to fit their enterprize accordingly; the Archbiſhoppe of *Piſa* came to *Florence*, where (vnder another colour) they entred into roule a number of Soldiours, all well knowne: yet without diſcouering to any one, what was to be done. The Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, of whom neuer any doubt was conceiued, practiſed ſuch meanes, that a young Cardinall, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus* (who then ſtudied at *Bologna*) ſhould come to paſſe the time a while at *Florence*, to fitte their turne (in the action) with him and his people, yet neuer acquainting him with a thought of the intention.

A liſt of Soldiours prepared for the purpoſe.

Order being taken for all occaſions, and euery thing kept cloſe in the boſomes of the principall conſpirators, the concluſion was thus; that the two Brethren *de Medici* ſhould be ſlaine together, eyther in the great Church, or elſe where the Cardinall ſhould heare Maſſe. *Franceſco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino*, tooke charge of killing the Lord *Iuliano de Medicis*: but the death of the Lord *Laurentio*, was committed to *Antonio de Volterra*, and to another, called *Stephano*, being a Prieſt. The houre or moment, aſſigned by *Giacomo de Pazzi*, for the execution of theſe two murders, was at ſuch time, as the Prieſts ſhold be at the eleuation in Maſſe, holding the Hoaſt or Sacrifice aloft aboue his head, although the two brethren then were in diuers places.

The appointment how the maſſacre ſhould be performed, & by what perſons.

The ſignall for the deed to be done.

Vpon the Sunday following, which was the third of May, 1478. this concluſion tooke effect thus. The Cardinall came to heare Maſſe, and with him the Lord *Laurentio de Medicis*, without his brother. For they vſed to walke (as men ſuſpecting ambuſhes) ſildome or neuer together in the Citty, for feare of falling into any diſaſter together: knowing right well, that no man durſt make an attempt offenſiuely vpon them, if one of the two were left aliue. The conſpirators perceiuing that Lord *Iuliano* came not at all; *Franceſco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino* (who had ſworne his death) vnder the ſhaddow of Courtly attendance, went to come along with him from his houſe, and beſtowed ſo many embraſſadoes vpon him, that they brought him vnto the Church where his Brother was, and yet hee then ſate farre enough off from his Brother. Conſpiring eyes were ſtill fixed on them both, enuying that they ſhould ſitte ſo farre aſunder: but yet the time and place gaue thē courage, that they might eaſily accompliſh the acte; and yet not be proſecuted by any, for few or none tooke notice of them.

A care in the two brethren, to preuent miſchiefe.

Ceremonious Courtſhip, many times makes way to diuelliſh practiſes.

The point for performance being come, *Franceſco de Pazzi* gaue a ſtabbe with his poniard to the Lord *Iuliano*, which thwarted the ſtomacke, and iſſued foorth at his ſhoulder, ſo that immediately he fel down dead: and *Bernardo Bandino*, by making haſte (leaſt Lord *Iuliano* ſhold not be thorowly ſped) wounded himſelfe with his owne

Lord Iuliano ſlaine by Frā. ceſco de pazzi.

owne Dagger in the ſtomacke, albeit hee ſaw the Lord *Iuliano* lye dead before him. There dyed alſo *Franceſco Nori*, ſlaine by *Bernardo Bandino*, becauſe he laid hand on his weapon, in the defence of Lord *Iuliano*. *Antonio Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Prieſt, ſharply aſſayled the Lord *Laurentio de Medicis*, but yet with ſuch ſlender dexterity; that vſing his owne couragious defence, hee was wounded a little in the mouth, and (in deſpight of all they could do) by meanes of certaine friends, he got into the Sacriſtia or Veſtrie, and there ſaued himſelfe from their fury.

Lord Laurentio ſaued his life in the Veſtry.

This aſſault was ſo ſudden, that it had ſpeedier execution, then any knowledge could be had of them that acted it: for ſuch was the cry of the people, as if the Church had fallen to the earth. The Cardinall had worke enough to doe, to get himſelfe free, and in ſafety to the high Altar. All the Citty was vp in a furious vprore; for ſome cryed out, that the two Brethren *de Medici* were ſlaine, & others ſaide no, putting themſelues preſently in Armes. They of the houſes of *Pazzi* and *Saluiati*, began aloud to cry, Liberty, Liberty, ſo that the Seigneury reſorted to the great Pallace with all diligence, where the *Gonfaloniero* ioyning with them, they fortified themſelues with armed men in the houſe. The Councellors of the Cittie, and ſuch as tooke part with the *Medici*, went to ſeeke for the Lord *Laurentio*; conducting him home to his own houſe, where ſtood readily prepared, aboue eight thouſand armed men.

The young Cardinall hardly ſaued himſelfe.

The whole Siegneury run in haſte to the pallace.

As for the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, hee purſuing on ſtill the point with the *Saluiati*, being accompanied with many of their league, and ſuch as were the Cardinals followers; rode directly vnto the Pallace, with intent to make their meaning well liking to the Seigneury. The Lords of the Seigneury, although they tooke part with the houſe of *Medici*; yet notwithſtanding they were ſo preſſed, as they had not any leyſure, for making any Armed prouiſion, nor to appoint a Garriſon for the Pallace. Yet they knew well enough, that Lord *Laurentio* was not much hurt, and that he had men about him valiant & hardy.

The Arch-Biſhop of Piſa rideth to the Pallace, to conferre with the Seigneury.

The Archbiſhop perceiuing, that the Seigneury had no leyſure to take a reſolution, in ſome mattets that he would haue propounded to them: diuided the traine of his followers into two Companies, appointing one part of them to keep poſſeſſion of the Pallace Gates. Hee, with the other company, aſcended vp into the Pallace, and made it knowne to the Seigneury, that he had ſome-what to acquaint them withall, for generall benefit of the Common-wealth. Whereupon, he being admitted in, with ſome few of his people, that knew no part of his vile purpoſe: the Gates of the Pallace were made ſo ſtrongly faſt; that the Archbiſhop could haue no ſuccor of his followers, nor the Lords of the Seigneury themſelues haue any aſſiſtance. So loudly did the Archbiſhop deliuer his minde, ſpeaking of matters in ſuch vnorderly manner; that the Seigneurie (well vnderſtanding his bad intention) commanded the *Gonfaloniero* to take hold of him, as alſo of *Giacoma Saluiati*, and *Giacomo*, the ſonne of *Meſſier Poggio de Pazzi*. And ſo vnruly grew the tumult, that all their attendants were inſtantly ſlaine in the fury, and thirty dead bodies throwne out of the Pallace windowes, vpon the heads of them that were beneath in the Court.

The Arch-Biſhop admitted to ſpeake with the Seigneury.

The Arch Biſhop ſeized on, and his followers moſt of them ſlaine.

Within a while after, the common people, who greatly fauoured them of the *Medici*, ranne in huge heapes and crowds to the Pallace: where all the other part of the Archbiſhops men (that had the truſt of keeping the Pallace Gates) were taken and ſlaine preſently, without any reſpect vſed towards them. As for the Arch-Biſhop, and his two friends with him; they were hanged in the Market-place, to cauſe more terrour in the reſt. *Giacomo de Pazzi*, and diuers other of the Conſpirators, rode vp and downe through the Citty, crying Liberty, Liberty: but perceiuing none to make them anſwer, as leaning rather to the part of Lord *Laurentio*; they thought to ſaue themſelues by flight. Only *Bernardo Bandino* excepted, who lay in his bed very ſicke, by paine of the wound which he had giuen himſelfe; ſo that hee was not able to ſit on horſebacke, or come come abroad out of his Chamber.

The other part of the Archbiſhops attendants ſlaine, & himſelfe hanged.

By this time the whole Citty was vp in Armes, to defend the cauſe of the Lord *Laurentio*, who extremely greeued, for the death of Lord *Iuliano* his Brother: cauſing ſeuere purſuite afrer the Conſpirators, ſo that many, who were but meerely ſuſpected

The whole Citty maintained the cauſe of Lord Laurentio de Medicis.

suspected in the case, could not escape, although no matter was prooued against them; but no knowne offender could any way be spared. The young Cardinall, Nephew to the Pope, was kept prisoner in the Pallace, with very great perill of his life: but at length, his innocence being truely knowne, he was acquitted; continuing (neuertheleſſe) long time prisoner. Bernardo Bandino hanged vp starke naked by the Archbishop.

Bernardo Bandino, was ledde starke naked to the Pallace, and so hanged vp, next to the Archbishop. As for *Antonio de Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, who should haue slaine the Lord *Laurentio*: they were trodden to death among the rude multitude, that ranne euery where in the Citty, crying *Medicis, Medicis*, burning and pulling downe all their houses, whom they knew to be of the contrary Faction. In briefe, the disorder was such, and so confused, as it exceeded the capacity of writing; especially the furies and cruelties, committed in this horrid tempest.

Seuerity of law inflicted on the bloody offenders.

Giacomo de Pazzi, was taken in his flight, & brought back to *Florence*: where he was hanged or strangled, and his body being cut in peeces, was after buried in prophane ground; all his lands & goods (which being of great value) were confiscated, and adiudged to the Seigneuries possession. And after condigne punishment inflicted vpon the malefactors, the body of Lord *Iuliano* was most honourably buried, and with very solemne Funerall pompe.

A briefe suruay of the conspiracy, & the maine actors therein, with some other accidēts that followed thereon.

Such issue had the Coniuration of the *Pazzi*, which was a matter very strange. For, in lesse then three houres, the Lord *Iuliano de Medicis* (an extraordinary rich man) was slaine; the Archbishop of *Pisa* hanged, with some other of his confederates, and the houses of the aduerse part vtterly destroyed. Pope *Sixtus*, and *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, conceiued such a spleene against this action at *Florence*: that they (together) leuyed a powerfull Army against the *Florentines*, who (with the aid of their friends) defended themselues so well; that no other aduantage was due to the disturbers, but that the war was long, and very cruell, great effusion of blood happening on eyther side. Behold the poore and vnfortunate issue of these conspirators, who thinking to winne honour, and high degrees by indiscreete meanes: lost their liues, disioynted the peace and vnity of their Country, and made their enemy much mightier then before, for Lord *Laurentio de Medicis* gouerned *Florence* so long as he liued.

CHAP. XXXII.

A very remarkable and worthy Historie, deliuering in true and briefe discourse; the life and memorable actions of that famous Captaine, commonly called, Castruccio Castracagnio.

Astruccio Castracagnio, a Captaine of much fame and merit, in my poore opinion, may be rancked among the greatest and most renowned Captaines of the world: considering the pouerty of his originall, and the slender meanes he had, without the fauours of any, compared also with those strange trauerses, which Fortune put vppon him. Wherein I may well say, that very few Captaines or Generals are to bee found, who with so poore & imperfect furnishment; did euer reach to those honours and estates, as this our *Castruccio Castracagnio* attained. Wherefore, I thought it no disparagement vnto our precedent best subiects, that his History should make one among them: not purposing to vse any larger dilation therein, then already I haue obserued in the rest, because it shall suffice me, summarily to report the courage of this Captaine.

It is not pouerty of birth that hindreth the merite of any well-deseruing man.

Beginning then with his originall, which was very strange, you are to vnderstand, that in *Luca*, a Citty of no meane fame in *Italy*, there was a Chanon belonging to the Church of S. *Michaell*, named *Messire Antonio Castracagnio*, who had a sister (of his owne) liuing with him, being a very honest and vertuous woman. Close ioyning to this Chanons house, was a little Close or Field of * *Autines*, which was plentifully furnished with variety of fruitfull Trees, as is the manner vsed in *Italy*. The sister to this Chanon (by fortune) going one morning into this Close, to gather some Hearbs for her vse, without dreming on any such matter as after happened: as she was gathering Hearbs heere and

Here the Author briefely discourseth the originall of Castruccio Castracagnio, & in what manner he was found.

* They are Vines fastened to Trees, according to the manner in Italy.

and there, heard a small voyce, as if it were of some new borne babe. And walking that way where she heard the cry; among the leaues and young bourgeons of the Vines, was an infant laide, appearing to bee very lately before borne, tenderly crying, as desiring aide in that wofull distresse.

The widdow brought the Babe to her Brother the Chanon.

The good widdow, somewhat sadly moued at the beginning of this aduenture, yet prouoked by a womans louing compassion: carried in the tender childe, & shewed it to the Chanon her brother; who being amazed at so strange an accident, and yet ouercome with Christianlike pitty, determined to prouide nursing for the Babe. And in regard that it was a manchilde, hee gaue it the name of his owne Father, calling him *Castruccio*. When the Nurse was come, he caused it to be nourished as if it had beene his owne: & after growing to a great boy, sent him to schoole, with full intention of surrendring his Chanons place to him. But when the Lad grew to 14. yeares of age, Learning and Bookes was the least part of his care, for he was no way addicted to letters, but rather delighted in handling of a sword: and in regard that he was very actiue of body, he gaue himselfe greatly to leaping, dancing, & wrastling with other strong Lads like himself. Speaking al in a word, he was so dexterious in whatsoeuer he did; as none of his companions could equall him, but *Castruccio* becãe respected in euery eye.

He called the childe after the name of his owne Father.

Young Castruccio not addicted to learning, but to manly exercises onely

It so fortuned, that Captaine *Francesco Guiniguo*, a man much renowned, for worthy actions of Armes performed by him in *Lombardy*, was then at *Luca*. He hearing such report of young *Castruccio*, & seeing him bold & brauely spirited; found meanes to haue him in his seruice. And *Castruccio* being now where he best desired, became (in lesse then fiue yeares) so expert a Souldior, as his like was not to be found, as well on horse as foot: for he could so cunningly manage any horse, that *Caualcadore* of *Italie* hardly came neere him.

The first entertainment of young Castruccio in seruice.

Being come to the age of 18. yeares, Captaine *Guiniguo*, his Master, departed thence for *Millaine*, in aide of the *Viscontines*, who were in Armes against the *Thuriani*, and many other *Millaine* Gentlemen. He tooke *Castruccio* along with him, who caried himselfe so valiant and wisely in this war; that hee bare away the fame from all the Soldiors in the Campe. This war lasted fiue or sixe yeares, which being ended by peace or truce; Captaine *Guiniguo* returned to *Luca*, with his *Castruccio*, wher he was most kindly embraced by euery one, as well in general as particular, in regard of the good report noised euery where of him. So that more account was made of him, then of *Guiniguo* his Master; for hee was so humane and courteous to euery man, that affection increased towards him daily more & more.

Castruccio credited with the guardianship of his Masters sonne

Within a short while after, Captaine *Guiniguo* feeling himselfe sicke, & in some danger of death; gaue the tutelage & gouernement of *Pagola* his sonne, to his man *Castruccio*. In which charge, *Castruccio* carried himselfe so faithfully, that so long as he liued, he had at his command the affairs of *Pagola*, euen as if hee had bene his owne sonne. After the decease of Captaine *Guiniguo*, the credite and reputation of *Castruccio* wonderfully augmented. Neuertheless, because he was very fiery, impatient and vindicatiue, when any wrong had bene done vnto him: the men of *Luca* began to grow suspitious, that he purposed to make himselfe Lord of *Luca*, and not without some pregnant occasion; in which respect, the Seigneury commanded him to auoide the City. Which disgrace *Castruccio* so much distasted, that he resolued to be reuenged, euen with the ruine and confusion of his head-strong enemies. At this very time, the Factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* reigned powerfully in *Italy*; and euen thē also, the lord *Hugo Fagiuola* was in some comand, who being possessed of the Seigneury of *Pisa*; *Castruccio* practised (by insinuation) to compasse grace & fauour with this Lord *Fagiuola*, & therfore complotted with the *Gibelines*, to make *Figiuola* Lord of *Luca*. Working this traine on secretly, he preuailed so well with some of his friends in the City: that (at an appointed instant) he won a Port of *Luca*. By means whereof, the *Gibelines* entred, with such succor as the Lord *Fagiuola* had giuen them, expulsing thence the *Guelphes*, after they had done their very vttermost they could.

He is commãded by the Seigneury to auoide Luca.

Castruccio complotteth against the City of Luca, by meanes of the diffrence betweene the Guelphes and Gibelines.

Castruccio was now in greater esteeme thē euer, & in such sort, as he was held to be the Lord of *Luca*, although he was inferior to the lord *Fagiuola*, to whō he made recourse in times of necessity. The *Florentines*, who deadly despighted *Castruccio*, vnderstãding the succesſe of his affaires; leuied a great Army, by helpe of such as were in league with thē, purposing to ouer-run *Castruccio*.

Castruccio his first going with his Master to warre-seruice at Millaine.

Castruccio reputed the Lord of Luca.

The Florentines sought he death of Castruccio.

But Lord *Fagiuola* and *Castruccio*, disposed so well for the meeting with them, that the warre grew to be very cruell & bloody. Concerning men of name in the *Florentines* Campe, there was among them *Don Pedro*, Brother to *Robert*, King of *Naples*, accompanied with *Don Carolo* his Nephew, sonne to *Phillip*. But the vertue of Lord *Fagiuola* and *Construccio*, serued wel to counterpoise the greatnes of the other. After that this war had continued for some space of time, the Lord *Fagiuola* receiued intelligence, that there had happned a great commotion at *Pisa*, in redresse whereof, Lord *Fagiuola* was faine to leaue the Armies conduct wholy to *Castruccio*: who behaued himselfe so wisely and valiantly in this great trust, that after many sallies and light skirmishes, hee came to battaile with the *Florentines*. *Castruccio* maintained the fight with such good order and iudgement, that (although he was the most obstinate mã that euer was born in *Italy*) yet notwithstanding, the victory remained to him, and the slaughter was so great, that there were slaine aboue tenne thousand *Florentines*, among whom, *Don Pedro* and *Don Carolo* his Nephew, were found in number with the dead. Which victory, assured to the Lord *Fagiuola*, all those estates (held by him) in farre better security, and enlarged the credite and reputation of *Castruccio*, beyond all common expectation.

The Army left wholly to Castruccioes gouernment

Castruccio winneth the victory gainst the Florentines, Don Pedro & Don Carolo slaine

Winter being come, *Castruccio* returned to *Luca*, by the command of Lord *Fagiuola*, towards whom he shewed himselfe very obedient. But, as it is a customary case, that wealth and great honors doe cause feare and enuy: so the Lord *Fagiuola*, perceiuing the credite of *Castruccio* to encrease daily more and more: determined his death, in recompence of all the worthy seruices he had done him. To effect this dishonourable businesse; he sent one of his sonnes to *Luca*, who caused *Castruccio* to be committed prisoner, vnder pretence, of some secret blame imposed vpon him. But the imprisonment of *Castruccio* was so offensiue to the *Lucanes*; that the people began to mutiny against their Lord *Fagiuola*: who hauing aduertisement thereof, left *Pisa*, and marched thether with a potent Army.

Lord Fagiuola concludeth the death of Castruccio dishonorably

The Lucanes reuolt from Lord Fagiuola.

But there hapned to him a very strange accident, and yet no more then hee iustly deserued for his vnmanly dealing. When the *Pisanes* were aduertised, that *Castruccio* was deteined as a prisoner; they began so to stomacke the matter, that they slew the Gouernor, whom Lord *Fagiuola* had left as his Deputy, and all such as were to do him any seruice; so that they enfranchized themselues from the tyranny of *Fagiuola*. He receiuing intelligence of this mishap, and that (by this meanes) his returne to *Pisa* was bard vp against him: pursued on his purpose, to make all sure and safe at *Luca*. But therin he proued likewise as vnfortunate as at *Pisa*, for the *Pisanes* had informed the *Lucanes* of their affaires, and with such speedy diligence; that the Poste frõ the *Pisanes* arriued at *Luca*, much sooner then the Lord *Fagiuola* could do.

The Gouernor of Pisa slaine by the people, and intelligence sent by them to the Lucans

Hereupon, the *Lucanes* put thẽselues in Armes, so that they expulsed the sonne of *Fagiuola* out of *Luca*, with absolute purpose, of allowing no entrance to the Father; but gaue freedome to *Castruccio*, in meere despight of him. Yet some say, that *Fagiuola* entred *Luca*, & very quickly was expelled thence; when losing all hope of recouering his estates, he was glad to saue himselfe by flight into *Lombardy*. But be it howsoeuer, this I am sure of, that hee lost his dominion ouer both the Cities in one day: which he might safely haue enioyed stil, if he had but kept faire friendship with *Castruccio*: who being thus set at liberty, was elected Captaine and General of the *Lucanes*, by free consent of the whol Seigneury. In which authority he being loath to liue idle, leuyed a great Army, wherewith hee recouered many strong Holds from the *Florentines*, which they had long vsurped from the *Lucanes*: taking diuers other of their owne beside, in despight of their best Forces, albeit they were strong indeed. *Castruccio* returning then to *Luca*, was there most honourably welcomed in regard of his worthy victories obtayned, and created absolute Lord of *Luca*. From which time forward, hee became much feared of the neighbours round about, especially the *Florentines*, who were the most powerfull in all *Tuscany*: For, he had many wars against them, and tooke many Forts and Castles from them, yea, and ouerthrew them in a plaine fielde of Battaile, equally appointed on either side.

The Lucanes rise in Armes against Fagiuola, and exclude his son.

Castruccio made Generall of Luca by common consent.

He was created sole Lord of Luca, and became much dreaded.

As thus the fortunes of *Castruccio* grew daily better and better, the Emperor *Fredericke*

The Emperor Frederick desired to haue the seruice of Castruccio.

ricke came into *Italy*, to be crownd Emperor there: wher being enstructed of the many good parts remaining in *Castruccio*, hee laboured greatly to win him to his seruice. *Castruccio* then leauing *Pagola Guiniguo* (of whom he had thus long beene Tutour) as his Lieutenant to gouern *Luca*: went to see the Emperor *Frederick*, whom he followed so far as *Rome*. Some hold, that he came thither before the Coronation; but, after the Emperors return into *Germany*, *Castruccio* preuailed so well by good means, that they of *Pisa* chose him to be their Prince. Which newes being brought to *Rene*, King of *Naples* (his old heauy enemy) he begã to grow doubtfull of *Castruccio*, and perceiuing his power to encrease so greatly: hee made a league with the *Florentines* against *Castruccio*, intending now to see the vtter ruine of him, and recouery of all the honors appertaining to him.

Castruccio chosen Prince of Pisa, and enuied by the King of Naples.

Hereupon, the King of *Naples* & the *Florentines* prepared a strong army, which was so manfully encountred by *Castruccio*; that euermore he had the better of thẽ, althogh with great expence of blood, and recouery of many places from them: so that the *Florentines* were meerely enforced, to craue a truce for certaine time; during which respite, *Castruccio* largely increased his power. For, as they of * *Pistorium* were in diffrence one with another within the Towne: *Castruccio* shouldred in (during their ciuill dissention) and possessed himselfe of *Pistoriũ*, and all other places subiected to that Citty.

The King of Naples & the Florentines foyled by Castruccio.

* A Citty in the midst of Tuscia.

The *Florentines* seeing themselues more and more in daily dangers, endeuoured by al the best meanes they could deuise, to gather people from all parts, onely to breake the Forces of *Castruccio*, or else to driue him out of *Pistorium*. In which respect, the supplies which came to them, as well from the Kingdome of *Naples*, as other places more remote, were so great; that vpon the musters account, they were numbred to be 40000. men. Seeing then, that they had so goodly an Army, they began their march directly towards *Pistorium*, where *Castruccio* had his Campe, consisting of far fewer people then the *Florentines*. Neuertheless, he guided his war so wisely, vsing so many surprizals, skirmishes and encounters, that successe attended vpon him continually.

An Army of forty thousand men leuied by the Florentines against Castruccio.

In the end, comming to the day of battaile, he proceeded therein with such good order, that he vanquished the *Florentines*: in which ouerthrow was great slaughter made, and store of rich booty taken, for all the cheefest of the *Florentines* were eyther slaine, or taken prisoners. *Castruccio* himselfe being wounded, and a great number of his men slaine; yet all this could not a iote daunt his courage, but still he pursued vpon his victory, marching in all haste with his Army against * *Partum*, which he tooke very speedily, as also all the Castles and Townes thereabout. So that (without any resistance) he went and placed his Campe within two miles of *Florence*, whereat the *Florentines* were not a little amazed.

The Florentines ouerthrowne in a day of set battaile, by Castruccio.

* A faire town in Tuscany.

As hee was essaying all meanes for his entrance into *Florence*, hee receiued aduertisement, that the *Pisanes* were practising some matter to his disaduantage: so that, leauing his intent for *Florence*, he returned to *Pisa* a triumphant Conqueror. After he had inflicted punishment vpon the mutiners, he went to visite all the neighbouring parts, taking order for all needfull occasions beseeming warre: because he was well assured, neuer to continue long in peace, without some imployment for warre.

He encamped within two miles of Florence, & was called thence by a mutiny at Pisa.

The *Florentines*, mightily confounded by their peoples ouerthrow, and losse beside of so many Towns: freely gaue themselues to the King of *Naples*, promising him a yearely tribute of two hundred thousand Crownes. The King of *Naples* accepted the *Florentines* offer, and sent *Don Carolo* his sonne to their assistance, with the most part of the Cauallery and Infantery that hee could command; and the like did some other Citties of *Italy*, who stood all in feare of *Castruccioes* Forces: so that now the Army of the *Florentines* consisted of tenne thousand horse, and thirty thousand foote. With this powerfull preparation (perswading themselues, that *Castruccio* durst not come into the fielde) they intended to besiedge *Pisa*; but *Castruccio*, who was one of the most valiant & politique Generals, that the whole world then afforded, went forth to meete them, attended only with 4000. horse, and 20000. foote, but all in excellent Military order. As these two Camps began to draw neere each other, there passed diuers skirmishes in the plaine field, wherin continually *Castruccio* had the best. Finally, *Castruccio* seeking opportunity, to deliuer battaile to the *Florentines*: passed ouer the Foord at the Riuer of * *Arno*, and found the *Florentines* in such disorder, as he compeld thẽ to accept the battel; wherin was a great

The Florentines gaue themselues in subiection to the King of Naples.

Another great Army raised by the Florentines, against Castruccio.

* A goodly Riuer in Italy

Castruccio his victory ouer the Florentines, and easie meanes to haue made a further conqueſt.

ſlaughter on both ſides, but yet the victory fell to *Caſtruccio*; twenty thouſand *Florentines* being ſlain in the field, beſide two thouſand priſoners taken: among whom was *Don Carolo*, ſonne to the King of *Naples*, and many other Commanders of name. And aſſuredly (without all queſtion to the contrary) conſidering this laſt great victory, which *Caſtruccio* had againſt the *Florentines*: he might not onely haue conquered *Florence* it ſelfe, but likewiſe no meane part of *Italy* beſide.

But heere may bee apparantly obſerued, how weake and feeble the ſtrength of man is; for a Glaſſe is no ſooner crackt & ſhiuerd, then a mans beſt might, when Gods aſſiſtance giueth him ouer. *Caſtruccio*, following his fortune vpon the ſpurre, and hauing made the ſurprizall before remembred; rode coaſting along the Riuer of *Arno* like a worthy Generall, to rallire all his people together. And being ſore wearied and ouer-ſweated, (for he had fought all the day) the freſh coolneſſe, or dampe of the Riuer ſmote him inwardly, that the night following, he fell into a Quotidian Feauer, whereof (no doubt as God had appointed) he dyed on the ſeuenth day after, being then in the very flower of his time.

Caſtruccio fel ſicke of a Quotidian Feauer, and dyed within ſeauen dayes following.

Surely, had this *Caſtruccio* bene a Natiue of *Rome*, or *Athens*, as he was of *Luca*, where he was borne, without knoledge of Father or Mother; Or had he beene brought vp in the Kings Court of *Macedon*: he had greatly blemiſhed the renown of *Scipio*, *Phillip*, yea, and *Alexander* the Great. Notwithſtanding (a *Lucane* borne as he was) had hee liued a longer date of yeares, which his youth and ablenes made faire promiſe of: hee had equalled any of them in richneſſe of fame. But returning to our Hiſtory, *Caſtruccio* made *Pagola Guiniguo* his heyre; albeit ſome ſay, that he had Children of his owne, whom he inſtituted to bee his heyres. But be it howſoeuer, as he got his eſtate & wealth by manhood and valour: his ſucceſſours loſt all by lewdneſſe and negligence, if we may credite *Aretine*, *Blondus*, *Tonimus* & *Macchiauell*.

The Authors farwell to the endleſſe memory of Caſtruccio Carcagnio.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A Diſcourſe concerning the Windes: And of their ſeuerall names, as well Ancient, as Moderne.

The opinion of Seneca, concerning the Windes, and of what neceſſary vſe they are.

THE Windes, according as *Seneca* ſaith, are very meete and neceſſary for the ſpacious Vniuerſe; to conſerue the temperature of Heauen and Earth; to diſperſe and ſcatter raines and myſts; and to helpe the Trees in producing their Fruites. Nature alſo gaue them creation, to be the meanes of mens Nauigation, whereby they might communicat together the goods of the earth: ſo that Regions which are fertile in ſome particular things, may impart them to other that are not ſo well prouided. In briefe, the Windes do cauſe an infinity of commerces among men, which my intended breuity will not ſpare me to ſpeake of.

The Arguments intended to be diſcourſed in this Chapter.

Onely I haue propounded to my ſelfe, to ſhew how many Windes there are, what they are, whence they come, and how they are: wherein I am perſwaded, that ſome benefit will redownd to diuers perſons, eſpecially to ſuch as profeſſe sayling on the Seas. To vnderſtand then, what the Winde is, I will not relye on diuerſity of opinions, in ſuch as haue written thereon: but following *Ariſtotle*, and the moſt common iudgment of the wiſe; I ſay, that the Winde is a vapour and exhalation hot and dry, drawne vp into the Ayre by vertue of the Sunne. And being driuen aloft by his heate and lightneſſe, proceeding on into the middle Region of the Ayre, which is alwayes colde; commeth to be repulſed by that contrary quality. So that being vnable to mount any higher, it breaketh foorth into blaſts whether it can go, & being hindred of deſcending downe, in regard of lightnes: is conſtrained to toſſe and tumble here & there in the Ayre; eyther more or leſſe, according to the ſtrength of the matter wherof it is cauſed. So that the definition of *Seneca* is not warrantable, who ſaieth, *That the Winde is nothing elſe, but the Ayre mooued, without any other matter*: becauſe theſe are the exhalations and vapors, which ſtir and mooue the Ayre; for, after they are conſumed, the winde ceaſſeth.

The winde a vapour or exhalation hot and dry.

The reaſon of the Windes bluſtering in the Ayre.

Exhalations and vapours mouing the Ayre to ſpend themſelues.

As

Antiquity neuer acknowledged but foure windes onely.

As concerning their names, our reuerend Ancients impoſed ſuch vpon them, as correſponded with the parts and Regions of the world, from whence they came. Neuertheleſſe, Antiquitie neuer acknowledged ſo many windes, as haue beene ſince thoſe times. For, according as *Plinie*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Vegetius*, *Homer* and other auncient Poets ſay, no other mention was made, but of foure windes onely, which came from the foure parts or quarters of the world, viz. Eaſt, Weſt, North and South; thoſe are the parts or quarters moſt remarkeable that can be obſerued throughout the world. For, as *Dauid* and *Lucan* ſay; *Hence cometh day, and thence cometh night.*

Concerning the auncient names of the windes.

The Eaſt winde.

According then vnto this proportion, our auncient Latines termed *Subſolanus*, the winde that came from the Eaſt Equinoctiall: The Greekes called it *Apeliotes*, or *Eurus*: In *Italy* and *Spaine*; they call it *Leuante*; and French Marriners terme it *Eſt*. Now, for the right winde belonging to Sunne-ſetting, which is oppoſite and contrary to the precedent: the Greekes called it *Zephyrus*, that is, *Viuifying*: for it makes all plants to flouriſh: The Latines named it *Fauonius*: And the Italians and Spaniards call it *Ponente*: But our French Mariners call it *Oueſt*. And yet ſome others ſay, that the word *Zephyrus* ſignifieth couching or ſetting. The third winde was called by the Latines *Septentrio*, in regard of ſeauen Starres, which turne or wheele about the North-Starre. By the ſame reaſon the Greeks called it *Apparetias*, or *Boreas*; the Italians terme it *Tramontana*; the Spaniards *Nortæbriſa*; and the French do giue it the title of *Nort*. The fourth wind, which is oppoſite to the North, the Latines termed *Auſter*, euen as if they would haue called it a Water driuer, for that this winde is often rainy; which made the Greeks to call it *Notus*, that is, watriſh, or moiſt. The Italians name it *Mezzodi*; the Spaniards *Abregoſur*, and *Vendeual*; and the French, *Sud*.

The Weſt winde.

The North winde.

The South wind.

Thus you ſee as concerning the foure windes, whereof only ſpeake *Homer*, and *Ouid* in his Metamorphoſis. But (with much more reſpect and reuerence) let vs yet ſay, that our bleſſed Lord and Sauior makes mention of the foure windes, ſpeaking of the laſt day of Iudgement, both in Saint *Mathew* and Saint *Marke*, where he ſayth: *That hee will ſend his Angells with troupes, to aſſemble his Elect from the foure windes.*

Chriſt himſelfe ſpake of the foure windes.

Matth. 24. 31
Marke 13. 21

Now, as touching the qualitie of the foure windes, we will make ſome relation thereof, in diſcourſing on other ſubalternate windes. Since the time of *Homer*, we find an addition of foure other windes to the former, as aſſigning (between the Leuant or Eaſt, and the *Mezzodi*, or South) a winde which the Latines call *Vulturnus*, becauſe this wind whiſtleth like the wing of a Vulture, when he diſlodgeth. The Greekes do terme it *Eurus*; and ſome call it vulgarly in Italian *Leuante*, or *Siroc*, or *Sueſt*.

Of the qualitie of the windes.

TheNor th-Eaſt winde.

The other winde which rayſeth it ſelfe from the place, where the Sunne mounteth at mid Iune, hath no name amongſt the Latines. Notwithſtanding, ſome call it *Ardant*, or *Helleſponticus*, becauſe it cometh from the coaſt of the *Helleſpontick* Sea. Our Mariners call it *Grec*, or *Nordeſt*. *Gellius* and *Vegetius*, attribute thereto the name of *Aquilo*, which neuertheleſſe is the name of another winde.

The North-Weſt winde.

The other winde is iuſtly betweene the North and the Weſt, and cometh from that Region, where the Sunne ſetteth in winter, and is called by the Latines *Affricus*, becauſe (in regard of *Rome*) this wind commeth directly from *Affrica*. The Greekes called it *Lybs*, becauſe they entitle *Guynea* to be *Lybia*: Our Italians terme it *Lybechio*, the French and Spaniards *Sueueſt*, or *Garbin*.

The South-Eaſt winde.

The other winde is iuſtly betweene the North and the Weſt, and cometh from the place where the Sunne coucheth him ſelfe in broad day. Some call it *Auſo*, or *Cancro*. The Greekes called it *Argeſtes*, as much to ſay, as full of rayes. His impetuouſneſſe is called *Apix*, becauſe it cometh from a quarter of *Italy*, ſo called: Others giue it the name of *Olympick*. Our Italians ſtile it *Meſtrall*, the French & Spaniards doe tearme it *Nort-oueſt*. Theſe are the eight ſeuerall winds, whereof *Aulus Gellius* and *Vitruuius*, maketh mention of.

The South-Weſt winde.

Moreouer, *Andronicus* the *Athenian* Philoſopher, builded a Tower at *Athens*, with eight angles or corners of Marble, & at euery angle was figured the Image of a Winde, which blew againſt the ſaide angle. On the top of the ſame Tower, was

Andronicus the Philoſopher, and his erected Tower at Athens

fixed a Triton of gold (reputed to be the God of the Sea) holding a Rodde in his hand. And this Triton was compoſed in ſuch artificiall ſort, that he turned ſtill with euery winde; like as the Vaynes or weather-flags vpō Caſtles or ſtately houſes now adayes do; ſhewing, or pointing ſtill with his Rod, from whence the winde came, and where it reigned or domineered.

Foure windes more, added to the former eight, and in what ſeuerall places they are deſcribed to be.

Ouer and beſide the forenamed eight windes, there were yet added foure more, to make vp iuſt the number of twelue: placing two windes on this ſide, and beyond the North, which is the high North, and two other on both ſides of the South, which is the right winde for the South. That on the right ſide of the *Tramontana* or North, betweene that and the winde *Cæſias*, they called *Aquilo*; in regard of his impetuous bluſtering, which is more ſudden, then the wing of the fleeteſt Faulcon that is or can bee. The *Greekes* alſo called it *Borcas*, in reſpect of the great noiſe it maketh when it bloweth: ſome other tearme it *Meſes*. The other winde, which is on the ſide of the couchant or Sun-ſetting, betweene the *Tramontana* & the winde *Cancro*, was cald by the *Greekes Thraſsias*. *Seneca* giueth it no name at all in *Latine*; neuertheleſſe, there are ſome who name it *Circius*, or *Cirzus*: the *Chaſtillians* call it *Galego*.

Two other windes oppoſite to the former.

The other two windes are alſo oppoſite to theſe heere related, whereof the one commeth from the entrance to the right winde of the South, and the Region where the Sunne hideth himſelfe in Winter, which alſo is called *Euro-auſter*, or *Euronorus*. *Ariſtotle* reporteth, that (in his time) in *Affrica* they vſed to call it *Phenicias*. The other winde plainly is betweene the direct winde of the South and the *Garbin* or *Su-Weſt*: in which reſpect they call it *Lybonorus*, or *Lyboauſter*. And theſe are the twelue Windes, according to the foure Regions of the World.

A South and by East-winde

A South and by Weſt wind

Ariſtotle, in his Booke of Heauen & the World, and in his Meteors, maketh mention of the Windes; but he neyther aſſigneth to them any names or number. *Pliny* notwithſtanding, *Seneca* and *Vegetius* doe make mention of twelue; as the like alſo is done by our moderne Aſtrologers and Coſmographers, as namely *Orontius*, *Appianus*, *Gemma-Friſius*, *Henricus Glareanus*, *Stoſlerinus*, *Ioannes Berenus*, *Ioannes Fernelius*, *Robertus Valturinus*, and many more beſide. *Vitruuius* neuertheleſſe, after he hath aſſigned the eight principall Windes to their Regions: doth yet giue two ſubalternate Windes to each of the other Windes; ſo that (by his account) there ſhould be foure and twenty Windes.

Ariſt in lib. Coel. et Mund.

Moderne Aſtrologers & Coſmographers.

Foure & twēty windes granted by Vitruuius.

Notwithſtanding, to enſtruct our better apprehenſion of the Windes, he preſuppoſeth three Circles, whereof one ſerueth for the opinion of foure Windes, the other is for that of eight, and the laſt for that of twelue. Hee ſetteth downe (beſide) the names of the Windes, according as Marriners (and eſpecially the *Spaniards*) haue ſtiled them. Yet (in the mean while) it is to be obſerued, that the windes are alwayes conformed, to the qualities of the Regions from whence they come.

Three Circles alotted to the windes.

For the three Orientall or Eaſt-windes, that is to ſay, *Subſolanus*, *Cæcias*, and *Vulturnus*, are hot and dry: whereas contrariwiſe, *Zephyrus* and his neighbors, which come from the Weſt or Sun-ſet, are colde and moiſt: becauſe the abſence of the Sunne, maketh the Regions colde where thoſe windes blow. As is eaſily diſcerned by the night time, which is euermore colde, as alſo by places ſubiected to ſhades, that are (ordinarily) coole and freſh. From the ſame cauſe proceedeth humidity; for, as heate in the day time dryeth the Eaſterne windes: ſo on the contrary, moiſture encreaſeth in the nights cooleneſſe.

The conformity of the windes to their Regions

The diffrence betweene day and night times.

As for the three *Septentrionall* or Northerly VVindes, they are cold and dry; becauſe they come from colde Regions, & they haue their rayes writhed and wrinckled. Their coldnes alſo cauſeth drineſſe, which they borrow of the eaſtern windes, that are their neighbours: and yet they can take no moyſture from the Occidentall or Weſterne windes, becauſe their drought and humidity are directly contrary.

Of the Northerly windes

Come we now to the Meridionall or Southerly Windes, they are hot & moiſt: becauſe they deriue their warmth from hot Regions, comming from where the Sunne heateth downe right: with this addition moreouer, that they are neighbors to the Eaſt windes, which are hot. Concerning their humidity, they draw it from the

Of the Meridionall or Southerly windes.

the Westerne windes, and vapours both of the Sea and Land. In Mountainy Regions, charged with Snowes, the Southerly winde may there get his moysture, as the like hee doth in fenny and muddy places: euen as drineſſe may be cauſed by Plaines and champaigne grounds, ſo that they may be charged in the occurrences, according to the qualities of the windes. Here we are to obſerue, that in euery Region, the three windes comming thence, are all of one quality, & produce the ſame effects, which cauſe other effects (great or ſmall) according to ſuch as they happen to meete withall.

Occurrences in charge, commeth by the qualities of the windes

It reſteth now to ſpeake of the particular qualitie belonging to each winde. Beginne wee then with the right Eaſt winde, which is the moſt healthfull of all. For, it is ſubtile and pure, and partaketh more with choller, then his companions. His neighbour, blowing againſt the South, is more moyſt, and farre more furious then the former, and chargeth the ayre with cloudes. *Ariſtotle* ſayth, that when this winde bloweth, all things do ſeeme more great and groſſe, then they are indeede. The right winde of the South, cauſeth raines and tempeſts, it troubleth the aire with cloudes, procuring peſtilence and corruption. The winde *Garbin*, which is neighbor to the right Weſt, is very tempeſtiue, according vnto *Virgill*. But the *Oueſt* or Weſt wind, encreaſeth fleugme, and procureth thunders: it beginneth to blow, at the firſt appearing of the Spring. The direct *Trimontana*, which we call the right North winde, cauſeth colde and froſt, it burneth floures and fruites, and purifieth a corrupted ayre. Now, in regarde it ſhutteth and locketh vp the pores in mens bodies; this winde is helde very apt for health. As much may be ſayde of

The Eaſt winde the moſt healthfull of all the reſt.

Ariſt. in Coel et Mund. cap. 3.

What winde bloweth at the Springs entrance.

the other Septentrionall windes, which are his conſorts or companions.

It is to be held then for a concluſion, that theſe windes proceede from vapours and hote exhalations, and that (in al) there are twelue: without depending vppon other allegories, aſſigned to ſome infant windes. The Spaniards hold for principall winds, thoſe foure which come from the foure parts of the world, to wit, Eaſt, Weſt, North and South. As for the other foure, they tooke their names from them precedent: for the North-eaſt is betweene the North and Eaſt wind: that which is betweene the Sunne-ſet and the South, is alſo called South-weſt, and the other betweene the Eaſt and South, is alſo termed South-eaſt; theſe are their ſeuerall nominations.

The full concluſion for the number of the windes, & them that are allowed to be between each of them.

Afterward, eight other were talked of, which are equally bi-parted betweene the former eight, being termed Collaterall, ſide or middle windes. As that which is betweene the North and the North-eaſt, was called North-North-eaſt: The other which is betwixt the Eaſt and the North, is called by the Spaniards *Zeſur-deſt*, and by French Marriners, North-eaſt; that which is betweene the South and South-eaſt, is called South-South-eaſt; and the other betweene Eaſt and South-eaſt, is named Eaſt-South-eaſt. The other betweene South-weſt and Eaſt, is tearmed Weſt-South-Weſt; and ſo of the other in the ſame diſtinguiſhing: ſo that ſixeteene Windes are equally diſtributed ouer the Earth. Some adde other ſixeteene Windes beſide, which they tearme Quarter windes, by which allowance, wee ſhould then haue two and thirty windes: but theſe latter borrowe all their names of their neighbours. Thus much therefore may ſerue for all the Windes.

The windes of interpoſition, & their appellations.

Sixteene windes called Quarter Windes.

The end of the eight Booke.

The Ninth Booke.

Of the Great Prouince of Moscouia: As also the Manners, Religion, and Power, of the Prince there Ruling. Diuided into fiue seuerall Tractes.

CHAP. I.

In this first Tract, is contained a Cosmographicall description of the whole Countrey; the Climate and Soyle. Also what Shires or Regions are therein contained. What Commodities the seuerall parts of the land yeeldeth: And then a breefe Collection, of the principall Cities and Townes in Moscouia or Russia.

The city Mosca, or Moscua.

Moscouia som time called Sarmatia.

Foure brethe-ren diuided the North-parts between them.

Moscouia or *Russia*, is a great northerly Region, containingmore then fiue hundred leagues in length. The principal Citie thereof, being called *Mosca*, or *Moscuua*, greater then the Citty *Paris* in France, and seated on the Riuer *Mosqua*. I read also, that this Countrey was (sometimes) called *Sarmatia*, and came to varry or change from the name, by calling it selfe *Russia*, as beeing parted or diuided into sundry small, yet absolute Regiments, neyther depending, or being in subiection one to another.

Some of their Writers doe affirme, that the North partes of the Countrey, chanced to bee diuided betweene foure Brethren, whose names were *Trubor*, *Rurico*, *Sinees*, and *Varinus*, and in that countrey Language, when they speak the word *Russe*, it implyeth as much, as to part or diuide. They auouch likewise, that foure other persons made the like partition of the South parts, as *Kio*, *Scieko*, *Choranus*, and a Sister of theirs, named *Libeda*; and euery one termed his Prouince or Territory, according vnto his owne particular name: and so from this their diuision, the Countrey came to be called *Russia*, about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and sixty.

Diuision of the South-parts.

At such time as it was called *Sarmatia*, it consisted of two peculiar Diuisions: Namely, the Blacke and White. White *Sarmatia* contained all that portion that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of *Licefland*, which Prouinces are now termed *Duyna*, *Vagha*, *Vologda*, *Cargapolia*, *Nouogradia*, &c. *Nouogradia* being the chief and Metropolitane City of them all. The Blacke *Sarmatia* contained all the country Southward, towards the black or *Euxine* Sea, with the Dukedome of *Valodemer* of *Mosco*, *Rezan*, *&c.* It is bounded Northward by the *Lappes* and the north Ocean: On the Southside by the Tartars, called *Chrimes*: Eastward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, who possesseth all the country of the Easi side of the *Volgha*, toward the Caspian Sea: On the west and South-west border, lye *Lituania*, *Liuonia*, and *Polonia*.

Of the White and black Sarmates in their distinct diuisions.

All the Countrey beeing brought to the obedience of one Gouernor, do comprehend these cheefe Shyres or Prouinces.

The boundes and bordring of Moscouia.

The ſhires & Prouinces contayned in Moſcouia, much greater thē the ſhires of England.

ces. *Volodomer* (which beareth the firſt place in the Emperors ſtile, becauſe their houſe came firſt of the Dukes of that Countrey) *Mosko*, *Niſnouogrod*, *Plesko*, *Smolensko*, *Nouogrod Velica* (or *Nouogrod* of the Low countries) *Roſtoue*, *Yaruſlaue*, *Bealozera*, *Bezan*, *Duyna*, *Cargapolia*, *Meſchora*, *Vagha*, *Vſtuga*, *Ghaletſa*. Theſe are the ſhyres naturally belonging to *Moſcouia* or *Ruſsia*; but farre greater and larger then the Shires of England; albeit I cannot ſay that they are ſo well peopled. The other Countreyes or Prouinces, which the Emperors haue wonne by power, and more lately annexed to their former Dominion, follow by theſe names. *Twerra*, *Youghoria*, *Permia*. *Vadska*, *Boulghoria*, *Chernigo*, *Oudoria*, *Obdoria*, *Condora*, beſide a great part of *Siberia*, where the people, (though they are not naturall Ruſſians) obey the Emperor of *Ruſsia* or *Moſcouia*, being gouerned by his Countrey Lawes; paying Taxes and Cuſtomes, euen as his owne people doe. Ouer and beſide all which, the Kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan* (not long ſince obtained by conqueſt) are vnder his command.

Prouinces won by force or Conqueſt, and brought in ſubiection to one and the ſame countrie lawes.

Concerning all his poſſeſſions in *Lituania* (to the number of thirtie great Townes, and more) with *Narue* & *Dorp* in *Liuonia:* they are quite gone from him, beeing (of late yeares) ſurprized by the Kings of *Poland* and *Sweden*. The fore-named Prouinces or Shires, are all reduced into foure Iuriſdictions, tearmed by them *Chetfyrds*, as much to ſay, as Tetrarchyes or fourth-parts, whereof wee ſhall haue more occaſion to ſpeake hereafter.

The kingdomes of Cazan and Aſtracan.

Iuriſdictions or tetrarchies

The whole countrey is of great length and bredth: for, from the North vnto the South (meaſuring from *Cola* to *Aſtracan*, leaning ſomewhat Eaſtward) containeth in length about foure thouſand two hundred ſixty miles, which they terme verſt. And yet the Emperor hath more extendure Northward, farre beyond *Cola*, euen to the Riuet of *Tromſchua*, which runneth a thouſand verſt or miles beyond *Pechinga*, neere to *Wardbouſe*, yet not intire nor clearly limited, becauſe the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*, hauing diuers Townes there, as well as the *Ruſſe*; are plotted together, the one with the other, all of them laying claime to thoſe whole North-parts as their owne peculiar right. As for the Countreyes bredth, from that part of the Territory lying fartheſt Weſtward on the *Narue* ſide, to the Eaſtward parts of *Siberia*, where the Emperors Garriſons are kept, is counted forty four thouſand verſt or miles, or thereabout. They holde a Verſt to be a thouſand paces, yet leſſe (by a quarter) then an Engliſh Mile. If the whole Dominion of the Ruſſian Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in al places; he would either hardly hold it all within one Gouernment, or bee too potent for all his neighboring Princes.

The longi-tude and latitude of the whol country

The Kings of Swedon and Denmarke haue diuers Townes amongſt the Ruſſes.

The Emperors dominion not all habitable.

To ſpeake ſomewhat of the Soile and Climate, for the moſt part it conſiſteth of a ſlight ſandy mould, yet differing farre in one place from another; for yeelding ſuch things as the earth affoordeth. Concerning the Countrey North-ward, vnto the parts of Saint *Nicholas* and *Cola*, and North-Eaſt towards *Siberia*; it is all verie barren, and full of deſert woodes, by reaſon of the Clymate, and extremitie of the cold in winter.

Of the ſoyle and Climate in Moſcouia.

Barren ſoyle and deſart woods.

In like manner, along the riuer *Volgha*, betweene the Countries of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, where, though the ſoyle is fruitfull, yet it is vn-inhabited: except on the weſt ſide of the riuer *Volgha*, where the Emperour hath ſome few Caſtells, and garriſons in them. But this is occaſioned by the *Chrim Tartar*, who will neyther himſelfe plant Townes to dwell there (as delighting in an extrauagant and wilde kinde of life) nor yet ſuffer the *Ruſſe* (who is farre off with the ſtrength of his Countrey) to people thoſe parts.

The ſauage & extrauagant kind of life of the Chrim Tartar.

From *Vologda*, which lieth well-neare ſeauen thouſand verſt from the Port of Saint *Nicholas*, downe toward *Mosko*, and ſo towards the South Port, bordering vpon the *Chrim*, contayning the like ſpace of 1700. verſt: it is a very pleaſant and fruitfull Countrey, yeelding paſture and corne, with woods and waters in great plentie. The like is betweene *Rezan* (lying South-eaſt from *Mosko*) to *Nouograd* and *Vobsko*, the which reacheth furtheſt towards the mountaines: So betweene *Mosko* and *Smolensko* (lying South-weſt towards *Lituania*, is a very pleaſant and fruitfull ſoyle.

A very fruitfull and pleaſant countrey

To obſerue the whole Countrey, maketh a great difference from it ſelfe, in regard of the yeares courſe; vrging a ſtrange alteration, betweene Winter and Summer in *Ruſſia*. All the Countrey lyeth in Winter,

A ſtrange inequality of the countrey in winter and Summer.

Winter vnder ſnow, which falleth there continually, contayning (ſometime) two yardes in thickeneſſe, and yet farre greater towardes the North: the Riuers and Waters being all frozen ouer a yard and more in depth of cruſt, how broade or ſwift in current ſoeuer they bee, continuing ſo commonly for the ſpace of fiue moneths; as from the beginning of Nouember, vntill it draw towardes the end of March, and then the Snowes begin to melt.

Mighty deepe ſnowes and ices in Moſcouia.

Well may we iudge of the ayres ſharpneſſe there; becauſe Water dropping downe, or throwne vp into the Aire, freezeth to Ice before it can fall to the groũd. And let a man hold a diſh or pot of pewter in his hand, during the extremitie of Winter (except in ſome chamber where the warme Stoaues are) and his fingers will freeze faſt vnto it, euen to tearing the skin off at the parting with it. And let a man go out of a warme room into a cold, he ſhall ſenſibly feele his breath to grow ſtarke, euen as ſtifling with the cold, drawing it in, and vrging it forth.

The extream freezing cold of the country

Many haue bene noted, not onely ſuch as trauaile abroad, but others in the frequented Markets, and common ſtreetes of Townes, to bee mortally pinched, and meerely killed with colde. So that diuers haue beene ſeene to droppe downe dead in the ſtreetes, and many trauaylers are brought into the Townes, ſittting ſtiffe and dead in their Sleds: yea, ſome haue loſt their noſes, the tips of their eares, the balles of their cheekes, their verie Toes, feete, &c. Many times, when Winter is very hard and violent, Beares & Wolues haue come (by huge troopes) out of the woods, as enforced thereto by meer hunger, and entering into Townes and Villages, haue rent and torne whatſoeuer they could finde or meete withall; whereby the inhabitants were enforced to flight, onely for ſafety of their liues.

Diuers frozen to death with cold, in Markets and frequẽted ſtreets and trauellers on their Sleds

An admirable ſummer time in Moſcouia.

But when the Sommer is come, neuer was ſeene a more freſh and delicate countrey, the woods (conſiſting moſt of Firre and Birch) being ſo ſweet and louely; the Paſtures and Meddowes ſo greene and well growne, yea and vpon a ſodaine, ſuch variety of Flowers, ſuch harmonie of Birdes (chiefely of Nightingales, whoſe notes ſeeme more loud and variable, then in other countries) that no man can lightly trauaile in a more delightfull countrey. From the freſh and ſpeedy growth of the Spring there, the ſnow giueth no meane reaſon of opinion, becauſe all winter time it ſeemeth as mantled in a white Liuerie, which keepeth it warme clothed al winter while, till Spring time, and then the Suns heat diſſolueth it to water. All which, do ſo ſweetly ſympathize with the ground, beſtowing on it ſuch ſufficient drenching and ſoaking (being of a ſlight and ſandie mould, chearing it againe with the ſunnes reuerberating brightneſſe) that it produceth quickly all hearbes and plants in extraordinary aboundance. So that, as winter there ſuperaboundeth in colde, Sommer anſweres it with ſo much the more heate: chiefely in Iune, Iuly, and Auguſt, it equalling then the beſt ayres in any other Countrey.

The reaſon of the ſodaine & freſh ſpring in the Countrey

The Winter not ſo colde, but ſummer is as violently hot.

Comming nowe to ſpeake of the Riuers, the firſt is the famous *Volgha*, whoſe head or Spring ariſeth at an Alder-trees roote, ſome two hundred Verſt beyonde *Yaruſlaue*. It entreth into ſuch bignes by the entercourſe of other riuers gyring into it; that in ſome places it extendeth in bredth a mile and more, till at length it falleth into the *Caſpian* ſea, by eſtimation neere 2800. Verſt or miles in length. *Boriſthenes* is the ſecond, called now *Neper*: diuiding the country from *Lituania*, and thence hauing his courſe into the *Euxine* Sea. *Tanais*, otherwiſe termed *Don* (bounding anciently betweene *Aſia* and *Europ*) ſeemeth to haue his riſing out of the *Rezan Ozera*, paſſing thorough the *Chrim Tartares* Countrey, till hee makes his fall into the Sea-lake, or great Meare, neere to the Cittie of *Azon*, called *Mæotis*. Report runneth among the *Ruſſes*, that from their cheefe Citty of *Moſco*, euen to *Conſtantinople*, and ſo into all thoſe parts of the world; men may eaſily make paſſage by this Riuer. But then the conuoy Boate muſt bee drawne ouer a little *Iſtmus*, ſome fewe Verſtes thwartwiſe, as proofe was not long ſince made of.

Of the principal riuers in Moſcouia, Volgha the chiefe.

Boriſthenes.

Tanais.

Rezan Ozera

Mæotis.

An excellent paſſage afforded by the riuer.

Duyna, being many hundred Miles in length, muſt bee remembred amongſt the reſt, falling North into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and on the Sea-ſide it hath great Rockes of Alablaſter vppon each banke. *Duna* emptieth it ſelfe into the Balticke Sea, neere to the town of *Riga*. And then is

Duyna.

Duna.

Onega.

is *Onega*, which some ninetie Verst from the port of Saint *Nicholas*, hath his downfall into the Bay at *Solouetsco*. Not far beneath *Cargapolia*, this riuer meeteth with another, called *Volocke*, which by *Yama* (a small Towne, droppeth into the *Finland* sea. Into which Sea, from Saint *Nicholas* Port, and so into the Sound, the *Russes* easily passe by water.

Volock.

Suchana

Suchana is another, which flowing into *Duyna*, runneth on into the North sea.

Ocka.

As for *Ocka*, his head commeth from the *Chrims* borders, streaming on into *Volgha*.

Moscua.

And *Moscua* glideth thorough the Cittie *Moscо*, borrowing his name thereof.

Wichida.

Wichida likewise is a very long and spacious riuer, rising out of *Permia*, and falling into the *Volgha*. So much for these memorable riuers in this country.

Such fruite as Moscouia affordeth.

We come now to speak of those fruits as *Moscouia* yeeldeth, which are in diuers kinds; as Apples, Peares, Plums, Cherries red and blacke, but the black ones are wilde. Then haue they a Deene, which is like to a Musk Mellon, but much more sweete and delicious. Also Cucumbers, Gourdes (which they tearme *Arbouse*,) Raspes, Straw-berries, and Hurtleberries, beside many other in great plenty; for euerie Woodde and hedge is well stored with them.

What Corne and Graine the Countrey yeeldeth, and at what rate it is sold.

But if you demand of their Corne and Graine, they haue Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, Pease, Buckway, Psnytha, which resembleth Rice in taste. The Countrey is so ebounding in these Graines, that it can allow a large ouer-plus quantity: for Wheate is sometime there solde for two *Alteens* the *Chetsird*, valewing ten pence sterling, and the measure amounteth well neere to three Bushels.

Their seasons for sowing their Graine.

Concerning seasons of Husbandrie, Rye is there sowen before Winter, and all other graine in the Spring time. Such as dwell farre off in the North, and desert places, as the *Permians*; the partes more Southward do furnish them: beeing constrained yet (sometimes) to make Bread of a Roote called *Vaghnoy*, and of the middle rind of the Firre tree, when any dearth hapneth.

The commodities which in best maner the Countrey affoordeth.

Natiue commodities yeelded by the Countrey are many, and of good worth, for seruice of the peoples best expectation, and benefitting the Emperor, by venting them abroad in the World: for the cold of the Climate (being a naturall inconuenience) by Gods great goodnesse, is therein much remedied. Their cheefest Furres are Blacke Fox, Sables, Lusernes, Dun-fox, Martrones, Gurnstalles or Armines, Lasets or Mineuer, Beuer, Wulueerins, being the skinne of a great water-Rat, that smelleth naturally like Muske; *Calaber* or gray Squirrell, redde Squirrel, red and white Fox, what plentie of these are spent in the Countrey (because the people weare Furres all the winter time) is almost incredible. And yet the Merchants some yeares, transport thence, to the valew of foure or fiue hundred thousand Rubbles, to *Turkie*, *Persia*, *Boulgharia*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, with some other of Christendome.

The principal furres vented thence in merchandize

The places that afford the very best furs in all their seuerall kindes.

In the Countreyes of *Pechora*, *Momgosorfria*, *Obdorskoy*, and other places, do the best Sable furres growe; and the worser in *Siberia*, *Perm*, and such like places. The blacke Foxe and red come from *Siberia*; as from *Pechora* the white and Dun: the Wolues and Beares skins (both beeing white) come also thence. *Perm* yeildeth the choysest Wuluerin, and the best Martrones come from *Syberia*, *Cadam*, *Morum*, *Perm* and *Cazan*. *Gallets* & *Ouglites* send out the best Luserns, Miniuer, and Ermines: yet some come from *Nouogrod* and *Perm*; and *Murmonskey* by *Cola* hath the best breed of Beauers. Common Furres (with some of these fore-named) are in euerie part of the Countrey.

Wax, wherof euery Poode containeth fortie pounde weight.

A second commoditie is waxe, which hath beene shipt thence into far remote Countreyes yearely, the valew of 50000. Pood. Honey also is there in great quantity, spent dayly in their ordinarie drinkes, which is *Mead* of all sorts: and yet carried out of the Countrey in great abundance. *Mordua* and *Cadam* nere vnto *Cheremissen Tartar*, yeeldeth the greatest encrease of Hony: but good store also commeth out of *Seuerskoy*, *Rezan*, *Morum*, *Cazan*, *Dorogobose*, and *Vasma*.

Hony.

Tallow.

Tallow is yeelded in great weight for transportation, by reason of much good ground for feeding Cattle; as also manie Lents obserued among them. Partly beside, because the greatest personnes vse waxe Lights: as the poorer and meaner sort do Byrch, dryed in their stoues, being cut into long slices, called there *Luchineos*.

Many Lents vsed in Moscouia.

os. Some yeares haue ſent away by Shipping, aboue an hundred thouſand Poode yearely, which hath come out of the parts and Territories of *Smolensko*, *Yaruſlaue*, *Ouglits*, *Nouogrod*, *Vologda*, *Otfer* and *Gorodetskey*.

Loſh & Cow-hides, & Buffe

Another principal commodtty is Loſh and Cow-hides : their Loſh and Buffe beeing very faire. Their Bull and Cow-hide is but ſmall of ſize, for Oxen they make none, nor of weather. Strange Marchants haue tranſported thence ſome yeares aboue an hundred thouſand hides, beſide great ſtore of Goats skinnes, ſhipt alſo thence in large number. The breede for the faireſt Loſh or Buffe, is about *Roſtoue*, *Wichida*, *Nouogrod*, *Morum* and *Perm*, as the leſſer ſort are in the kingdom of *Cazan*.

Traine Oyle.

Traine Oyle, beeing made or drawne out of the Seale-fiſh, is no mean commodity there. And becauſe we are ſpeaking of the Seale-fiſh, it ſhall not much diſſent from our matter, to report in what manner they hunt the Seale, whereof afterward this Oyle is made. When the end of Summer draweth neere, and the froſts are not (as yet) begun; they deſcend with their boats into S. *Nicholas* Baye, to the Cape called *Cuſconeſſe* or *Founoſe*, where they leaue their boates till the next ſpting tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme towards the ſpring, and yet the ice not melted in the Bay; they return thither again, and drawing their Boats ouer the ice, vſe them as houſes to lodge and reſt in. Commonly, there are about ſeauenteene or eighteene Fleete of them, being diuided into diuers companies, fiue or ſixe boates alwayes conſorting together.

After what manner they hunt the Seale Fiſh in Moſcouia.

Boates made vſe of to lodg in.

A Beacon fired to giue warning.

Such as light firſt vpon the fiſhes haunt or reſort, do fire a Beacon, carryed with them for the ſame purpoſe, and certaine are appointed, to obſerue when the Beacon ſhall be fired; whereof report beeing made to the other Companies, they reſort all together, compaſſing the Seals round in a ring, as they ly Sunning themſelues together vpon the Ices, being commonly foure or fiue thouſand in a ſhoale. Then euery man, hauing a Clubbe in his hand, enters ſtoutly vpon them; & if they hit them on the noſe, then they are ſoone kilde. But if on the backe or ſides, they beare out the blowes ſtiffely, and manie times catch the club ſo faſt, and holde it downe with their teeth ſo ſtrongly, that the party is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

How they ſet vpon the Seales with their clubbes.

The maner of the Seales is, when they perceiue themſelues beſet round about; to gather all cloſe together, as in a throng or heape, to ſway and beare downe the Ice, and to breake it if they can: which bending of the Ice, brings vp ſuch a Sea-water vpon it, that the Hunters are faine to wade a foote or more deepe. When they haue killed what they can, & intend no further ſlaughter at that time: the hunters fall to ſharing, euery boat his part by equall portions. And ſo they flay them, taking off the skinne from the bodie, and the Lard or fat withall that cleaueth vnto the skinne, which they beare thence with them, going to the ſhore, leauing the bodies behind. Pits they dig in the ground, of a fathome & a halfe in depth, and hauing taken off the Fat or Larde from the skin, caſt it into the pits, and then hurle in hot burning coales to melt it withall. The vppermoſt and pureſt is ſold, and vſed to oyle wooll for cloth: but the groſſer, being red of colour, they ſell to make Sope.

The Seals naturall behauiour whē they are beſette, in their own defence.

The hunters diuide the ſpoile among them.

Great quantity alſo of *Ickary* or *Caueary*, is made vpon the riuer of *Volgha*, out of a Fiſh called *Bellougina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Seueriga*, and the *Sterledey*: moſt part whereof is ſhipt thence by French & Netherland Merchants for *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *England*.

Ickary or Caueary made of Sturgeon.

Flaxe and Hempe is another commodity, whereof hath bene ſhipt at the Port of *Narue*, the more part of an hundered Ships ſmall aud great yearely. But great abatement is in theſe and other commodities, by ſhutting vp the Port of *Narue* towards the *Finland* Sea, which is now in poſſeſſion of the *Sweden*. The ſtop of paſſage alſo ouer land, by the way of *Smolensko* and *Plotsko*, in regard of warre with the *Poland*: which cauſeth the people to be leſſe carefull in prouiding theſe and other commodities, becauſe they want ſale. For growth of Flax, the Prouince of *Vobsko* and countrey thereabout is chiefe: like as *Smolensko*, *Dorogoboſe*, and *Vaſma* is for Hempe.

Flax & Hemp

Great hinderance in venting theyr commodities.

Great ſtore of Salt the Countrey maketh, whereof the beſt is at *Storarouſe* in very great quantity, hauing ſtore of Saltwels, ſome two hundred fifty nine Verſt from

Salt, whereof ſome is made naturally of the ſea water

from the Sea. But at *Astracan*, Salt is naturally made by the Sea-water, which casteth it vp in great hilles, from whence it is digged downe, and carryed away by Merchants, or any that will fetch of it. Three pence *Russe* is payed to the Emperour vpon euery hundred weight of Salt, which is likewise made in many other places, as in *Berm*, *Wichida*, *Totina*, *Kenitsma*, *Souoletskey*, *&c.* all out of Salt-pits, except at *Solouetskey*, which lyeth neare vnto the Sea.

Tarre a great commoditie there.

Tarre also they make great store of, out of Firre trees in the Country of *Duyna* and *Smolensko*, sending no meane plenty theteof abroade. To these before remembred, there are many more (naturall to the countrey) though of meaner estimation: As the fish-tooth, which they call *Ribazuba*, vsed both amongest themseues, and the *Persians* and *Bougharians*, who fetch it thence for Beades, Kniues and Sword-handles for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and diuerse other vses.

A fish tooth called Ribazuba.

Slude, which is there as their Moscouie glasse.

Some doe vse the powder of it against poyson; like to Vnicornes horne, and the fish that oweth it, is called a *Morse*, beeing caught about *Pechora*: Some of these teeth are well-neare two foote in length, and do weigh eleauen or twelue pounds each tooth.

There is a soft Rocke, which they doe cutte into peeces or into thinne flakes, and are naturally to bee vsed and employed as Glasse, for Lant-hornes and such like: but yet yet is not so brittle in breaking as Glasse, yet it dooth giue a farre clearer light. They doe tearme it *Slude*, and it groweth in the Prouince of *Corelia*, and about the Riuer *Duyna*, towardes the North Sea.

Salt-peter & Brimstone

Besides, they make Salt-peter in many places, as at *Ouglites*, *Yaruslaiue*, and *Vstug*; with some meane store of Btimstone vppon the Riuer *Volgha*; but they want skill to refine it.

Iron.

As for their Iron, it is but brittle; yet much thereof is made in *Corelia*, *Cargapoleia*, and *Vstug Thelesna*, for other mines they haue none growing within the kingdome.

What strange beasts are in Moscouia.

As for Beasts of strange kindes, they haue the Losh, the Ollen, the wilde Horse, the Wuluering or Wood-dogge, the Lyserne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Martroun, the blacke and dunne Fox, the white Beare, towards the Sea-coast of *Pechora*, the Gurnstall, and the Laset or Miniuer. Likewise, there is a kinde of Squirrell, hauing growing on the pinion of his shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers, with a farre broader taile then other Squirrels haue, which they doe mooue and shake, as they moue from tree to tree, like to a Wing in resemblance, and seeming as if they flewe thereby, whereby they were called, *Letach Vechshe*, that is to say, flying Squirrells. In the Summer their Hares and Squirrells are of the same colour as other are; but in Winter, the Hare changeth her coate into milke-white, and the Squirrell into grey, and thereof is it that the *Calaber* commeth.

A strange Squirrell.

Hares milke white.

Fallow Deere likewise they haue, the Roe Bucke, and great plenty and store of Goates. Their horsses are but small, yet swift and hard, and both in Winter and Summer, they trauell them vnshod, vsing no respect at all of pace. Small are their sheepe, bearing harsh and course wooll, not so apt and conuenient for the making of Cloath, as is affoorded in diuers other Countries, nor of so good a wearing.

Fallow deere, Roe Bucks, and Goats.

Of Foules they haue of the principall kindes; and great store of Hawkes, as also the Eagle, the Ger-faulcon, the Slight-faulcon, the Gos-hawke, the Tassell, the Spar-hawke. But the principall Hawke breeding in the Countrey is counted the Ger-faulcon. We may not forget other chiefe Foules, as the Swanne wilde and tame in great plentie; the Storke, the Crane, the Tedder, resembling a Feasant in colour, but much bigger, and liueth in the Firre woods. Of Pheazant and Partridge they haue great plenty; and an Owle, so great and ougly to beholde, as few countries affoorde the like, with a huge broad face, and eares much like to a man.

Foules of diuers kindes, both wilde and tame.

We come now to speake of fresh-water Fish, besides the common sort; as Carpes, Pikes, Pearch, Tench, Roach, &c. they haue diuerse kindes very good and delicate. As the *Bellouga* or *Bellougina*, of foure or fiue elles in length; the *Ositrina* or Sturgeon, the *Seueriga* and *Sterledy*, somewhat in fashion and in taste like vnto the Sturgeon, but not so thicke, nor so long.

Varietie of fresh-water Fish and other beside.

The Ribabela or white Salmon.

Theſe foure kindes of Fiſh breed in the *Volgha*, and are there catcht in great abundance, ſeruing generally (as a great food) to the whole kingdome. And of the roes of theſe foure fiſhes, are made very great ſtore of *Icary* or *Caueary*.

Beſides theſe breeding in the *Volgha*, they haue a Fiſh called *Ribabela*, or white Salmon, which they hold to be more delicate then the red Salmon, hauing alſo great plenty of them in the Riuers northward, as in *Duyna* and *Cola*, *&c.* In the *Ozera*, or Lake neare to *Periſlaue*, they haue a ſmall Fiſh, which they call the freſh herring, of the ſame faſhion, and taſting alſo like a Sea herring. From the trades of fiſhing the Emperor hath an yearely large cuſtome, which they practiſe in the Summer: but ſend it frozen in the Winter into all parts of the Realme.

The Moſcouia freſh herring.

Now, becauſe wee aymed at a formalitie in the deſcription, wee enter into a relation of the chiefe and principall Citties in *Moſcouia* or *Ruſsia*, and as our direction guideth vs, theſe are their names.

The names of the cheefeſt Citties in Moſcouia or Ruſsia.

1 *Mosko.*
2 *Nouograd.*
3 *Roſtoue.*
4 *Volodomer.*
5 *Plesko.*
6 *Smolensko.*
7 *Iaruſlaue.*
8 *Periſlaue.*
9 *Niſnouograd.*
10 *Vologda.*
11 *Vſtiuck.*
12 *Golmigroe.*
13 *Cazan.*
14 *Aſtracan.*
15 *Cargapolia.*
16 *Columna.*

The Citie of Moſco very antient.

The Citty of *Moſco* is ſuppoſed to bee of great antiquitie, though the firſt founder thereof be vnknowne to the Moſcouites or *Ruſſe*. It ſeemeth to deriue the name from the riuer, running on the one ſide thereof. *Beroſus* the *Chaldean* telleth vs; that *Nimrod* (in other profane Stories called *Saturne*) ſent *Aſſyrius*, *Medus*, *Moſcus* and *Magog* into *Aſia*, to plant Colonies there, and that *Moſcus* planted both in *Aſia* and *Europe*. Which may make ſome probabilitie, that the City, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the denomination from this *Moſcus*. And ſo much the rather, becauſe of the Climate or ſcituation, which is in the very furtheſt part and liſt of *Europe*, bordering vpon *Aſia*.

Beroſus in li. 5 Moſcus planted Colonies in Aſia and Europe, and Moſco ſeemes to take name of him.

It appeareth, that this Citie was much enlarged by one *Euan* or *Iohn* ſonne vnto *Daniell*, the firſt that changed his Title of Duke into King; though that honor continued not to his poſteritie, the rather, becauſe hee was inueſted into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was *Innocentius* the fourth, about the yere 1246. which was much miſliked by the *Ruſſe* people, being then a part of the Eaſterne or Greeke Church. Since that time, the name of that Cittie hath growne more famous, and much better knowne to the world. Inſomuch, that not only the prouince, but the whole country of *Moſcouia* or *Ruſsia*, is termed by ſome, by the name of *Moſcouia* the Metropolite Cittie.

The firſt changing the title of Duke into King.

Moſcouia the Metropolite Cittie.

The forme of this Citty is (in a maner) round, with three ſtrong walles, circuling the one within the other, and ſtreetes lying betweene, wherof the in-moſt wall, and the buildings cloſed within it, lying ſo faſt (as the heart within the body) fenced and watred with the Riuer *Moskua*, which runneth cloſe by it; is all accounted the Emperours Caſtell. The number of houſes through the whole Citty (being reckoned a litle before it was fiered by the *Chrim*) were 41500. Since the *Tartar* beſieged and fiered it (which was in the yere 1571.) there doth lye waſte of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel ſet and planted with buildings; eſpecially that part on the South ſide of *Moskua*, built (not long before) by *Baſilius* the Emperour for his garriſon of Souldiours, to whom he gaue priuilege to drinke Mead and Beere, at the drie or prohibited times. And for that cauſe called his new Cittie *Naloi*, that is to ſay, *Skinke or poure in*, So that now the Cittie of *Moſco* is not much bigger then the Citty of *London* in *England*.

The model or forme of the cittie.

The number of houſes before the Cities fiering.

When the Chrim Tartar fiered the Cittie.

The next in greatneſſe, and (in a manner) as large, is the Citty *Nouograde*, where happened (as the *Ruſſe* ſayth) the memorable warre, ſo much ſpoken of in Hiſtories, of the *Scythian* ſeruants, that tooke vppe Armes againſt their Maiſters, which they haue reported to be after this manner.

A name giuen to the new cittie.

Nouograde the next great city to Moſco.

The

The historie of the Seruants warre against their Maisters, at their returning home from the Tartars warre.

The *Boiardines* or Gentlemen of *Nouogrâde*, and the adiacent territories (that onely are Souldiers after the discipline of those countries) had warre with the Tartars. Which being well perfourmed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstoode by the way, that their *Cholopey*, or Bondslaues whom they left at home, had (in their absence) possessed their townes, lands, houses, wiues and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their seruants; they made the more speed home, and so, not farre from *Nouograde*, mette them in warrelike maner marching against them.

A worthy resolution in Maisters against their bold slaues.

Whereupon, aduising what was best to be done, they all agreed, to set vppon them with no other shew of weapons, but with their horse whippes (which as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them and abate their courage. And so marching on, lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the on-sette, which seemed so terrible in the eares of the villaines, and strooke such a sence into them of the whips smart (whereof they had sharpely tasted before) that they all fled together, euen like sheepe before their driuers. In memorie of which victorie, the *Nouogradians* (euer since) haue stamped their Coine, which they call a *Dingoe Nouogrodskoy*, currant through all *Russia*: with the figure of a man on horsebacke, shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These two Cities exceede the rest in greatnesse.

A victory wonne by the lashing of whippes only.

Iaruslaue the onely Citie for scituation.

For strength, their chiefe Cities are *Vobsco*, *Smolensco*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, as all lying vpon the borders; but for scituation, *Iaruslaue* farre exceedeth all the rest. Because, beside those commodities yeelded by pasturage and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer *Volgha*, and lookes ouer it, from a banke most faire and stately to beholde, whereof the Towne taketh name. For *Iaruslaue* (in that language) signifieth a faire and famous banke. In this Cittie (as may be well imagined by that name) dwelt the Moscouian or Russe King *Vlademir*, surnamed *Iaruslaue*: that married the daughter to *Harold* King of *England*, by mediation of *Sueno* the *Dane*, as the Danish historie testifieth, about the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand sixty seauen.

A Moscouian King married the King of Englands daughter.

Nothing greatly memorable, is to be spoken of the other Citties and Townes, but onely ruines within their walles: which declareth the peoples decrease vnder this gouernement. In stead of pauing, the streetes (in their Townes and Citties) are plancked with Firre trees, plained and layd euen close one to an other. Their houses are of wood, without any Lime or Stone, built very close and warme, with Firre trees playned, and layd one vppon another, being fastened together with dents or notches at euerie corner, and so clapped fast together. Betwixt the trees of timber, they thrust in Mosse, whereof they gather plenty in the woods, to keepe out the ayre: And euery house hath a paire of staires, which leade vppe into the chambers out of the yard or streete, after the Scottish maner. This building appeareth farre better for their Countrey, then that of Stone and Bricke; because they are danker and more colde, then those woodden houses; especially them of Firre, which is a verie drie and warme kinde of wood: whereof God hath prouided them such store, that a faire house may be built for twenty or thirty Rubbels, or litle more where wood is scantest.

Pauing of the streetes.

The Moscouian manner of building their houses.

Bricke and Stone is no conuenient building in Moscouia.

Onely the greatest inconuenience of their woodden building, is the aptnesse for fiering, which happeneth there verie often, and in as fearefull sort, by reason of the drienesse and fatnesse of the Firre, that beeing once fiered, it burneth like vnto a Torch, and is hardly quenched, till all be quite consumed.

The danger of their wodden houses.

CHAP. II.

Our second Tract, relateth of what Linage or house the great Emperors are descended: And a view of their enstalment or Inauguration in that supreame dignitie: with the form of publike Gouernment, & order obserued in holding their Parliaments. Then, of the Nobility, dignifying the state, with the regiment of their Prouinces; and Councell attending vpon the Emperour: His Customes, Reuennews & Sophismes; and a breefe relation of the Comminaltie, in their obedience and seruice.

Originall of the Moscouian Imperiall house from the kings of Hungary.

THE firname of the Imperial house of *Moscouia* or *Russia*, is called *Beala*, receiuing Originall (as is supposed) from the kings of *Hungaria*, which may appeare the more probable; because the *Hungarian* Kings (many years since) haue borne that name, as is noted by *Bonfinius*, and other Histories wrirten of that Countrey. For, about the yeare, 1059. mention is made of one *Beala*, that succeeded his brother *Andreas*, who reduced the Hungarians to the Christian Faith, from which they were faln by Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called *Beala* the Blinde, after whome succeeded diuers of the same name.

The house Bealæ not naturally Moscouian or Russe.

That their Ancestours came not of the *Russe* Nation, *Iuan Vasilowich* (Father to this Emperour) would many times boast, disdaining (as it should seeme) to haue his progeny deriued from the Russian blood. As namely, to an English-man his Goldsmith, that had receiued Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whom the Emperour commanded, to looke wel to his weight. For my *Russes* (said he) are all Theeues. Whereat the workman, looking stedfastly vpon the Emperor, began to smile.

Familiar talk betweene the Emperor, and an English Goldsmith.

The Emperour being of verie quicke conceite, charged him to tell, what hee smiled at. If your Maiesty will pardon me (quoth the Gold-smith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse sayde, that all the *Russes* were Theeues, and forgotte (in the meane while) that your selfe was a *Russe*. I thought so sayde the Emperor, but thou art deceyued, for I am no *Russe*: my Ancestours were *Germaines* (for so they account the Hungarians, to bee part of the Germaine Nation) although (indeede) they come of the *Hunnes*, who mollested and inuaded that country, and rested in those partes of *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*.

How they aspired to the Dukedome of *Volodemer* (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into *Moscouia*.) And whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes; no certainty is to be learned among them. But from these beginnings, of a small Dukedom (which bare notwithstanding an absolute gouernment with it, as at that time did all the other Shires or Prouinces of *Moscouia*) this house of *Beala* spred it selfe foorth, and aspired (by degrees) vnto the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, as it is a thing well knowne, and bnt of late memory.

How first they came to the Dukedome of Volodemer not knowne.

The cheefe of that house, that aduanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions: were the three last that reigned before this Emperour, to witte, *Iuan Basilieus*, and *Iuan*, Father to the other that reigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke vnto him the Name and Title of Emperor, was *Basilieus*, Father to *Iuan*, and Grandfather vnto this man. For (before that time) they onely were contented, to bee called by the Name of Great Dukes of *Mosco* or *Moscouia*.

The aduancement of the house of Bealæ.

What hath beene done by eyther of these three, and how much they haue added vnto their first estate, eyther by Conquest, or otherwise; wee shall shew more at large, when we come to speake of their Collonies, or purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of *Beala* at this present, is in like case, as are many of the greatest Houses of Christendome, (Viz:) the whole Stocke and Race, concluded in one, two, or some fewe of the blood. For, besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no childe (neyther is like euer to

Reference to a place of better conueniency.

No hope of iſſue by the Emperour.

to haue, for ought that can bee coniectured by the conſtitution of his bodye, and barrenneſſe of his wife, after ſo many yeares marriage) there is but one more, which is a Childe of ſixe or ſeauen yeares olde, in whom reſteth all the hope of ſucceſſion, and poſteritie of that houſe.

A great miſhap & much lamented, coſting alſo the Fathers life.

As for the other Brother, that vvas eldeſt of the three, and of the beſt towardneſſe: hee dyed of a blow giuen him by his Father vppon the head (in furie) with his walking Staffe, or (as ſome ſay) of a thruſt with the prong of it, driuen deep into his head. That hee meant him no ſuch mortall harme, when hee gaue him the blowe, appeared by his wonderfull great mourning and paſſion after his Sonnes vntimely death; which neuer left him, vntill it brought him to his Graue. Wherein may bee noted the Iuſtice of God, that punniſhed his delight in ſhedding of blood, with this murther of his Sonne by his owne hand. And ſo ended his dayes and tyranny together, with the murthering of himſelfe by extream greef, for this his vnhappy, and moſt vnnatural facte.

Treachery attempted againſt the yong Princes life.

The Emperours younger Brother, of ſixe or ſeauen yeares olde (as was ſaid before;) is kept in a remote place from the *Mosko*, vnder the tuition and gouernment of his Mother, and her Kindred, of the houſe of the *Nagaies*: yet not ſafe (as I haue heard) from atempts of making away, by practiſe of ſome that would aſpire vnto the Crowne, if the Emperour dye without any yſſue. For, the Nurſe that taſted before him of certaine meate, (as I haue heard reported) dyed immediately.

Qualities of no great commendation.

That he is the Naturall Sonne vnto *Iuan Vaſilowich*, the *Ruſſe* people warrant it, by the fathers qualities, which appear alreadie in his tender yeeres. He delights to ſee Sheepe and other Cattle kilde, and to looke on their throates, while they are bleeding (which commonly, children are affrayde to beholde) and to beate Geeſe and Hennes with a Staffe, till he ſee them dead.

Another title of inheritance by the Dutches of Holſt.

Beſides theſe of the maſle kinde, there is a Widdow, that hath right in the ſucceſſion, Siſter to the olde Emperour, and Aunt to him liuing; ſometime wife vnto *Magnus*, Duke of *Holſt*, Brother to the King of *Denmarke*, by whom ſhe had one daughter.

This Woman, ſince the death of her Husband, hath beene allured againe into *Ruſsia*, by ſome that loue the ſucceſſion better then her ſelfe, which appeareth by the ſequele. For her ſelfe, with her daughter, ſo ſoone as they were returned againe into *Ruſsia*, were thruſt into a Nunnery, where her daughter dyed this laſt yeare, but of no naturall diſeaſe, as was ſuppoſed.

The daughter dying in the Nunnery, the Mother liueth in no meane angniſh.

The Mother remaineth ſtill in the Nunnery, bewayling her ſelfe, and curſing the time when ſhee returned into *Ruſsia*, enticed with the hope of Marriage, and many other fayre promiſes in the Emperours name. And thus it ſtandeth with the Imperiall ſtocke of *Ruſsia*, of the Houſe of *Beala*, which is like to determine in thoſe that now are, and to make a conuerſion of the *Ruſſe* Eſtate. If it bee into a Gouernement of ſome better temper, and milder conſtitution; it will bee happie for the people, that are nowe oppreſſed with intollerable ſeruitude.

Our nexte Diſcourſe, muſt extend it ſelfe, to report ſuch ſolemnities, as are commonly vſed at the *Ruſſe* Emperors Corronation, which followeth in this manner.

Of the manner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Ruſſe Emperors.

THE ſolemnities vſed at the *Ruſſe* Emperors Corronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of *Prechiſte* (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Caſtle, is erected a ſtage, whereon ſtandeth a Screene, that beareth vppon it the Imperiall Cappe and Robe, of exceeding rich ſtuffe. When the day of Inauguration is come, there reſorte thether, firſt the Patriarche with the Metropolitanes, Arch-byſhops, Byſhoppes, Abbots, and Priors, all richly clad in their *Pontificalibus*. Then enter the Deacons, with the Quier of ſingers: who ſo ſoon as the Emperor ſetteth foot into the church

The Eccleſiaſticall attendants.

begin to ſing: *Many yeares may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c.* Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolite, with the reſt of the Cleargy, anſwere with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a prayer, ſinging it al together, with a great noiſe. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the ſtage, where ſtandeth a ſeat ready for the Emperour. Whereon the Patriarch willeth him to ſit down, and then placing himſelfe by him, vppon another ſeate prouided for that purpoſe, boweth down his head toward the groũd, and ſaith this prayer.

The prayer vttered by the Patriarch, before the Coronation.

Oh Lord God, King of Kinges, Lord of Lords, which by the Prophet Samuell diddeſt chuſe thy ſeruant Dauid, and annoint him for King ouer thy people Iſrael; heare nowe our Prayers, and looke from thy Sanctuarie vpon this thy ſeruant Theodore, whome thou haſt choſen, and exalted for King, ouer theſe thy holy Nations. Annoint him with the Oyle of gladneſſe, protect him by thy power, put vpon his head a Crowne of Gold & precious ſtones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the ſeat of Iuſtice, ſtrengthen his arme, make ſubiect vnto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart; turne him from an euill Faith, and from all errour, and ſhew him the ſaluation of thy holie and vniuerſall Church; that he may iudge thy people with Iuſtice, and protect the children of the poore; and finally attaine euerlaſting life. This praier he ſpeaketh with a low voyce, and then pronounceth alowd: *All praiſe and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.*

The Ceremonies to bee vſed in order.

The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the Imperiall Robe and Cap; which is done verie decently, and with great ſolemnitie, the Patriarch withall pronouncing alowde; *Peace be vnto all.* And ſo he beginneth another prayer to this effect: *Bow your ſelues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preſerue him (O Lord) vnder thy protection, keepe him that he may do good and holy things, let iuſtice ſhine foorth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without ſtrife and malice.*

This is pronounced ſomwhat ſoftly by the Patriarch, whereto he addeth againe alowd: *Thou art the King of the whol world, and the Sauiour of our ſoules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt, be all praiſe for euer and euer, Amen.* Then putting on the Robe and the Cap, he bleſſeth the Emperor with the ſigne of the Croſſe: ſaying withall; *In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt.* The like is done by the Metropolites, Arch-byſhops, and Byſhops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another, doe bleſſe the Emperor with their two forefingers.

According to their ancient cuſtome

Then is ſaide by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth, *O moſt holy Virgin, mother of God, &c.* After which, a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowde voyce: *Manie yeares to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Ruſsia, &c.* Wherto the other prieſts and Deacons, that ſtand ſomewhat far off by the Altar or Table, anſwere ſinging: *Many yeares, many yeares to the noble Theodore.* The ſame note is taken vppe by the Prieſtes and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left ſide of the Church, and then all together they chaunt and thunder out, ſinging; *Many yeeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour of all Ruſsia,* &c.

Homage and obeyſance done to the Emperor.

Theſe ſolemnities being ended, firſt cõmeth the Patriarch with the Metropolits, Arch-byſhops, and Byſhoppes; then the Nobility, and the whol companie in their order, to doe homage vnto the Emperour, bending downe theyr heades, and knocking them at his feete vnto the very ground.

The Stile wherewith hee is inueſted at his Corronation, *runneth after this* manner.

THeodore Iuanowich, by the Grace of God, great Lord and Emperor of all Ruſsia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Nouograd, King of Cazan, King of Aſtracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others. Lord and great Duke of Nouograd of the Low Countreyes, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Roſtoue, Yaruſlauely, Bealozera, Lieſland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenſa: Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and Lorde of many other Countries, &c.

This

The Emperor proud of his many Titles.

This ſtyle containeth in it all the Emperors Prouinces, and ſetteth foorth his greatneſſe. And therefore they haue a very great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people, but likewiſe ſtrangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperor by ſpeech or writing) to repeate the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and ſometimes quarrell, betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambaſſadors; who refuſe to call him *Czar*, that is Emperor, and to repeat the other parts of his long ſtyle.

The State or forme of their gouernment.

The manner of their Gouernement, is much after the Turkiſh faſhion: which they doe ſeeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities (in politick affayres) will giue them leaue to doe.

The Ruſſe gouernment tyrannical.

The State and forme of their Gouernement is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a moſt open and barbarous manner; as may appeare by the *Sophiſmata*, or ſecrets of their Gouernment afterward ſet down, aſwel for the keeping of the Nobility and Commons in an vnder proportion, and farre vneuen ballance in their ſeuerall degrees; as alſo in their impoſitions and exactions, wherein they exceed al iuſt meaſure, without any regard of Nobilitie or people.

Exaction in Noblemen ouer the meaner ſort.

Furthermore, it giueth the Nobilitie a kinde of iniuſt, and vnmeaſured liberty, to command and exact vppon the Commons and baſer ſors of people, in all parts of the Realme whereſoeuer they come, eſpecially in the place where theyr Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperor to gouerne vnder him. Alſo to the Commons ſome ſmall contentment, in that they paſſe ouer their lands (by diſcent of inheritance) to whither ſon they will: which commonly they do after our *Gauill kinde*, and diſpoſe of their goodes by gift or Teſtament, without anie controulment. Wherein notwithſtanding. both Nobility and Commons are but ſtorers for the Prince, all running in the end into the Emperors Coffers: as may appear by the practiſe of enriching his treaſurie, and the manner of Exactions ſette downe in the title of his Cuſtomes and Reuennewes.

The Nobilitie and Cómons, ſtorers for the Prince.

Concerning the principall points and matters of State, wherein the Soueraignty conſiſteth (as the *making and annulling of publike Lawes, the making of Magiſtrats, power to make warre or league with any forraine State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of appeale in all matters, both ciuill and criminall*) they doe ſo wholly and abſolutely pertaine to the Emperor and his Councell vnder him; as that hee may be ſaide to be the Soueraigne Commander; and the executioner of all theſe. For, as touching any Law or publike order of the Realme, it is euer determined of, before any publike Aſſembly or Parliament bee ſummoned. Where beſides his Councel, he hath none other to conſult with him of ſuch matters as are concluded before hād but onely a few Byſhoppes, Abbots, and Friars: to no other end, then to make aduantage of the peoples ſuperſtitions, euen againſt themſelues which think to be holy and iuſt, that paſſeth with conſent of their Byſhops and Cleargy men, whatſoeuer it bee.

Of Soueraign power.

Benefit made by corruption

For which purpoſe, the Emperors are content to make much of the corupt ſtate of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nouriſh the ſame by extraordinary fauours and immunities to the Byſhopps Seas, Abbeyes, and Fryaries: as knowing, ſuperſtition and falſe Religion beſt to agree with a tyrannicall State, and to be a ſpeciall meanes to vphold and maintaine the ſame.

Offices giuen by the Emperor himſelfe.

Secondly, as touching the publique Offices and Magiſtracies of the Realme, there is none Hereditarie, neyther any ſo great nor ſo little in that Countrey, but the beſtowing of it, is done immediately by the Emperour himſelfe. Inſomuch, that the very Diackes or Clearkes in euery head Towne, are (for the moſt part) aſſigned by himſelfe. Notwithſtanding, the Emperor that now is (the better to entend his Deuotions) referreth al ſuch matters pertaining to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wiues brother, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*.

Of iudiciall matters concerning life & death.

Thirdly, the like is to bee ſaide of the Iuriſdiction, concerning matters iudicial, ſpecially ſuch as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authority, or publike Iuriſdiction that goeth by diſcent, or is held by Charter; but al at the appointment and pleaſure of the Emperour.

And

And the ſame practiſed by the Iudges with ſuch awe and reſtraint; as that they dare not determine vpon any ſpecial matter, but muſt referre the ſame wholly, vp the *Mosko* to the Emperours Councell. To ſhew his Soueraignty ouer the liues of his Subiects, the late Emperour *Iuan Vaſilowich* (in his walkes or progreſſes) if he had miſliked the face or perſon of any man whom hee met by the way, or that looked vpon him; would command his head to be ſtrook off. Which was preſently done, and the head caſt before him.

The Emperors power ouer life.

Fourthly, for the ſoueraigne appeale, and giuing of pardons in criminall matters to ſuch as are conuicted; it is wholly at the pleſure and grace of the Emperor. Wherein alſo the Empreſſe that now is, being a woman of great clemency, and withall, delighting to deale in publike affaires of the Realme, (the rather to ſupply the defect of her husband) doth behaue her ſelfe after an abſolute manner, giuing out pardon (ſpecially on her birth day, & other ſolemne times) in her owne name, by open Proclamation, without any mention at all of the Emperor.

Of appeales and pardon in criminall caſes.

The Empres her free pardon.

Their higheſt Court of publike conſultation for matter of State, is called the *Zabore*, that is, the *Publike Aſſembly*. The ſtates and degrees of perſons that are preſent at their Parliaments, are theſe in order. Firſt, the Emperour himſelfe. Secondly, ſome of his Nobility, about the number of twenty, being all of his Councell. Thirdly, certaine of the Cleargy-men, &c. about the ſame number. As for Burghers, or other to repreſent the Comminalty, they haue no place there: the people beeing of no better account with them, then as ſeruants or bondſlaues, that are to obey, not to make lawes, nor to know any thing of publike matters, before they are concluded.

The manner of holding their Parliaments.

No commons in Parliament

The Court of Parliament (called *Zabore*) is held in this manner. The Emperour cauſeth to be ſummoned ſuch of his Nobility, as himſelfe thinketh meete, being (as was ſaid) all of his Councell: together with the Patriarch, who calleth his Cleargy, to wit, the two Metropolites, the two Archbiſhops, with ſuch Biſhops, Abbost, and Fryars, as are of beſt account and reputation among them. When they are all aſſembled at the Emperors Court, the day is intimated when the Seſſion ſhal begin. Which commonly is vpon Friday, for the religion of that day.

The order of the ſummons or aſſembling

When the day is come, the Cleargy-men aſſemble before, at the time & place appointed, which is called the *Stolly*. And when the Emperour commeth attended by his Nobility, they ariſe all, and meete him in an out-roome, following their Patriarch, who bleſſeth the Emperour with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his forehead, and the ſides of his face, & then kiſſeth him on the right ſide of his breaſt. So they paſſe on into their Parliament houſe, where they ſit in this order. The Emperor is enthronized on the one ſide of the Chamber. In the next place, not farre from him, at a ſmall ſquare Table (that giueth roome to twelue perſons or thereabouts) ſitteth the Patriarch, with the Metropolites and Biſhops, & certaine of the principall Nobility of the Emperours Councell, together with two Diacks or Secretaries (called *Dumnoy Dyakey*) that enact that which paſſeth. The reſt place themſelues on Benches round about the Roome, euery man in his ranck after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who repreſenteth the Speaker) the cauſe of their aſſembly, and the principall matters that they are to conſider of. For, to propound bils, what euery man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as in other Countries is vſed) the *Ruſſe* Parliament alloweth no ſuch cuſtome, nor liberty to ſubiects.

The place of meeting for the aſſembly.

Their maner of ſitting in Parliament.

The points being opened, the Patriarch (with his Cleargy-men) haue the prerogatiue, to be firſt asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the pointes propounded by the Secretary. Whereto they anſwere in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme, without any diſcourſe: as hauing learned their Leſſon before, that ſerueth their turnes at al Parliaments alike, whatſoeuer is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. *That the Emperor and his Councell are of great wiſedome, and experience, touching the pollicies and publike affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to iudge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend vpon the ſeruice of God onely, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may pleaſe them to proceede. That inſtead of their aduiſe, they will aide them with their prayers, as their duties*

Their diſcourſe at Parliament.

The effect of the ſpeech propounded.

ties and vocations do require, &c. To this or like effect, hauing made their answeres euery man in his course, vp standeth some Abbot or Fryar, more bold then the rest (yet appointed before hand, as a matter of forme) and desireth the Emperor it wold please his Maiesty, to command to be deliuered vnto them, what his Maiesties owne iudgement, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his *Deiake?*

The forme of the Emperors answere.

Whereto is replied by the saide Secretary, in the Emperors name. *That his Highnesse, with those of his Noble Councell (vpon good and sound aduice) haue found the matters proposed, to bee very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are religious men, and know what is right; his Maiesty requireth their godly opinions, yea and their censures too, for the approuing or correcting of the saide propositions. And therefore desireth them againe, to speake their mindes freely. And if they shall like to giue their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Heereunto, when the Cleargy-men haue giuen their consents (which they vse to do without any great pausing) they take their leaues, with blessing of the Emperor: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his seate, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Actes that thus are passed by the *Zabore* or Parliament, the *Deiakeis* or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into euery Prouince, & head-towne of the Realme, to bee published there, by the Dukes & *Deiakeis*, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended; the Emperour inuiteth the Cleargy-men to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart euery man to his home.

Of the Nobility, and by what meanes it is kept in an vnder proportion, agreeable to that State.

The degrees of persons or estates of *Russia* (besides the Soueraigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in order. First, the Nobility which is of four sorts. Whereof the chiefe for birth, authority, and reuennue, are called the *Vdelney Knazey*, that is, the exempt or priuiledged Dukes. These held sometime a seuerall iurisdiction, and absolute authotity within their Precincts, much like vnto the States or Nobles of *Germany*. But afterwards (reseruing their rights vpon composition) they yeelded themselues to this house of *Beala*, when it began to waxe mighty, and to enlarge it selfe by ouermatching their neighbours. Onely they were bound to serue the Emperour in his warres, with a certaine number of horse. But the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to this Prince, beeing a man of high spirit, and subtle in his kinde, meaning to reduce his gouernement into a more strickt forme; began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the ende, he made them not onely his vassals, but his *Kolophey*, that is, his very villains or bond-slaues. For so they terme & write themselues, in any publike instrument or priuate petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their authorities, lands, liues and all at the Emperors pleasure, as the rest do.

The cunning of the late Emperour.

The meanes and practise whereby he wrought this to effect, against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast priuate emulations among them, about prerogatiue of their Titles and Dignities. Wherein he vsed to set on the Inferiors, to preferre or equall themselues to those, that were accounted to be of the Nobler houses. Where hee made his aduantage of their mallice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiuing deuised matter, and accusations of secret practise and conspiracies, to bee intended against his person and state. And so, hauing singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off, with the good liking of the rest; hee fell at last to open practise, by forcing of the other to yeeld their rights vnto him.

The Emperors practise and proceeding against both the Factions.

2. He diuided his subiects into two parts or Factions by a generall schisme. The one part he called the *Oppressini* or *Select men*. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry, as hee tooke to his owne part, to protect, and maintaine them as his faithfull subiects. The other he called *Zemskey*, or the *Commons*. The *Zemskey* contained the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his gouernment, and to haue a meaning to practise against him. Wherein he prouided that the *Oppressini*, for number

The Faction of Oppressini and Zemskey, deuised by the Emperor.

ber and quality of valour, money, armor, &c. far exceeded the other of the *Zempskey* side, whom hee put (as it were) from vnder his protection: so that if any of thē were spoyled or killed by those of the *Oppressini* (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee sought for, by way of publike iustice, or by complaint to the Emperor.

The distinguishing of the Oppressini & Zempskey each from other.

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that euery man knew, who was a *Zempskey* man, and who of the *Oppressini*. And this liberty of the one part, to spoyle and kill the other, without any helpe of Magistrate, or law (that continued seuen years) enriched that side and the Emperors treasury, and wrought that withall, which hee intended by this practise, viz. to take out of the way such of the Nobility, as himselfe misliked: wherof were slaine (within one weeke) to the number of three hūdred within the Citty of *Mosko*. This tyrannicall practise, of making a generall Schisme, and publike diuision among the subiects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seem) from an extreme doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceiued of most of his Nobility, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his warres with the *Polonian* and *Chrim Tartar*. What time he grew into a vehement suspition (conceiued of the ill successe of his affayres) that they practised treason with the *Polonian* and *Chrim*. Whereupon he executed some, and deuised this way to be rid of the rest.

The reason of this cruell practise.

And this wicked pollicy and tyrannous practise (though now it be ceassed) hath so troubled that Country, and filled it so full of grudge and mortall hatred euer since, that it will not bee quenched (as it seemeth now) till it burne againe into a ciuill flame.

3 Hauing thus pulled them, and seased all their inheritance, lands, priuiledges, &c. saue some very small part, which he left to their name; he gaue them other lands of the tenour of *Pomestnoy* (as they cal it) that are held at the Emperors pleasure, lying farre off in another Country, and so remoued them into another of his Prouinces, where they might haue neyther fauour, nor authority, not being natiue nor well knowne there. So that now these of the cheefe Nobility (called *Vdelney Knazey*) are equalled with the rest: saue that in the opinion and fauor of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the prerogatiue of their place, in all their publike meetings.

Lands helde at the Emperors pleasure.

Their practise to keepe downe these houses from rising againe, and recouering their dignities, are these, & such like. First, many of their heyres are kept vnmarried perforce, that the stock may dye with thē. Some are sent into *Siberia*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, vnder pretence of seruice, & there eyther made away, or else fast clapped vp. Some are put into Abbeyes, and sheare themselues Fryars by pretence of a vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced vnto it by fear, vpon some pretenced crime obiected against them. Where they are so garded by some of speciall trust, and the Couent it selfe (vpon whose head it standeth, that they make no escape) as that they haue no other hope, but to end their liues there. Of this kinde, there are many of very great Nobility.

Houses kept downe from rising and recouering their Dignity.

These and such like wayes (begun by the Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich*) are still practised by the *Godonoes*, who being aduanced by the mariage of the Empresse their kinswoman; rule both the Emperor, and his Realme, (specially *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Empresse) & endeuour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and auncientest Nobility. Whereof diuers already they haue taken away, whom they thoght likeliest to make head against them, and to hinder their purpose, as *Knez Andreas Guraken Bulgatkoue*, a man of great birth and authority in the Country. The like they haue done with *Peeter Gollanni* (whō they put into a dungeon where hee ended his life) with *Knez Vasilie Vriwich Golloohen*, with *Andrieu Inanowich Suskoy*, accounted among them for a man of great wisedome. So this last yeare was killed in a Monastery, (whether they had thrust him) on *Knez Iuan Petrowich Suskoy*, a man of great valour, and seruice in that Country: who about fiue or sixe yeares since, bare out the siedge of the Citty *Vobsko*, made by *Stepan Batore* King of *Polonia*, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe and his Country, & disgrace to the *Polonian*. Also *Micheta Romanowich*,

Many of the Nobility secretly & trecherously made away.

No respect of persons made among them.

manowich, Vnckle to the Emperor by the Mothers ſide, was ſuppoſed to haue died of poyſon, or ſome ſuch like practiſe.

Names of the greateſt houſes of the *Ruſſe* Nobility.

The names of theſe Families of greateſt Nobility, are theſe in their order. The firſt is of *Cnez Volodemer*, which reſteth at this time in one daughter a widdow, and without childrē (mentioned before) ſomtime Wife to *Hartock Magnus*, brother to the King of *Denmarke*, now cloſed within a Nunnery. The ſecond *Knez Metheloskey*, thruſt into a Friery, and his onely ſonne kept from marriage, to decay the houſe. The third *Glimskoy*: but one left of his houſe, and he without children, ſaue one daughter. The fourth *Suskoy*, whereof there are foure brethren young men, and vnmarried all. The fift *Hubetskoy*. Of this houſe are foure liuing. The ſixt *Bulgaloy*, now called *Guletchey* houſe, whereof are fiue liuing, but youths all. The ſeauenth *Vorallinskoy*. Two left of that ſtock. The eight *Odgoskey*. Two. The ninth *Telletskoy*. One. The tenth *Taytoue*. Three. Theſe are the names of the cheefe Families called *Vdelney Knazay*: that in effect haue loſt all now, ſaue the very name it ſelfe, and fauour of the people, which is like one day to reſtore them againe, if any be left.

The ſecond degree of Nobility.

The ſecond degree of Nobility, is of the *Boiarens*. Theſe are ſuch, as the Emperor honoureth (beſide their Nobility) with the Title of Counſellers. The reuennue of theſe two ſorts of Nobles, that riſeth out of their Lands aſſigned them by the Emperor, and held at his pleaſure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was ſaid before) is about a thouſand marks a yeare: beſides a penſion which they receiue of the Emperour, for their ſeruice in his wars, to the ſumme of ſeuen hundred Rubbels a yeare, and none aboue that ſumme.

The authority of the Empreſſes Brother, and his large Inheritances.

But in this number, the Lord *Borris Federowich Godenoe* is not to be reckoned, that is like a *Tranſendent*, and in no ſuch predicament with the reſt, being the Emperors brother in law, his Protectour for direction; for command and authority Emperor of *Ruſsia*. His yearely reuennue (in land and penſion) amounteth to the ſumme of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. He hath of inheritance (which himſelfe hath augmented in *Vaſma Dorogoboſe*, ſixe thouſand Rubbels a yeare. For his Office of *Connick*, or Maſter of the Horſe, twelue thouſand Rubbels, or Markes, raiſed out of the *Canaslue Sloboday*, or the liberties pertaining to that Office, which are certaine Lands and Townes neere about the *Mosko*. Beſides, all the Meddow and Paſture ground on both ſides the banke of the riuer *Mosko*, thirty verſt vp the ſtreme, and forty verſt downwards. For his penſion of the Emperour (beſides the other for his Office) fifty thouſand Rubbels. Out of the Prouince or Shire of *Vagha*, there is giuen him for a peculiar (exempted out of the *Chetfird* of *Poſolskoy*, two & thirty thouſand Rubbels, beſide a rent of Furs. Out of *Rezan* and *Seuer*, (another peculiar) thirty thouſand Rubbels. Out of *Otfer* and *Turiock*, another exempt place, eight thouſand Rubbels. For rent of Bathſtoaues and Bathing-houſes without the walles of *Mosko*, fifteene hundred Rubbels. Beſides his pomeſt, or lands which he holdeth at the Emperours pleaſure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the reſt of the Nobility.

Allowance for a ſimple Brother.

One other there is of the houſe of *Glinskoy*, that diſpendeth in land and penſion, about forty thouſand Rubbels yearely. Which he is ſuffered to enioy, becauſe he hath married *Borris* his Wiues ſiſter, being himſelfe ſimple, and almoſt a Naturall. The ordering of him & his Lands are committed to *Borris*.

The third ſort of Nobility.

In the third rancke are the *Voyauodey*, or ſuch Nobles as are, or haue beene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliuer the honour of their Title to their poſterities alſo: who take their place aboue the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former ſorts, viz. of the *Vdelney Knazey*, nor of the *Boiarens*.

Theſe three degrees of their Nobility (to wit) the *Vdelney Knazey*, the *Boiarens*, and the *Voiauodey* haue the addition of *Vich*, put vnto their firname as *Borris Federowich*, &c. which is a note of honor, that the reſt may not vſurpe. And in caſe it be not added in the naming of thē; they may ſue the *Beſtcheſt*, or penalty of diſhonor vpon them, that otherwiſe ſhall terme them.

The fourth degree of Nobility.

The fourth and loweſt degree of Nobility with them, is of ſuch as beare the name of *Knazey* or Dukes, but come of the yonger Brothers of thoſe chiefe houſes,

ſes, through many diſcents, and haue no inheritance of their owne, ſaue the bare name or title of Duke onely. For their order is, to deliuer their names and titles of their dignities ouer to all their Children alike, whatſoeuer elſe they leaue thē. So that the ſonnes of a *Voiauodey*, or Generall in the fielde, are called *Voiauodey*, though they neuer ſaw the fielde, and the ſonnes of a *Knez* or Duke, are called *Knazey*, though they haue not one groat of inheritance or liuelyhood, to maintaine themſelues withall. Of this ſort there are ſo many, that the plenty maketh them cheape: ſo that you ſhall ſee Dukes glad to ſerue a meane man, for fiue or ſix rubbels or marks a yeare; and yet rhey will ſtand highly vpon their *Beſtcheſt* or reputation of their honours. And theſe are their ſeuerall degrees of Nobility.

The ſecond degree of perſons.

The ſecond degree of perſons, is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the ſons of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, & hold that name by their ſeruice in the Emperors wars, being Soldiors by their very ſtocke & birth. To which order are referred their Diacks or Secretaries, that ſerue the Emperor in euery head towne, being ioyned in Commiſſion with the Dukes of that place.

The third degree.

The laſt are their Commons, whom they call *Mouſicks*. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very loweſt & baſeſt ſort of this kinde (which are helde in no degree) are their Country people, whom they call *Chriſtianeis*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all Soldiours) we are to ſee in the deſcription of their Forces, and Military prouiſions. Concerning their *Mouſicks*, what their condition and behauiour is, expect them among the Common people.

Of the gouernment of their Prouinces & Shires.

The whole Country of *Ruſsia* (as was ſaide before) is diuided into foure parts, which they call *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Euery *Chetfird* containeth diuers Shires, and is annexed to a ſeuerall Office, whereof it takes the name.

The foure Chetfirds, and their Offices.

The firſt *Chetfird* or *Tetrarchy* beareth the name of *Foſoskoy Chetfird*, or the *Iuriſdiction of the Office of Ambaſſages*, and at this time is vnder the chiefe Secretary & Officer of the Ambaſſages, called *Andreas Shalcaloue*. The ſtanding fee or ſtipend that he receiueth yearely of the Emperor for this ſeruice, is one hundred rubbels or markes.

The ſecond.

The ſecond is called the *Roſeradney Chetfird*, becauſe it is proper to the *Roſerade* or high Conſtable. At this time it pertaineth (by vertue of Office) to *Baſilie Shalcaloue*, brother to the Chancellor; but it is executed by one *Zapon Abramoue*. His penſion is an hundred rubbels yearly.

The third.

The third is the *Chetfird* of *Pomeſtnoy*, as pertaining to that Office. This keepeth a Regiſter of all Lands giuen by the Emperor for ſeruice, to his Noblemen, Gentlemen, & others, he giueth out & taketh in all aſſurances for them. The Officer at this time is called *Eleazar Welluſgine*. His ſtipend is 500. rubbels a yeare.

The fourth.

The fourth is called *Caſſanskoy Dworets*, as beeing appropriate to the Office that hath the iuriſdiction of the kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Aſtracan*, with the other towns lying vpon the *Volgha*, now ordered by one *Druzhine Penteleoue*, a man of very ſpeciall account among thē, for his wiſedome, and promptneſſe in matters of pollicy. His penſion is 150. rubbels a yeare.

Exemption on the Emperors behalf

From theſe *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies*, is exempted the Emperors inheritance or *Vochin* (as they call it) for that it pertained (from ancient time) to the houſe of *Beala*, which is the ſur-name of the Imperiall bloud. This ſtandeth of 36. Townes with their bounds or territories. Beſides diuers peculiar iuriſdictions, which are likewiſe deducted out of thoſe *Chetfirds*, as the Shire of *Vagha* (belonging to the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*) and ſuch like.

Theſe are the cheefe Gouernors or Officers of the Prouinces, not reſident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperor whereſoeuer he goeth, and carrying their Offices about with thē, which for the moſt part they hold at *Mosko*, as the Emperors chiefe Seate.

The matter concerning the foure Offices.

The parts and practiſe of theſe foure Offices, is to receiue all complaints and actions whatſoeuer, that are brought out of their ſeuerall *Chetfirds* and quarters, & to informe them to the Emperors Counſell. Likewiſe to ſend direction againe to thoſe that are vnder them in their ſaide Prouinces, for all matters giuen in charge by the Emperor and his Counſell, to bee done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of euery particular Prouince of theſe foure *Chetfirds*, there is appointed

Dukes there, is but a mean degree in Nobility.

appointed one of theſe Dukes, which were reckoned before in the loweſt degree of their Nobility, and which are reſident in the head townes of the ſaid Prouinces. Whereof euery one hath ioyned with him in Commiſſion, a Dyack or Secretary, to aſſiſt him, or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commiſſion, the Dyack doth all.

The Commiſsion of the Dukes or Preſidents of Shires.

The parts of their Commiſſion are theſe in effect. Firſt, to heare and determine in all ciuill matters within their Precinct. To which purpoſe, they haue vnder them certaine Officers, as *Gubnoy Starets*, or Coroners, who, beſides the tryall of ſelfe-murders, are to attach Fellons: and the *Soudiæ* or vnder-Iuſtices, who themſelues alſo may heare and determine in all matters of the ſame nature, among the Country people of their owne Wards or Bayliwicks: but ſo, that in caſe eyther party diſſent, they may appeale, and goe farther to the Duke & Dyack, that reſide within the head towne. From whom alſo, they may remoue the matter to the higher Court at *Mosko*, of the Emperours Counſell, where lie all appeales. They haue vnder them alſo *Sotskoy Starets*, that is, Aldermen or Bailiffes of the hundreds.

For criminall matters and ſuch occaſions

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as theft, murder, treaſon, &c. they haue authority to apprehend, to examine, and to impriſon the malefactor, & ſo hauing receiued perfect euidence and information of the cauſe, they are to ſend it (ready drawne and orderly digeſted) vp to the *Mosko*, to the officer of the *Chetfird* whervnto that Prouince is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperors Counſell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to do execution vpõ the party offending; is more then their Commiſſion will allow them to do.

Order for Proclamations & other matters.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike ſeruice to be done within that Prouince, (as the publiſhing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes, and impoſitions for the Emperour, muſtering of Soldiors, and ſending them foorth at the day, and to the place aſſigned by the Empetour or his Counſell) all theſe and ſuch like, pertaine vnto their charge.

These Dukes and Dyacks are appointed to their place by the Emperour himſelfe, and are changed ordinarily at euery yeares ende; except vpon ſome ſpeciall liking or ſuit, the time be prolonged for a yeare or two more. They are men of thẽſelues of no credite, nor fauour with the people, where they gouerne, being neyther borne, nor brought vp among them, nor yet hauing inheritance of their owne there, or elſewhere. Onely of the Emperor they haue for that ſeruice, an hundred Marks a yeare he that hath moſt; ſome 50. ſome but 30. Which maketh them more ſuſpected and odious to the people, becauſe being ſo bare, and commming freſh and hungry vpon them; lightly euery year they racke and ſpoile them, without all regard of iuſtice, or conſcience. Which is eaſily tollerated by the cheefe Officers of the *Chetfirds*, to the ende they may rob them againe, & haue a better booty when they call them to account: which commonly they do at the end of their ſeruice, making an aduantage of their iniuſtice, & oppreſſion ouer the poore people. There are fewof them, but they come to the *Pudkey* or whippe when their time is ended, which themſelues (for the moſt part) do make account of. And therefore they furniſh themſelues, with all the ſpoile they can for the time of their gouernment; that they may haue for both turnes, aſwell for the Emperor, and Lord of the *Chetfird*, as to reſerue ſome good part for themſelues.

Concerning the Dukes & Dyacks, and their credite.

Heere one theefe robbeth another, and careth for no puniſhment.

They that are appointed to gouerne abroad, are men of this quality: ſaue that in the foure border Townes (that are of greateſt importance) are ſet men of more ſpeciall valor & truſt, two in euery towne. Whereof one is euer of the Emperours priuy Counſell. Theſe 4. border Towns, are *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Nouogrod*, & *Cazan*, whereof three lie towards the *Polonian* & *Sweaden*, one bordereth farre off vpon the *Chrim Tartar*. Theſe haue larger Commiſſion, then the other Dukes of the Prouinces that I ſpake of before, and may do execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behouefull for the Commonwealth: for incident occaſions that may happen vpon the borders, that are far of, and may not ſtay for direction, about euery occurrent and particular matter from the Emperor and his Counſell. They are changed euery yeare (except as before) and haue for their ſtipend, 700. rubbels a yeare he that hath moſt: ſome haue but foure hundred rubbels. Many of theſe

Officers for the foure bordering towns.

The foure border towns

The yearely ſtipend of thoſe Officers

places, that are of greateſt importance, and almoſt the whole Country, is managed (at this time) by the *Godonoes* & their Clients.

The gouernment of Mosko.

The Citty of *Mosko* (that is the Emperors ſeat) is gouerned altogether by the Emperors Counſell. All matters there (both ciuill and criminall) are heard and determined in the ſeuerall Courts, helde by ſome of the ſaid Counſell, that reſide there all the yeare long.

Of the Zempskey houſe.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as buildings, reparations, keeping of their ſtreetes decent and cleane, collections, leuying of taxes, impoſitions & ſuch like) are appointed two Gentlemen, and two Dyacks or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ordring of ſuch matters. This is called the *Zempskey* houſe. If any towns-man ſuſpect his ſeruant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him, to haue him examined vpon the *Pudkey*, or other torture. Beſides theſe two Gentlemen and Secretaries, that order the whole City, there are *Staruſts* or Aldermen for euery ſeuerall Company. The Alderman hath his *Sotskey* or Conſtable, & the Cõſtable hath certaine *Decetskeis* or Decurions vnder him, which haue the ouerſight of ten houſholds a peece, whereby euery diſorder is ſooner ſpide, and the common ſeruice hath the quicker diſpatch. The whole number of Cittizens (poore and rich) are reduced into Companies. The chiefe Officers (as the Dyacks & Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperor himſelfe, the *Staruſt* by the Genrlemen & Dyacks, the *Sotskoy* by the *Staruſt* or Alderman, & the *Decetskeis* by the Conſtables.

Aldermen & Conſtables.

This manner of gouernment of their Prouinces and Townes, if it were aſwell ſet for the giuing of iuſtice indifferently to al ſorts, as it is to preuent innouations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in ſubiection; it might ſeeme (in that kinde) to bee no bad, nor vnpollitique way, for the containing of ſo large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdome of *Ruſsia*.

Preuention of innouations.

Oppreſſion and ſlauery very great.

But the oppreſſion and ſlauery is ſo open, and ſo great, that a man would maruell, how the Nobility & people ſhould ſuffer themſelues to be brought vnder it; while they had any meanes to auoid and repulſe it: or being ſo ſtrengthned as it is at this preſent, how the Emperors thē-ſelues can be content to practiſe the ſame, with ſo opē iniuſtice & oppreſſion of their ſubiects, being thēſelues of a Chriſtian profeſſion.

An hard matter to alter the State of Ruſsia.

By this it appeareth, how hard a matter it were, to alter the ſtate of the *Ruſſe* Gouernment, as now it ſtandeth. Firſt, becauſe they haue none of the Nobility able to make head. As for the Lords of the foure *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies*, they are men of no Nobility, but Dyacks, aduanced by the Emperour, depending on his fauour, & attending onely about his owne perſon. And for the Dukes that are appointed to gouerne vnder them, they are but men of a titular dignity (as was ſaid before) of no power, authority, nor credite, ſaue that which they haue out of the Office, for the time they enioy it. Which doth purchaſe them no fauour, but rather hatred of the people, foraſmuch as they ſee that they are ſet ouer thē, not ſo much for any care to do them right and iuſtice; as to keep them vnder in a miſerable ſubiection, and to take the fliece from them, not once in the yeare (as the owner from the ſheepe) but to poule and clip them all the yeare long. Beſides, the authority and rule which they beare, is rent and diuided into many ſmall pieces, being diuers of them in euery great Shire, limited beſides with a very ſhort time: which giueth thē no ſcope to make any ſtrength, nor to contriue ſuch an enterprize, if haply they intended any matter of innouation.

Duke but a titulary dignity

The common people kept from Armour and weapons.

As for the common people (as may better appeare in the deſcription of their ſtate and quality afterwards ſet downe) beſides their want of armour and practiſe of war (which they are kept from of purpoſe) they are robbed continually both of their hearts and money, (beſides other meanes) ſometimes by pretence of ſome ſeruice to bee done for the common defence, ſometimes without any ſhew at all, of any neceſſity of Common-wealth or Prince. So that there is no meanes eyther for Nobility or people, to attempt any innouation, ſo long as the Military forces of the Emperour (which are the number of 8000. at the leaſt in continuall pay) hold themſelues faſt and ſure vnto him, & to the preſent ſtate. Which needs they muſt do, being of the quality of Soldiors, and enioying withall that free liberty, of wronging and ſpoiling the Commons at their pleaſure, which is permitted them

of

Agreement of the Soldiors and Commons.

of purpoſe to make them haue a liking of the preſent ſtate. As for the agreement of the Soldiors and Commons, it is a thing not to be feared, beeing of ſo oppoſite & contrary practiſe much one to the other. This deſperate ſtate of things at home, maketh the people (for the moſt part) to wiſh for ſome forraigne inuaſion, which they ſuppoſe to be the onely meanes, to rid them of the heauy yoke of this tyrannous gouernment.

Of the Emperors counſell.

The Emperors of *Ruſsia* giue the name of Counſellor, to diuers of their chiefe Nobility, rather for honours ſake, thē for any vſe they make of thē about their matters of ſtate.

Boiarens Counſellers to the Emperor, but differing from his priuy Counſell.

Theſe are called *Boiarens*, without any addition, and may be called Counſellors at large. For they are ſildom or neuer called to any publike conſultation. They which are of his ſpecial and priuy Counſell indeed (whom he vſeth daily and ordinarily for al publike matters pertaining to the State) haue the addition of *Dumnoy*, and are named *Dumnoy Boiaren*, or Lords of the Counſell, their Office or ſitting, *Boarſtua Dumna*.

The number and names of the Counſellors of State.

Their names (at this preſent) are theſe in their order. Firſt, *Knez Feoder Ioanowich Methiſloskey*. 2. *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinskoy*. 3. *Knez Vaſilie Iuanowich Suskoy Scopin*. Theſe three are accounted to be of greater birth then wiſedome, taken in (as may ſeeme) for that ende, rather to furniſh the place with their honours & preſence, then with their aduice or Counſel. 4. *Knez Vaſilie Iuanowich Suskoy*, thought to bee more wiſe then the other of his name. 5. *Knez Feodor Michailowieh*. 6. *Knez Micheta Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 7. *Knez Timophey Romanowich Trowbetskoy*. 8. *Knez Andriew Gregoriwich Curakine*. 9. *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Foreſtine*. 10. *Knez Feoder Iuanowich Foreſtine*. 11. *Bodan Iuanowich Sabaroue*. 12. *Knez Iuan Vaſilowich*. 13. *Knez Feoder Demetriwich Sheſtinoue*. 14. *Knez Feoder Michailowich Troyconioue*. 15. *Iuan Buterlyuey*. 16. *Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoe*. 17. *Borriſe Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Empreſſe. 18. *Stephan Vaſilowich Godonoe*. 19. *Gregorie Vaſilowich Godonoe*. 20. *Iuan Vaſilowich Godonoe*. 21. *Feoder Sheremitoue*. 22. *Andriew Petrowich Cleſhenina*. 23. *Ignatie Petrowich Tatiſloue*. 24. *Romain Michailowich Pena*. 25. *Demenſhoy Iuanowich Cheremiſſen*. 26. *Romain Vaſilowich Alferioue*. 27. *Andriew Shalcacolue*, 28. *Vaſilie Shalcaloue*. 29. *Eleazar Welluſgin*. 30. *Drezheen Penteleoue*. 31. *Zapon Abramoue*.

Foure Secretaries.

The foure laſt of theſe are called *Dumnoy Deiakey*, or Lord Secretaries. Theſe are all of the Emperours priuy Counſell, though but few of them are called to any conſultation, for that all matters are aduiſed and determined vpon by *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreſſe, with ſome fiue or ſix more, whom it pleaſeth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to giue counſell, and do ſo demeane themſelues.

All matters referred to the Empreſſe Brother, and fiue or ſixe more.

The matters occurrent which are of ſtate, done within the Realme, are informed them (at their ſittings) by the Lords of the foure *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the *Gouernment of their Prouinces*. Who bring in all ſuch letters as they receiue from the Dukes, Dyacks, Captaines, and other Officers of the Cities and Caſtles, pertaining to their ſeuerall quarter or *Chetfird*, with other aduertiſements, and informe the Counſell of them.

The Officers of Records.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of euery ſeuerall Office of Record: who may come into the Counſel Chamber, & informe them, as occaſion incident to his Office doth require. Beſides matters of State, they conſider of many priuate cauſes, informed by way of ſupplication, in very great numbers. Whereof ſome they entertaine and determine, as the cauſe or meanes can procure fauour. Some they ſend to the Offices whereto they pertaine, by common courſe of Law. Their ordinary daies for their ſitting, are Mondaies, Wenſdaies, and Fridaies. Their time of meeting, is commonly ſeuen a clocke in the morning. If there be any extraordinary occaſion, that requireth conſultation on ſome other day, they haue warning by the Clarke of the Counſell, called *Dorofey Buſhew*, who receiueth order from the *Roſerad* or high Conſtable of the Realm, to call them together at the time appointed.

Of the Emperors Cuſtoms and other Reuenues.

For the receiuing of Cuſtomes, & other Rents belonging vnto the Crowne, ther are appointed diuers vnder-Officers, which deliuer ouer the ſame into the head Treaſury. The firſt is the office of *Dwoertſoua* or Steward of the houſhold. The ſecond is the Office of the *Chetfirds*:

which I comprehend vnder one, though it be diuided into foure ſeuerall parts, as was ſaid before. The third is called *Bulſha Prechod*, or the great Income.

The Steward receiuer of the Crowne land rents.

As touching the firſt, which is the Office of the Steward, it receiueth all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or Crowne Land, which they call *Vochin*. The *Vochin* or Crowne land, containeth in it 36. Townes, with the Territories or Hundreds belonging vnto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeeld the greateſt rents, are theſe: *Alexandriſca*, *Corelskey*, *Otfer*, *Slobodey*, *Danielska*, *Moiſalskoy*, *Chara*, *Sametska*, *Strararouſe*, *Branſoue*, *&c.* The Inhabitants or Tenants of theſe and the other Townes, pay ſome rent-money, ſome other rent duties (called *Obrokey*) as certaine *Chetfirds*, or meaſures of Graine, Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swans, Geeſe, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fiſh, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to ſowe for the Emperours prouiſion, certaine Akers of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his vſe: hauing for it an allowance of certaine Akers of ground for their owne proper vſe.

The Tenants of Townes & their rent.

Prouiſion for the Houſhold.

This prouiſion for the houſhold, ſpecially of graine ſerued in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is ſpent in his houſe, or in other allowance ſerued out in liuery, or for the Emperours honour, called *Schalouaney*: for which vſe there is beſtowed very much, both in graine, and other victuall. This ſurplus of prouiſion is ſold by the Steward to the beſt hand, and runneth into the Emperors treaſury.

Diffrence of the Father & Sons times for prouiſion.

In the time of *Iuan Vaſilowich*, Father to this Emperor (who kept a more Princely and bountifull houſe then the Emperour now doth) this ouerplus of graine, and other Incomes into the Stewards Office, yeelded to his Treaſury, not paſt 60. thouſand rubbels yearely; but riſeth now by good husbanding of the Steward *Gregory Vaſilowich Godonoe*, to 230. thouſand rubbels a yeare. And this by the meanes of the Empreſſe, and her kindred, ſpecially (*Borris Federowich Godonoe*) that account it all their owne, that runneth into the Emperors treaſure. Much of this ſurpluſage that riſeth out of the rent prouiſion, is employed to the payment of the wages of his houſhold Officers, which are very many attending at home, and purueying abroad.

The ſecond Office of receipt called the *Chetfirds* (being diuided into four ſeuerall parts, as before was ſaid) hath foure head Officers: which, beſides the ordering & gouernement of the Shires, contained within their ſeuerall *Chetfirds*; haue this alſo as a part of their office, to receiue the *Tagla* and *Podat* belonging to the Empe- rour, that riſeth out of the foure *Chetfirds* or Quarters. The *Tagla* is a yearely rent or impoſition, raiſed vpon euery *Wite* or Meaſure of graine that groweth within the Land, gathered by ſworne men, and brought into the Office. The *Wite* containeth 60. *Chetfirds*. Euery *Chetfird* is three common buſhels, or little leſſe. The *Podat* is an ordinary rent of money, impoſed vpon euery Soake, or Hundred within the whole Realme.

The Office of Chetfird.

Tagla & Podat, and how they are diſtinguiſhed.

This *Tagla* and *Podat* bring in yeerely to the Offices of the *Chetfirds* a great ſum of money: as may appeare by the particulars heere ſet downe. The Towne and Prouince of *Vobsko*, pay yearely for *Tagla* and *Podat* about 18000. rubbels. *Nouogrod* 35000. rubbels. *Torſhocke* and *Otfer* 8000. rubbels. *Razan* 30000. rubbels. *Morum* 12000. rubbels. *Colmigroe* and *Duyna*, 8000. rubbels. *Vologda* 12000. rubbels. *Cazan* 18000. rubbels. *Vſtiug* 30000. rubbels. *Roſtoue* 50000. rubbels. The City of *Mosko*, forty thouſand Rubbels. *Sibierskoy*, twenty thouſand Rubbels. *Caſtrome* twelue thouſand Rubbels. The totall amounteth to foure hundred thouſand Rubbels or Markes a yeare, which is brought in yearely the firſt day of September, that is reckoned by them the firſt day of the yeare.

Sums of money raiſed by Tagla and Podat yearely.

The third (that is called the *Bulſha Prechod*, or great Income) receiueth all the Cuſtomes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Cities within the whole Realme. Beſides the fees & other duties, which riſe out of diuers ſmaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of *Bulſha Prechod*. The townes of moſt trade, that do yeeld greateſt Cuſtome, are theſe heere ſet downe. *Moſko*, *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Nouogrod Velica*, *Strararouſe*, *Torſhocke*, *Otfer*, *Yarusſlaue*, *Caſtrome*, *Neſna Nouogrod*, *Cazan*, *Vologda*. This Cuſtome out of the great townes is therefore more certaine and eaſie to be reckned, becauſe it is ſet and rated

The Office of Bulſha Prechod, or great Income.

rated preciſely, what they ſhall pay for the cuſtome of the yeare. Which needs muſt be paid into the ſaid Office, though they receiue not ſo much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperors aduantage.

The Emperors cuſtomes in their places

The cuſtome at *Mosko* for euery yeare, is 12000. rubbels. The cuſtome of *Smolensko*, 8000. rubbels. *Vobsko*, 12000. rubbels. *Nouogrod velica*, 6000. rubbels. *Stararoufe*, by ſalt and other commodities, 18000. rubbels. *Torſhock* 800. rubbels. *Otfer* 700. rubbels. *Yarusſlaue* 1200. rubbels. *Caſtrome* 1800. rubbels. *Neſna Nouogrod*, 7000. rubbels. *Cazan* 11000. rubbels. *Vologda* 2000. rubbels. The cuſtome of the reſt that are Townes of trade, is ſometimes more, ſometimes leſſe, as their trafficke and dealings with commodities too and fro, falleth out for the yeare.

The whole receipt of the Bulſha Prechod or great Income.

This may be ſaid for certaine, that the three tables of receipts, belonging to this Office of *Bulſha Prechod*, whē they receiue leaſt, account for thus much, viz. The firſt table 160000. rubbels. The ſecond table 90000. rubbels. The third 70000. rubbels. So that there commeth into the Office of *Bulſha Prechod*, at the leaſt reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Cuſtomes) out of theſe and other Townes, & maketh the ſum of 340000. rubbels a yeare. Beſides this cuſtome out of the townes of trade, there is receiued by this Office of *Bulſha Prechod*, the yearely rent of the cōmon Bath-ſtoaues, and Cabacks or drinking houſes, which pertaine to the Emperour. Which (though it be vncertaine for the iuſt ſumme, yet becauſe it is certaine and an ordinary matter, that the *Ruſſe* will bathe himſelfe aſwell within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperors Treaſury.

Rent of the Bath-ſtoaues

Rents out of the Iudiciall Offices.

There is beſides, a certaine mulct or penalty, that groweth to the Emperour out of euery iudgement, or ſentence that paſſeth in any of his Courts of Record in all ciuill matters. This penalty, or mulct is twenty *Dingoes* or pence, vpon euery rubble or marke, and ſo tenne in the hundred. Which is paid by the party that is conuict by law. Hee hath beſides for euery name, contained in the Writs that paſſe out of theſe Courts, fiue *Alteens*. An *Alteen* is fiue pence ſterling, or there abouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the Writ is taken foorth.

Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the leſſer ſeale, where againe it payeth as much more to the Emperours vſe. This riſeth commonly to three thouſand rubbels a yeare, or thereabouts. Further alſo, out of the Office of *Roisbonia*, where all Fellonies are tried, is receiued for the Emperour the halfe part of Fellons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers.

The Office of Roisbonia.

All this is brought into the Office of *Bulſha Prechod*, or great Income. Beſides the ouerplus or remainder, that is ſaued out of the Land Rents, allotted to diuers other Offices: as namely to the Office called *Roſerade*, which hath Lands and Rents aſſigned vnto it, to pay the yearely ſalaries of the Souldiors, or horſemen, that are kept ſtill in pay. Which in time of peace when they reſt at home, not employed in any ſeruice; is commonly cut off, and paide them by halfes, ſometimes not the halfe: ſo that the remainder out of the *Roſerade* Office, that is laid into the Emperours Treaſury, commeth (for the moſt part) euery yeare to two hundred and fifty thouſand rubbels.

The Roſerade Office for Soldiors pay.

In like ſort (though not ſo much) is brought in the ſurplus out of the *Strelletskoy* Offices, which hath proper Lands for the payment of the *Strelſey* men or Gunners, as well thoſe at *Mosko*, that are of the Emperors guard (twelue thouſand in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garriſon Townes and Caſtles. Likewiſe out of the Office of *Prechaſe*, *Shiſiuoy Nomſhoy*, which hath ſet allowance of Lands to maintaine the forraine mercenary Soldiours, as *Poles*, *Sweadens*, *Doutches*, *Scots*, *&c.* So out of the Office of *Puſharskoy*, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the prouiſion of munition, great Ordenance, Powder, Shot, Salt-Peeter, Brimſtone, Lead, and ſuch like) there is left ſomewhat at the yeares ende, that runneth into the Treaſury. All theſe bring into the Office of *Bulſha Prechod*, that which remaineth in their hand at the yeares end. Whence it is deliuered into the Emperours Treaſury. So that the whole ſum that groweth to this Office of *Bulſha Prechod*, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the ſaid Office) amounteth to 800000. rubbels a yeare, or thereabouts.

The Strellerskoy Office for the ſhot at Mosko, &c.

For mercenary Soldiors, & prouiſion of munition.

The Emperors treaſure-houſe within his Caſtle of Mosko.

All theſe Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the foure *Chetfirds*, and the *Bulſha Prechod*, deliuer in their receipts to the head treaſury, that lyeth within the Emperors houſe or Caſtle at the *Mosko*. Where lye all his monies, iewels, crowns, ſcepters, plate, and ſuch like, the cheſts, hutches, and bagges being ſigned by the Emperours themſelues with their owne Seale. Though (at this time) the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, his Seale and ouerſight ſupplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The vnder-Officer at this time, is one *Stepan Vaſilowich Godonoe*, Couſin-germane to the ſaide *Borris*, who hath two Clearks allowed to ſerue vnder him in the Office.

The ſum of the Emperors rent-money.

The ſumme that groweth to the Emperours treaſury in mony only, for euery yeare.

1. *Out of the Stewards Office aboue the expence of his houſe* 23000. *Rubbels.*
2. *Out of the foure Chetfirds for ſoake and head money,* 400000. *rubbels.*
3. *Out of the Bulſha Precod Office, or great Income, for cuſtome, and other rents,* 800000. *rubbels.*

Summe 1430000. Rubbels cleere, beſides all charges for his houſe, & ordinary ſallaries of his ſoldiours otherwiſe diſcharged.

But beſides this reuennue, that is paid all in money to the Emperours Treaſury, he receiueth yearely in Furres, and other duties to a great value, out of *Siberia*, *Pechora*, *Permia*, and other places, which are ſolde or bartred away for ſome forraigne commodities, to the *Turkiſh*, *Perſian*, *Armenian*, *Georgian* and *Bougharian* Merchants, that trade within his Countries, beſides others of Chriſtendome. What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot be ſet downe preciſely, as being a thing caſuall, as the commodity may bee got) it may be gueſſed, by that which was gathered the laſt yeare out of *Siberia* for the Emperors cuſtome, viz. 466. timber of Sables, fiue timber of Matrones, 180. blacke Foxes, beſides other commodities.

His yearely benefit by Furs and other duties.

To theſe may be added their ſeizures, and confiſcations vpon ſuch as are in diſpleaſure, which riſeth to a great ſumme. Beſides other their extraordinary impoſitions, and exactions done vpon their Officers, Monaſteries, &c. not for any apparant neceſſity or vſe of the Prince or Cõmon-wealth, but of will and cuſtome: yet with ſome pretence of a *Scythian*, that is, groſſe and barbarous pollicy (as may appeare) by theſe few *Sophiſmata*, or counterfeit pollicies, put in practiſe by the emperours of *Ruſsia*, all tending to this ende, to rob their people, and to enrich their Treaſury. To this purpoſe this by-word was vſed by the late Emperor *Iuan Vaſilowich: That his people were like to his beard. The oftner ſhauen, the thicker it would grow. Or like ſheepe, that muſt needs bee ſhorne once a yeare at the leaſt: to keepe them from being ouer-laden with their Wooll.*

Of ſeizures, confiſcations, & impoſitions on Monaſteries, &c.

Meanes vſed to draw the wealth of the Land into the *Emperors Treaſury.*

Firſt.

TO preuent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatſoeuer, done vpon the Commons by their Dukes, Diacks, or other Officers in their Prouinces: but to ſuffer them to go on till their time be expired, and to ſucke themſelues full. Then to call them to the *Praueuſh* (or whip) for their behauior, and to beate out of them all, or the moſt part of the booty, (as the Hony from the Bee) which they haue wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperors Treaſury, but neuer any thing back againe to the right owners, how great or euident ſoeuer the iniury be. To this end the needy Dukes, and Diacks, that are ſent into their Prouinces, ſerue the turne very well, being changed ſo often (to wit) once a yeare: where, in reſpect of their owne, and the quality of the people (as before was ſaide) they might bee continued for ſome longer time, without all feare of innouation. For comming ſtill freſh vpon the Commons, they ſucke more eagerly: like *Tiberius* the Emperours flyes, that came new ſtill vpon all olde ſores. To whom he was wont to compare his *Prætors*, and other prouinciall Officers.

The whip ordayned for all denyers or conteſters.

Secondly,

Secondly.

TO make of these Officers (that haue robbed their people) sometimes a publique example, if any be more notorious then the rest; that the Emperor may seeme to dislike the oppressions done to his people, and rransferre the fault to his ill Officers.

A Goose readydressed full of money for a bribe.

As among diuers other, was done by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, to a Diack in one of his Prouinces; that (besides many other extortions and briberies) had taken a Goose ready drest full of mony. The man was brought to the market place in *Mosko*. The Emperour himselfe present, made an Oration; *These good people are they, that would eate you vppe like bread, &c.* Then asked he his *Polachies* or executioners, who could cut vp a Goose? and commanded one of them first to cut off his legges, about the middest of the shinne, then his armes aboue his elbowes (demaunding of him still, if Goose flesh were good meate) in the end to choppe off his head: that he might haue the right fashion of a Goose ready dressed. This might seeme to haue beene a tollerable peece of Iustice (as Iustice goeth in *Russia*) except his subtill end, to couer his owne oppressions.

Cutting vp of a Goose.

Thirdly.

TO make an open shew of want, when any great taxe, or impositon is towardes. As was done by this Emperour *Theodore Iuanowich*, by the aduise of some about him, euen at the beginning of his reigne: when beeing left very rich (as it was thought) by his father, he solde the most of his plate, and stamped some into coyne; that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a taxation.

A cunning colour for taxations.

Fourthly.

TO suffer their subiects to giue freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many do especially in their last Wills) and to lay vp their mony and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or prouiso, as was and is in some Countries of Christendome. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe, to haue the money of the Realme better stored together, and more ready for their hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is doone without any noyse: the Fryers beeing content, rather to part from somewhat (as the encrease groweth) then to loose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

Superstitious charitie and bountie giuen to Monasteries to a politike end.

To this end *Iuan Vasilowich*, late Emperour vsed a very strange practise, that few Princes would haue doone in their greatest extreamities. Hee resigned his kingdome to one *Velica Knez Simeon*, the Emperours sonne of *Cazan*: as though he meant to draw himselfe from all publike doings, to a quiet priuate life. Towards the end of the yeare, he caused this new King to call in all Charters graunted to Bishoprickes and Monasteries, which they had enioyed many hundred yeares before. Which were all cancelled. This done, (as in dislike of the fact, and of the misgouernement of the new King) he resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in fauour vnto the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reseruing and annexing to the Crowne so much of their Lands, as himselfe thought good.

A strange practise to get money.

By this practise, he wrung from the Bishoprickes, and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money; from some forty, from some fifty, from some an hundred thousand rubbels. And this, aswell for the increase of his treasurie, as to abate the euill opinion of his hard gouernment, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted; that being hated of his Subiects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet would aduenture such a practise, to set an other in his saddle, that might haue ridde away with his horsse, whilest himselfe walked by on foote.

Such a practise as hath been seldome heard of.

Fiftly.

TO send their messengers into the prouinces, or Shires where the speciall commodities of their countrey grow, as furres, waxe, hony, &c. There to forestall and ingrosse, sometime one whole commodity, sometime two, or more, taking them at small prices what themselues list, and selling them againe at an excessiue rate

Forestalling and engrossing commodities in a strange maner.

rate to their owne marchants, and vnto Marchants ſtrangers. If they ſhall refuſe to buy them, then to enforce them vnto it.

The like is doone when any commodity, eyther natiue, or forreine (as cloth of golde, broad-cloth, &c.) thus engroſſed by the Emperour, and receiued into his Treaſurie, chaunceth to decay, or marre by long lying, or ſome other caſualty. Which is forced vpon the marchants, to bee bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will, or no.

An engroſing of Waxe.

Not long ſince was engroſſed all the Waxe of the Countrey; ſo that no man might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour onely.

Sixtly.

Engroſsing forren commodities.

TO take vp and engroſſe (in like ſort) ſometime forreine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c.) brought into his kingdome by Turkiſh marchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, Engliſh, and others. And then to force his Marchants, to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

Seauenthly.

Monopoliſing of Rents and Cuſtomes.

TO make a Monopoly (for the time) of ſuch commodities as are payed him for Rent, or Cuſtome, and to inhance the price of them, as Furres, Corne, Wood, &c. What time, none muſt ſell of the ſame kinde of commodity, vntill the Emperours be all ſolde. By this meanes hee maketh of his Rent, Corn, and other prouiſion of victuall (as before was ſayd) about two hundred thouſand rubbells or markes a yeare. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay &c. thirtie thouſand rubbells, or thereabouts.

Eightly.

His Cabacks or drinking houſes in euery towne.

IN euery great Towne of his Realme, he hath a *Caback*, or drinking houſe, where *Aqua vitæ* is ſold (which they call *Ruſſe-wine, Mead, Beere, &c.* Out of theſe he receiueth Rent, that amounteth to a great ſumme of mouey. Some yeeld eight hundred, ſome nine hundred, ſome a thouſand, ſome two thouſand, or three thouſand rubbells a yeare. Wherein, beſides the baſe and diſ-honorable meanes to encreaſe his Treaſurie; many foule faultes are committed.

The poore labouring man and Artificer, many times ſpends all from his wife, and children. Some vſe to lay in twenty, thirty, forty rubbels, or more into the *Caback*, and vowe themſelues to the pot, till all that be ſpent. And all this (as hee will ſay) is for the honour of *Hoſpodare*, or the Emperour. You ſhall haue many there, that haue drunke all away euen to the very skinne, and ſo walke naked (whome they call *Naga.*) While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth, whatſoeuer cauſe there be; becauſe he hindereth the Emperours reuenue.

Drinking for the Emperors honour.

Ninthly.

Pretence of robbery to an other end.

TO cauſe ſome of his *Boiarens*, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he vſeth vpon truſt) that haue houſes in the *Moſco*, to faine themſelues robbed. Then to ſend for the *Zemskey* men, or Aldermen of the Citty, and to command them to finde out the robbery. In default of not finding it, to praue or ſeaſſe the Cittie for their miſgouernement in eight thouſand, nine thouſand, or tenne thouſand rubbells at a time. This many times is and hath beene practized.

Tenthly.

Exactions countenanced by power and authority

IN theſe exactions, to ſhew their ſoueraignetie, ſometime they vſe very plaine, and yet ſtrange cauillations. As was that of *Iuan Vaſilowich*, father to this Emperour, after this ſort. He ſent into *Permia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, whereof he knew right well, that none grew in that Countrey. The Inhabitants returned anſwere, they could find none there. Whereupon he ſeaſſed their Country in twelue thouſand rubbells, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpoſe. Againe, he ſent to the Cittie of *Moſco*, to prouide for him a *Colpacke*, or meaſure ful of liue Fleas, for a medicine. They returned anſwer, that the thing was impoſſible. And if they could get them, yet they could not meaſure them, for leaping out. Whereuppon, hee praued or beat out of their ſhinnes, ſeuen thouſand rubbels for a mulct.

A buſhell of liue Fleas.

By like cauillation, hee extorted from his Nobilitie thirtie thouſand rubbells, becauſe he miſſed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare: as if theyr hunting and murdering of Hares had bin

the

the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) praued presently againe vpon the *Mouſicks*, or common people of the Country. This may seem a strange kinde of extortion, by such pleasant cauils, to fleece his poore subiects in good sadnesse: but that it agreeth with the qualitie of those Emperours, and the miserable subiection of that poore Countrie.

These, and such like meanes are practised by the Emperours of *Russia*, to encrease their Treasurie.

Of the state of the Communaltie, or vulgar sort of people, in the Countrey of Rusia.

The condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly bee vnderstoode by that which hath already bin sayd, concerning the manner of their gouernement, and the state of the Nobilitie in their owne degrees and places with the ordering of their Prouinces, and chiefe townes of the land. And first touching their libertie, how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor haue anie suffrage nor place in their *Zabore*, or high Court of Parliament, where theyr lawes and publique orders are concluded vpon. Which commonly tend to the oppression of the commons. For the other two degrees, that is to say, of the Nobilitie, and Cleargie, which haue a vote in the Parliaments (though farre from that libertie, that ought to be in common consultations for the publike benefite, according vnto the measure and proportion of their degrees) are well contented, that the whole burthen shall light vppon the commons, so that they may ease theyr owne shoulders by laying all vpon them.

The ſeruile & miserable estate of the Russe people.

Againe, into what seruile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince, but to the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Country (who themselues also are but seruile, specially of late yeares) it may farther appeare by their owne acknowledgements in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe officers of the Emperors. Wherein they name and subscribe themselues *Kolophey*, that is to say, their villaines or bondslaues; as they of the Nobilitie doe vnto the Emperour. This may truely be sayd of them, that there is no seruant or bondslaue more awed by his Maister, nor kept downe in a more seruile subiection, then the poore people are, and that vniuersally, not onely by the Emperour, but by his Nobility, cheefe Officers, and Soldiours. So that when a poore *Mouſicke* meeteth with any of them vpon the high way; hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe, with knocking of his head to the very ground, as hee doth vnto his Idoll.

Kolophey are villaines or bondslaues, and so the Common people terme themselues in writing.

Secondly, as concerning the lands, goods, and other possessions of the commons, they answere the name, and lie common indeede, without any fence against the rapine, and spoyle, not onelie of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers and Souldiers. Besides, the taxes, customes, seazures, and other publike exactions, doone vppon them by the Emperour: they are so racked and polled by the Nobles, Officers and Messengers sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affaires, especially in the *Yammes* (as they do stearme them) and t thorow-fare townes, that you shall haue many villages and townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all vn-inhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame vsage, and exactions on them done. So that in the way towards *Mosco*, betwixt *Vologda* and *Yaruslaueley*, (which is two nineties, after theyr reckoning, little more then an hundred miles) there are in sight fiftie *Darieunes* or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any Inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as they that haue trauelled the Countrey, well can report.

Goods, lands, and possesions of the Commons.

Yammes are thorow-fare Townes.

Townes emptie of Inhabitants through oppression.

The great oppression ouer the poore Commons, maketh them to haue no corage in following their trades: for that the more they haue, the more daunger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their liues also. And if they haue anie thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conueying it into Monasteries, somtimes hiding it vnder the ground, and in woods, as men are wont to doe, where they are in feare of forreine inuasion. Insomuch, that (many times) you shall see them afrayd to be knowne to any *Boiaren* or Gentleman, of such commodities as they haue to sell. They haue beene seene sometimes, when they haue layed open their commodities for a liking (as theyr principall Furres and such like) to looke

A miserable condition of poore men.

still

ſtill behinde them, and towardes euerie doore: as men in ſome feare, that looked to be ſet vpon, and ſurprized by ſome enimy. Whereof being asked the cauſe, it was found to be this; that they haue doubted, leaſt ſome Nobleman or *Sinaboiarſkey* of the Emperor, had beene in company, and ſo laide a traine for them, to pray vpon their commodities perforce.

The people made ydle againſt theyr wils.

This maketh the people (thogh otherwiſe hardned to beare any toyle) to giue themſelues much to idleneſſe and drinking: as caring for no more, then from hand to mouth. And hereof it commeth that the commodities of *Ruſsia* (as vvas ſayde before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hydes, Flax, Hempe, &c.) grow and goe abroad in farre leſſe plenty then they were wont to doe: becauſe the people being oppreſſed and ſpoyled of theyr gettings, are diſcouraged from their Labours. Yet this one thing is much to be noted, that in all this oppreſſion, there were three Brethren Marchants of late, that traded together with one ſtocke in common, that were found to be worth 300000. rubbels in mony, beſide lands, cattels, and other commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings far off from the eie of the Court, viz. in *Wichida*, a thouſend miles from *Mosko*, and more. The ſame men were ſaid (by thoſe that knewe them) to haue ſet on worke all the yeare long, ten thouſand men in making of ſalt, cartiages by Cart and Boate, hewing of Wood, and ſuch like; beſides fiue thouſand bondſlaues at the leaſt, to inhabit & Till their land.

Of three brethren Merchants.

They had alſo their Phyſitions, Chirurgeons, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of *Doutches* and others, belonging vnto them. They wer ſaid to haue payed to the Emperour (for Cuſtome) to the ſumme of three and twenty thouſand Rubbles a yeare (for which cauſe they were ſuffered to enioy their trade) beſides the maintaining of certaine Garriſons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were neere vnto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to vſe their purſe, till ſuch time as they had gotten ground in *Siberia*, and made it habitable, by burning & cutting downe woodes from *Wichida* to *Perm*, aboue a thouſand Verſt, and then tooke it all away from them perforce.

Not many other ſuch men in the whole Country

But this in the end being enuied, and diſdained, as a matter not ſtanding with their policie, to haue any ſo great, ſpecially a *Mouſick*: the Emperour beganne firſt to pull from them by peeces, ſometimes twenty thouſand rubbels at a time; till in the end, their ſonnes that followed were well eaſed of their ſtocke, & had but ſmall part of their Fathers ſubſtance: the reſt being drawne all into the Emperors Treaſury. Their names were *Iacoue*, *Gregory*, and *Simon*, the ſonnes of *Onyka*.

Fleecing the three brethré

For the quality of their people otherwiſe, though there ſeemeth to be in them ſome aptneſſe to receiue any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much leſſe in any Learning, or litterall kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpoſe, as they are alſo from all Military practiſe: that they may be fitter for the ſeruile condition wherein ſtill they are, & haue neither reaſon, nor valor to attempt innouation.

The tiranie & oppreſsion ouer theyr very minds and wits.

For this purpoſe alſo, they are kepte from trauailing, that they may learne nothing, nor ſee the faſhions of other countreyes abroad. You ſhall ſeldome ſee a *Ruſſe* a Traueller, except he be with ſome Ambaſſador, or that he make a ſcape out of his Countrey. Which hardly hee can do, by reaſon of the borders that are watched ſo narrowly, and the punniſhment for any ſuch attempt, which is death if he be taken, and all his goods confiſcate. Onely they learne to write, and to reade, and that verie few of them. Neyther doe they ſuffer any ſtranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any ciuil Countrey, for the ſame cauſe; farther then neceſſity of vttering their commodities, and taking in of forraine, doeth enforce them to do.

The iealouſye of the Emperour concerning his State

And therefore not long ſince, they conſulted, about the remouing of al Marchants ſtrangers to the border townes, to abide and haue their reſidency there, and to be more wary, in admitting other ſtrangers (heereafter) into the In-land parts of the Realme; for feare of infection vvith better manners and qualities, then they haue of their owne.

For the ſame purpoſe alſo, they are kept within the bounds of theyr degree, by the Law of their Country: ſo that the ſonne of a *Mouſick*, Artificer, or Husband man,

man, is euer a *Mouſick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aſpire any higher: except (hauing learned to write and reade) he attaine to the preferment of a Prieſt or Dyacke.

Their Language is all one with the *Slauonian*, which is thought to haue bene deriued from the Ruſſe tongue, rather then the *Ruſſe* from the *Slauonian*. For the people called *Sclaui*, are knowne to haue had their beginning out of *Sarmatia*, and to haue tearmed themſelues of their conqueſt *Sclauos* (that is) famous or Glorious, of the word *Sclaua*, which in the *Ruſ* and *Sclauonian* tongue, ſignifieth as much as Glory, or Fame. Though afterwards, being ſubdued and trod vpon by diuers Nations, the *Italians* (their Neighbours) haue turned the word to a contrary ſignification, and tearme euery ſeruant or pezant, by the name of *Sclaue*; as did the *Romanes* by the *Getes* and *Syrians*, for the ſame reaſon. The Ruſſe Charracter or Letter, is no other then the Greeke, ſomwhat diſtorted.

Of their Language anſwerable to the Sclauonian.

And becauſe we were ſpeaking of *Sarmatia*, whence this people ſeeme to deriue themſelues: Some haue thought, that the name of *Sarmatia*, was firſt taken from one *Sarmates*, whom *Moſes* and *Ioſephus* call *Aſarmathes*, ſonne to *Iocktan*, and Nephew to *Heber*, of the poſterity of *Sem*. But this ſeemeth to be nothing, but a coniecture, taken from the likeneſſe of the name *Aſarmathes*. For, the dweiling of al *Iocktans* poſterity is deſcribed by *Moſes*, to haue been betwixt *Meſcha* or *Maſius* (an hill of the *Ammonites*) & *Sephace*, neere to the Riuer *Euphrates*. Which maketh it very vnlikely, that *Aſarmathes* ſhould plant any Collonies ſo farre off, in the North, and North-Weſt Countreyes.

Geneſ.10.26. Ioſep.in Antiquit.Iud.lib. 1.cap.14.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, Apparrell, and ſuch like, it is to bee noted where we ſpeake of their priuate behauiour. This order, that bindeth euerie man to keepe his ranke and ſeueral degree wherein his forefathers liued before him, is more meete to keepe the ſubiectes in a ſeruile ſubiection, and ſo, apt for this and like Common-wealths; then to aduance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent quality in Nobility or Commons. As hauing no farther reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endeauors, and employ themſelues to aduance their eſtate: but rather procuring more danger to themſelues, the more they excell in any noble or principall quality.

Subiects kept in ſeruile ſubiection.

CHAP. III.

Thirdly, we diſcourſe on their Politicke and Iudiciall proceeding. Alſo the Emperors powers for war, and their ſalaries: with their Muſtering, Munition, and Military prouiſion. Their Collonies, bordering Friends or Enemies, either in Peace or warre.

THeir Courts of Ciuill Iuſtice, for matters of Contract, and other of like ſort, are of three kindes, the one beeing ſubiect vnto the other by way of Appeal. The loweſt court (that ſeemeth to bee appointed for ſome eaſe to the ſubiects) is the Office of the *Gubnoy Staruſt*, that ſignifieth an Alderman, and of the *Sotskoy Staruſt*, or Bayliffe of the ſoake or hundred, whereof I ſpake before in the ordering of the Prouinces. Theſe may end matters among their Neighbours, within their Soake, or ſeuerall Hundred, where they are apointed vnder the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to whome the parties may remooue their matter, if they cannot bee agreed by the ſaide *Gubnoy*, or *Sotskoy Staruſt*.

The Alderman's Court.

The ſecond is kept in the head townes of euery Prouince or Shire, by the ſayde Dukes and Diackes, that are deputies to the four Lords of the *Chetfirds*, as before was ſayde. From theſe foure Courtes, they may appeale, and remooue theyr ſuites to the cheefe Court, that is kept at *Mosko*, where are reſident the officers of the foure Chetfirds. Theſe are the chiefe Iuſtices or Iudges, euery of them in all ciuill matters that growe within their ſeuerall Chetfird or quarter, and may bee either commenced originally before them, or proſecuted out of the inferior Courts of the Shires, by way of appeale.

The Dukes & Diacks Court

The high Court of Mosko.

Their commencing and proceeding in ciuill actions, is on this manner. Firſt, the

the plaintiffe putteth vp his ſupplication, wherein hee declareth the effecte of his cauſe, or wrong done vnto him. Whereupon is granted vnto him a *wepis* or warrant, which he deliuereth to the *Præſtaue* or Sergeant, to doe the arreſt vppon the party whom hee meaneth to impleade. Who vppon the Arreſt, is to put in ſureties to anſwer at the day appointed, or els ſtandeth at the Sergeants deuotion, to be kept ſafe by ſuch means as he thinketh good.

The dealing of Sergeants in their offices.

The Sergeants are many, & excell for their hard and eruell dealing toward their priſoners; commonly they clappe Irons vpon them, as many as they can beare, to wring out from them ſome larger Fees. Though it be but for ſixe pence, you ſhal ſee them go with chaines on their legges, armes, and necke. When they come before the Iudge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter, after the content of his ſupplication. As for Atturneys, Counſellors, Procurators and aduocates to pleád their cauſe for them, they haue no ſuch order; but euerie man is to tell his owne Tale, and pleade for himſelfe ſo well as he can.

No Counſellors or Atturnies to pleade cauſes.

If they haue any witneſſe or other euidence, they produce it before the Iudge. If they haue none, or if the trueth of the cauſe cannot ſo well be diſcerned by the plea; or euidence on both parts; then the Iudge asketh either party (which he thinketh good, Plaintiſe or Defendant) whether he will kiſſe the Croſſe, vppon that which he auoucheth, or denieth. He that taketh the Croſſe (being ſo offred by the Iudge) is accounted cleare, and carryeth away the matter. This Ceremony is not done within the Court or Office, but the party is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremony is done: the money in the meane while hanging vpon a nayle, or elſe lying at the Idolles feete, ready to be deliuered to the party ſo ſoon as he hath kiſſed the Croſſe, before the ſaide Idoll.

Ending of controuerſies by kiſsing the Croſſe.

This kiſſing of the Croſſe (called *Creuſtina Chelouania*) is as their corporal oath; and accounted (with them) a verie holie thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a falſe Allegation. If both parties offer to kiſſe the Croſſe in a contradictory matter, then they drawe lottes.

Iudgment by lot, whē both parties kiſſe the Croſſe.

The better Lotte is ſuppoſed to haue the right, and beareth away the matter. So the party conuicted is adiudgd to pay the debt or penalty whatſoeuer, and withall, to pay the Emperours fees, which is twenty pence vpon euery Mark, as before hath bene noted.

When the matter is thus ended, the party conuicted, is deliuered to the Sergeant, who hath a Writ for his warrant, out of the office, to carry him to the *Praueuſh* or Righter of Iuſtice, if preſently he pay not the money, nor content not the party.

The order of the Praueuſh or Righter.

This *Praueuſh* or Righter, is a place neere vnto the Office where ſuch as haue ſentence paſſed againſt them, and refuſe to pay that which is adiudged; are beaten with great Cudgels on the ſhinnes, and calues of the legges. Euery fornoon from eight to eleauen, they are ſet on the *Praueuſh*, and beate in this ſort till the monie be payed. The afternoone & night time, they are kept in Chains by the Sergeant: except they put in ſufficient ſureties, for their appearance at the *Praueuſh* at the houre appointed. You ſhall ſee fortie or fifty ſtand together on the *Praueuſh* all on a rowe, and their ſhinnes thus becudgelled and bebaſted euery morning, with a pitteous cry.

Selling wife and children to pay debts.

If after a years ſtanding on the *Praueuſh* the party will not, or lacke wherewithall to pay his Creditour, it is lawfull for him to ſell his Wife and Children, either outright, or for a certaine tearme of yeares. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditour may take them to be his bondſlaues for years, or for euer, according as the valew of the debt requireth.

Such kinde of ſuites as lack direct euidence, or ſtand vpon coniectures and circumſtances, to bee weighed by the Iudge, draw of great length, and yeelde great aduantage vnto the Iudge and Officers. If the ſuite be vppon a bonde or bill, they haue for the moſt part good & ſpeedy iuſtice. Their Bondes or Billes, are drawne in a very plaine ſort, after this tenour.

The forme of Ruſſe bils or bonds, as they poſſe between man and man

I Iuan Vaſileo, haue borrowed of Alphonaſſe Dementio, the ſumme of one hundered Rubbles of going money of Moſko, from the Kreſhenea (or hallowing of the Water) *vntill the Saburney Voſcreſhenea* (or counſell

ſell Sunday) *without interreſt. And if this money reſt vnpayed after that day, then hee ſhall giue intereſt vpon the ſaide mony, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, viz: for euery fiue the ſixt rubbell. Vpon this there are witneſſes, Micheta Sydroneſkoy, &c: Subſcribed. This Bill haue I written Gabriel Iacoueleſni, in the yeare 7096.* The witneſſes and debter (if he can write) endorſe their names on the back ſide of the Bill. Other ſigning or ſealing haue they none.

Proceeding in criminal matters.

When any is taken for a matter of crime (as treaſon, murther, theft, and the like) he is firſt brought to the Duke and Diacke, that are for the Prouince where the party is attached, by whom he is examined. The manner of examination in ſuch caſes, is all by torture, as ſcourging with whips made of ſinnewes or whitleather (called the *Pudkey*) as big as a mans finger, which giueth a ſore laſh, and entereth into the fleſh; Or by tying vnto a ſpitte, and roaſting at the Fire. Sometimes, by breaking and wreſting one of their ribs with a payre of hot Tonges, or cutting their fleſh vnder the nayles, and ſuch like.

Order after examination.

The examination thus taken, withall the proofes and euidences that can be alledged againſt the party, it is ſent vppe to the *Mosko*, to the Lord of the Chetfirde or Fourth-part, vnder whome the Prouince is, and by him is preſented vnto the Councell Table, to be reade and ſentenced there, where onely iudgement is giuen in matter of life and death, and that by euidence vppon information, though they neuer ſaw nor heard the party, who is kept ſtill in priſon where the Facte was committed, & neuer ſent vp to the place where he is tryed. If they find the partie guilty, they giue ſentence of death according to the quality of the facte, which is ſent downe by the Lord of the Chetfird, to the Duke and Diacke to be put in execution. The priſoner is carried vnto the place of execution, with his hands bound and a wax candle burning held betweene his fingers.

Men are ſentenced without perſonall appearance.

The order of their cheefeſt puniſhments on common perſons.

Their capitall puniſhments, are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drowning, putting vnder the Iſe, ſetting on a ſtake, and ſuch like. But (for the moſt part) the priſoners that are condemned in ſummer, are kept for the winter, to be knockt on the head, and put vnder the Ice. This is to be vnderſtood of common perſons. For theft and murther, if they be committed vpon a poore *Mouſick* by one of Nobilitie, it is not lightly punniſhed, nor yet is he called to any account for it. Their reaſon is, becauſe they are accounted their *Kolophey* or bond-ſlaues.

On gentlemē and ſouldiers.

If by ſome *Sinaboiarskey*, or Gentleman Souldiour, a murther or theft bee committed, peraduenture he ſhall be impriſoned at the Emperors pleaſure. If the manner of the fact bee very notorious, hee is whipped perchance, and this is commonly all the puniſhment that is inflicted vpon them.

No written Law among them.

If a man kill his owne ſeruant, little or nothing is ſaide vnto him, for the aforeſaide reaſon: becauſe he is accounted to be his *Kolophey* or bondſlaue, & ſo to haue right ouer his very head. The vtmoſt is ſome ſmall mulct to the Emperour, if the party be rich: and ſo the quarrell is made rather againſt the purſe, then againſt the iniuſtice. They haue no Written Lawe, ſaue onely a ſmall booke, that containeth the time and manner of their ſitting, order in proceeding, and ſuch other iudicial formes and circumſtances, but nothing to direct them, to giue ſentence on right or wrong. Their onely Law is their Speaking Law, and that is the pleaſure of the Prince, and of his Magiſtrates & officers. Which ſheweth the miſerable condition of this poore people, that are forced to haue them for their Law and direction of Iuſtice; againſt whoſe iniuſtice & extream oppreſſion, they had neede ro bee armed with many good and ſtrong lawes.

Speaking law

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers, and their ſalaries.

The Soldiers of *Ruſsia* are called *Sinaboiarskey*, or the ſonnes of Gentlemen, becauſe they are all of that degree, by vertue of their Military profeſſion. For euery ſoldier is a Gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but onely the ſoldiers, that take it by diſcent from their Anceſtors; ſo that the ſon of a Gentleman (which is borne a ſoldier) is euer a Gentleman, and a Soldier withall, and profeſſeth nothing elſe but Military matters. When they are of years able to bear Armes, they come to the office of *Roſerade*, or great Conſtable, and there preſent themſelues, who entereth their names, and allotteth them certayne lands to maintaine their charges, for the moſt part, the ſame that their fathers enioyed.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

For the Lands assigned to maintaine the Army, are euer certaine, annexed to this office without improouing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doth extend alreadie; they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be diuided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that country: when a souldier that hath many children, shall haue sometimes but one entertained in the Emperors pay. So that the rest hauing nothing, are forced to liue by vniust and wicked shiftes, that tend vnto the hurt and oppression of the *Mousick* or common sort of people. This inconuenience groweth, by maintaining his forces in a continuall succession. The whole number of his souldiers in continual pay, is this. First, he hath of his *Dworaney*, that is, Pensioners, or guarde of his person, to the number of 15000. horsemen, with their Captaines and other officers, that are alwayes in a readinesse.

Degrees of Horsemen.

Of these 15000. horssemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ aswel in estimation, as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them, is called *Dworaney Bulshey*, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourscore Rubbels a yeare, & none vnder seuenty. The second sort are called *Seredney Dworaney*, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These haue sixty, or fifty rubbels by the yeare, none vnder forty. The third and lowest sort are the *Dyta Boianskey*, that is, the lowest Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbels a yeare for him that hath most, some haue but fiue and twenty, some twenty, none vnder twelue. Whereof the halfe part is paide them at the *Mosko*, the other halfe in the fielde by the Generall, when they haue any warres, and are employed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. rubbels yearely.

1. Pretoriani, or such as attend the Emperors person

And to this their wages, besides Lands alotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according vnto their degrees. Wherof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him twenty Rubbels or Markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000. horssemen that are of better choise (as beeing the Emperors owne gard, when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Roman souldiers cald *Prætoriani*) are an hundred & ten men of special accoũt for their Nobility and trust, which are chosen by the Emperor, and haue their names registered, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meete for the wars, after the Russe manner.

Two other troops, to the number of 65000.

To this end they haue yearly allowance made by the Emperor for themselues, & their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field euery year on the borders towards the *Chrim Tartar* (except they bee appointed for some other seruice) whether there be warres with the Tartars, or not.

This might seeme (peraduenture) somwhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the commaund of Noblemen, to assemble euery yeare vnto one certaine place. But the matter is so vsed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperor, or his state by this meaus. First, becausse these Noblemen are many, to wit, an hundred and ten in all, & changed by the Emperor, so oft as he thinks good. Secondly, becausse they haue their liuings of the Emperor, being otherwise but of very small renennew, and receiue this yearly pay of 40000. rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe vnto the soldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, becausse (for the most part) they are about the Emperors person, being of his counsell either special, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters then Captaines to their companies, themselus not going forth ordinarily to the warres, saue when some of them are appointed, by special order from the Emperor himselfe: so the whole number of horsemen that are euer in a readines, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in continual pay 80000.

If he haue neede of a greater number, (which sildom falleth out) then he entertaineth of those *Sinaboiarskey*, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giueth charge to his Noblemen (that hold lands of him) to bring into the Fielde (euery man) a proportionable number of his Seruants, (called *Kolophey*) such as Till his Landes, with their Furniture, according vnto the full and iust number, thar hee intendeth to make vppe. The which seruice beeing done,

done, preſently lay in their Weapons, and returne to their ſeruile occupations againe.

Footmen in continual pay 12000.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called *Strelſey*. Whereof 5000 are to attend about the Citty of *Mosko*, or any other place where the Emperour ſhall abide, and 2000. (which are called *Stremaney*, *Streſley*, or Gunners at the ſtirrop) about his owne perſon, at the very Court or houſe where himſelfe lodgeth. The reſt are placed in his garriſon towns, till there be occaſion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their ſallery or ſtipend euery man ſeuen rubbels a yeare, beſides twelue meaſures, a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Soldiours, that are ſtrangers (whom they call *Nimſchoy*) they haue at this time, 4300. of *Polonians*: of *Chirchaſſes* (that are vnder the *Polonians*) about foure thouſand, whereof 3500. are abroad in his garriſons: of *Doutches Scots* about 150. of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, *Danes* and *Sweadens*, all in one band, an 100. or thereabouts. But theſe they vſe onely vpon the *Tartar* ſide, and againſt the *Siberians*: as they doe the *Tartar* Soldiours (whom they hire ſometimes but onely for the preſent) on the other ſide againſt the *Polonian* and *Sweden*: thinking it beſt pollicie, ſo to vſe their ſeruice vpon the contrary border.

Strangers mercenaries in pay, 4300.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of theſe Forces, according to their names and degrees, are theſe which follow. Firſt, the *Voyauodey Bulſhaia*, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant Generall vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houſes of the chiefe Nobility of the Land: but ſo choſen otherwiſe, as that he is of ſmall valour, or practiſe in Martiall matters, being thought to ſerue that turne ſo much the better, if he bring no other parts with him, ſaue the countenance of his Nobility, to be liked of by the Soldiours for that, and nothing elſe. For in this point they are very wary, that theſe two (to wit) Nobility, and power meete not both in one, ſpecially if they ſee wiſedome with all, or aptneſſe for pollicy.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders. Firſt, the Voiauod or Generall.

Their great *Voiauod* or Generall at this preſent in their warres, is commonly one of theſe foure: *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methiſloskey*, *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glinskoy*, *Cherechaskoy*, and *Trowbetskoy*; all of great Nobility, but of very ſimple quality otherwiſe: though in *Glinskoy* (as they ſay) there is ſome-what more then in the reſt. To make vp this defect in the *Voiauod* or Generall, there is ſome other ioyned with him as Lieutenant Generall, of farre leſſe Nobility, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and moſt vſed in their warres, is one *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Foreſtine*, an ancient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great ſeruice (as they ſay) againſt the *Tartar* and *Polonian*. Next, vnder the *Voiauod* and his Lieutenant Generall, are foure other, that haue the Marſhalling of the whole Army diuided among them, and may bee called the Marſhalles of the field.

2. Lieutenant Generall.

3 Marſhals of the field four.

Euery man hath his quarter or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the firſt is called the *Praua Polskoy*, or right wing. The ſecond is the *Leuoy Polskoy*, or left wing. The third is *Ruſnoy Polskoy*, or the broken band, becauſe out of this there are choſen to ſend abroad vpon any ſuddaine exploit, or to make a reſcue or ſupply, as occaſion doth require. The fourth is *Storeſhouoy Potskoy*, or the warding band. Euery one of theſe foure Marſhals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euery Weeke at the leaſt, muſt muſter and traine their ſeuerall wings or bands, and hold and giue iuſtice for all faults, and diſorders committed in the Campe.

The ordering of each quarter.

4. Marſhals Deputies 8.

And theſe eight are commonly choſen out of the 110. (which I ſpake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the Soldiours. Vnder theſe eight are diuers other Captaines, as the *Gulauoy* Captaines of thouſands, fiue hundreds, and one hundred. The *Petyde Setskoy*, or Captaines of fifties, and the *Decetskies*, or Captaines of tens.

Fiue Coronels vnder Captaines.

Beſides the *Voiauoday* or Generall of the Army (ſpoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of *Voiauoda*: wherof one is the Maſter of the great Ordenance (called *Naradna Voiauoda*) who hath diuers vnder Officers, neceſſary for that ſeruice. The other is called the *Voiauoda Gulauoy*, or the walking

Sixe Maſters of the Artillery.

The walking Captaine.

Captaine, that hath allowed him a thousand good horsemen of principall choise, to range and spie abroad, and hadde the charge of the running Castle, which wee are to speake of hereafter. All these Captaines and men of charge, must (once euery day) resort to the *Bulsha Voiauoda*, or Generall of the Armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to theyr Office.

Of their mustering and leuying of forces, maner of Armour, & prouision of victuall for the warre.

Their order for mustering

When warres are towardes (which they faile not of lightly euery yeare with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure Lordes of the *Chetsirds* send foorth their summons in the Emperors name, to all the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to bee proclaimed in the head Townes of euery Shire: that all the *Sinaboiarskey*, or sonnes of Gentlemen, make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, & there present themselues vnto such and such Captaines.

When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certain Officers, that haue Commission for that purpose, from the *Roserade* or High Constable, as Clearkes of the Bands.

Default of appearance.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very seuerely. As for the Generall and other cheese Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission and charge, as hee thinketh behouefull for the present seruice. When the Soldiours are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands and Companies, vnder their seuerall Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into foure *Polskeis* or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romaine Legions were) vnder theyr foure great Leaders; which also haue the Authority of Marshals of the fielde, as was saide before.

The horsemans furniture.

Concerning their Armour, they are but slightly appointed. The common Horseman hath nothing else but his Bow in his case, vnder his right Arme, and his Quiuer and Sword hanging on the lefte side: except some few that beare a Case of Dags, or a Iauelin, or short staffe along their Horse side. The vnder Captains will haue commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a Shirt of Male, or such like. The Generall, with the other chief Captaines and men of Nobilitie, will haue their horse very richly furnished, theyr Saddles of Cloth of Golde, their Bridles faire bossed and tasselled with Golde and Silke Frindge, bestudded with Pearle & precious Stones: themselues in very faire Armour, which they call *Bullatnoy*, made of faire shining Steele yet couered commonly with cloth of Golde, and edged round with Ermin Furre, his steele Helmet on his head, of a very great price, his Sword, Bow and Arrowes at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another fayre Helmet, and his *Shestapera* or Horsmans Scepter caried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrowes, are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar, to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flye and retyre.

The General and cheefe Captaines.

The *Strelsey* or Foote-man, hath nothing but his peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his peece, is not made Calieuer-wise, but vvith a plaine & straight stocke (somewhat like a Fouling peece) the barrel is rudely and vnartificially made, very heauy, yet shooteth but a very small Bullet.

The footmās furniture.

As for their prouision of victuall, the Emperor alloweth none, eyther for Captaine or Soldiour, neither prouideth any for them, except peraduenture some corn for their mony. Euery mān is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure moneths, and (if neede require) to giue order for more to bee brought vnto him to the Campe, from his Tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place.

Prouision of victuall.

One great helpe they haue, that for Lodging and Dyet, euery *Russe* is prepared to be a souldiour before-hand. Although the chiefe Captaines, and other of account, do carrie Tents along vvith them, after the form and fashion of ours, with some better prouision of Victuall then the rest; they bring with them commonly into the Campe for Victuall, a kinde of dryed Bread (vvhich they call *Sucharie*) with some store of Meale, the which they temper with water, & so make it into a Ball, or small lump of Dough, called *Tollockno*. And this they eat raw in stead of Bread. Their meat is Bacon, or some

Their fielde-lodging and diet.

ſome other fleſh or fiſh dryed, after the Dutch manner.

If the *Ruſſe* Souldier were as hardie to execute an enterprize, as hee is harde to beare out toyle and trauaile, or were otherwiſe as apt and well trayned for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and dyet; he would farre exceed the Soldiours of other parts. Whereas now, hee is farre meaner of courage, and execution in any warlike ſeruice. Which commeth partly of his ſeruile condition; that will not ſuffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which he hath no great hope of, whatſoeuer ſeruice or execution he doe.

Of their marching, charging, and other martiall diſcipline.

The Ruſſe truſteth rather to his number, then to the valor of his Soldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their matching or leading is without all order, ſaue that the foure *Polskey* or Legions (whereinto their army is diuided) keepe themſelues vnder their Enſignes, and ſo thruſt all on together in a hurrey, as they are directed by their Generall, Their Enſigne is the image of Saint George. The *Bulſha Dworaney* or cheefe Horſemen, haue euery man a ſmall Drumme of Braſſe at his Saddle-bow, which he ſtriketh when hee giueth the charge, or onſet.

Horſemen, drummes.

They haue Drummes beſides of a huge biggeneſſe, which they carrie vvith them vppon a boord layde on foure horſes, that are ſparred together with Iron Chaines, euery Drumme hauing eyght Beaters or Drummers, beſides Trumpets, and Shawmes, which they ſound after a wilde manner, much diffrent from ours.

The Horſemans manner of charging.

When they giue any Charge, or make any inuaſion, they make a great hallowe or ſhowte altogether, as lowde as they can, which with the ſound of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confuſed and horrible noyſe. So they ſet on firſt diſcharging their Arrows, then dealing with their Swordes, which they vſe in a brauery to ſhake, and brandiſh ouer their Heades, before they come to ſtrokes.

The foote-mans charge.

Their Footmen (becauſe otherwiſe they want order in leading) are commonly placed in ſome ambuſh, or place of aduantage, where they may moſt annoy the enemy, with leaſt hurt to themſelues.

If it bee a ſet battaile, or if any great inuaſion bee made vppon the Ruſſe borders, by the Tartar; they are ſette within the *running* or *moouing Caſtle* (called *Beza*, or *Gulay gorod*) which is carried about with them by the *Voiauoda gulauoy* (or the *Walking Generall*) whome I ſpake of before. This Walking or moouing Caſtle is ſo framed, that it may be ſet vp in length (as occaſion doth require) the ſpace of one, two, three, foure, fiue, ſix, or ſeuen miles: for ſo long will it reach. It is nothing elſe but a double wall of Woode, to defend them on both ſides, behinde and before; with a ſpace of three yards or thereabout, betwixt the two ſides: ſo that they may ſtand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and diſcharge their peeces, and to vſe their other weapons.

The walking Caſtle.

What the walking Caſtle is.

It is cloſed at both ends, & made with loope holes on either ſide, to lay out the noſe of their peece, or to puſh forth any other weapon. It is caried along with the army wherſoeuer it goeth, being taken in to peeces, and ſo layde on Cartes ſparred together, and drawen by horſſe that are not ſeene, by reaſon that they are couered with their carriage, as with a ſhelfe or pent-houſe.

The planting of the walking Caſtle.

When it is brought vnto the place where it is to be vſed (which is deuiſed & choſen out before by the *Walking Voiauod*) it is planted, ſo much as the preſent vſe requireth, ſometime a mile long, ſom times two, ſometimes three, or more: Which is ſoone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or inſtrument: becauſe the Timber is ſo framed to claſp together one peece within another: as is eaſily vnderſtood, by thoſe that know the manner of the Ruſſe bvilding.

The ſhotte againſt the Tartar.

In this Caſtle ſtandeth their Shot well fenced for aduantage, eſpecially againſt the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordenance, nor other Weapon into the Fielde with him, ſaue his Sword, and Bowe and Arrowes. They haue alſo within it diuerſe fielde peeces, which they vſe as occaſion doth require. Of peeces for the fielde, they carry no great ſtore, when they war againſt the *Tartar*: but when they deale with the *Polonian* (of whoſe forces they make more account) they go better furniſhed with all kind of munition, and other neceſſarie prouiſions. It is thought, that no Prince of Chriſtendome, hath better

ſtore of munition, then the Ruſſe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie houſe at *Mosko*, where are of all ſortes of great Ordenance, all Braſſe peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The quality of the Ruſſe Soldier.

The Ruſſe Soldiour is thought to be better at his defence within ſome Caſtle, or Towne, then hee is abroad at a ſet pitched fielde. Which is euer noted in the practiſe of his warres, and namely, at the ſiedge of *Vobsko*, ſome few yeares ſince: where he repulſed the Polonian king, *Stephan Batore*, with his whole Army of an hundred thouſand men, and forced him (in the end) to giue ouer his ſiedge, with the loſſe of many of his beſt Captaines and Soldiers. But in a ſet fielde, the *Ruſſe* is noted to haue the worſe of the *Polonian* and *Sweden*.

Reward for valor.

If any behaue himſelfe more valiantly then the reſt, or doe any ſpeciall peece of ſeruice, the Emperor ſendeth him a piece of Gold, ſtamped with the image of Saint George on horſe-backe. Which peece they hang on their ſleeues, and ſet in their Caps. And this is accounted the greateſt honor they can receiue for any ſeruice they do.

Of their Collonies and maintaining of their Conqueſts or purchaſes by force.

The *Ruſſe* Emperors (of late years) haue very much enlarged their Dominions & Territories. Their firſt Conqueſt after the Dukedome of *Mosko* (for before that time they were but Dukes of *Volodemer*, as before was ſayde) was the Cittie, and Dukedome of *Nouograd* on the Weſt and North-Weſt ſide: which was no ſmal inlargement of their Dominion, & ſtrengthening vnto them for the winning of the reſt. This was done by *Iuan*, great Grand father to *Theodore* now Emperour, about the yeare 1480.

The victories & conqueſtes of Theodore.

The ſame began likewiſe to encroach vpon the Countreyes of *Liuonia* and *Lituania*, but the Conqueſt onely intended, and attempted by him vpon ſome part of thoſe Countreyes, was purſued and performed by his ſonne *Baſileus*, who firſt of all wan the Cittie and Dukedom of *Pleſko*, afterwards the City and Dukedom of *Smolensko*, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging vnto them, about the yeare 1514.

Theſe victories againſt the *Lettoes* or *Lituanians*, in the time of *Alexander* their Duke, hee atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuill diſſentions and treaſons among themſelues, then by any great pollicie or force of his owne. But all this was loſt againe by his ſonne *Iuan Vaſilowich*, about eight or nine yeares paſt, vpon compoſition with the Polonian King *Stephen Batore*; whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the *Pole* had then of him, by reaſon of the foyle hee had giuen him before, and the diſquietneſſe of his owne ſtate at home. Onely the *Ruſſe* Emperor, at this time, hath left him on that ſide his Countrey, the Cities of *Smolensko*, *Vitobsko*, *Cheringo*, and *Beala Gorod* in *Lituania*. In *Lituania*, not a Towne, nor one foote of ground.

All wonne by the father, loſt by the ſonne.

When *Baſileus* firſt Conquered thoſe Countreyes, hee ſuffered the Natiues to keepe their poſſeſſions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, vnder the gouernment of his *Ruſſe* Captaines. But by their Conſpiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more ſurely with them. And ſo cõming vpon them the ſecond time, hee killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or ſolde vnto the Tartars that ſerued him in thoſe wars, & (inſted of them) placed there his *Ruſſes*, ſo many as might ouer-match the reſt, with certaine Garriſons of ſtrength beſides. Wherein, notwithſtanding this ouerſight was committed, for that (taking away with him the Vpland or Countrey people (that ſhould haue tild the ground and might eaſily haue bene kept in order without any daunger, by other good policies) hee was driuen afterwardes manie yeares together, to Victuall the Countrey (eſpecially the great Townes) out of his owne Countrey of *Ruſsia*, the ſoyle lying there in the meane while waſte and vntilled.

Lituania, and the Emperors remiſſenes in his Conqueſt thereof.

Narue euen in the ſame manner.

The like fell out at the port of *Narue*, in *Liefland*, where his ſonne *Iuan Vaſilowith* deuiſed, to build a Towne and a Caſtle on the other ſide the Riuer, (called *Inangorod*) to keepe the Town and countrey in ſubiection. The Caſtle he cauſed to bee ſo built and fortified, that it was thought to bee inuincible. And when it was finiſhed, for reward to the Architect (that was a *Polonian*) hee put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the Natiues all within their owne Countrey, without a-

A moſt vnkind reward.

baring

bating their number or strength; the Towne and Castle (not long after) was betrayed, and surrendred againe to the King of *Sweden*.

Kingdomes won from the Tartar.

On the Southeast side, they haue got the Kingdomes of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*. These were wonne from the *Tartar*, by the late Emperor *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about 35. the other about 33. yeares agoe. Northward out of the Country of *Siberia*, he hath laide vnto his Realme, a great bredth and length of ground, from *Wichida* to the Riuer of *Obba*, about a thousand miles space: so that hee is bold to write himselfe now, *The Great Commander of Siberia*.

Permia and Pechora, their conquering.

The Countries likewise of *Permia* & *Pechora*, are a diuerse people & language from the *Russe*, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatning, & shaking of the Sword, then by any actuall force: as being a weake and naked people, without meanes to resist.

Meanes of holding his chiefe townes

That which the *Russe* hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his foure cheefe border townes of *Vobsko*, *Smolensko*, *Astracan*, and *Cazan*, he hath certaine of his Counsel, not of greatest Nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue more authority within their Precincts (for the countenancing & strengthening of their gouernment there) then the other Dukes that are set to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the manner of ordering their Prouinces. These he changeth somtime euery yeare, sometime euery second or third yeare, but exceedeth not that time; except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiarity with the enemy (as some haue done) being so far out of sight.

The strength of Townes & Castles.

The Townes besides are very strongly fenced with Trenches, Castles, & store of munition, and haue garrisons within thē, to the number of two or three thousand a piece. They are stored with victuall (if any siedge should come vpon them) for the space of two or three yeares before hand. The foure Castles of *Smolensko*, *Vobsko*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, hee hath made very strong to beare out any siedge: so that it is thought that those Townes are impregnable.

Meanes of holding the Countries of Pechora, Permia, and Siberia.

As for the Countries of *Pechora* and *Permia*, and that part of *Siberia*, which hee hath now vnder him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got, viz. rather by shewing, then by vsing of Armes. First, he hath stored the Country with as many *Russes* as there are Natiues, & hath there some few Soldiours in garrison, enough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his Officers and Magistrates there, are of his owne *Russe* people, and he changeth them very often, viz. euery yeare twice or thrice; notwithstanding there be no great feare of any innouation. Thirdly he diuideth them into many small gouernements, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so that they haue no strength being seuered, which was but little neyther, when they were all in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the country haue neyther Armour, nor mony, being taxed and pilled so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to releeue themselues.

The Kings Brother of Siberia allured from his Country.

In *Siberia* (where he goeth on in pursuing his Conquest) hee hath diuers Castles and Garrisons, to the number of sixe thousand Soldiours of *Russes* and *Polonians*, and sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time besides, he hath gotten the Kings Brother of *Siberia*, allured by certaine of his Captains, to leaue his owne Country, by offers of great entertainment, and pleasanter life with the *Russe* Emperor, then he had in *Siberia*. He was brought in this last yeare, and is now with the Emperor at *Mosko* well entertained.

The pollicy of their Conquest or other preuailing, wheresoeuer they come.

This may be said of the *Russe* practise, wheresoeuer he ruleth, either by right of Inheritance, or by Conquest.

First, hee bereaueth the Country of Armour, and other meanes of defence, which he permitteth to none, but to his *Boiarskeis* onely.

Secondly, he robbeth them continually of their mony and commodities, and leaueth them bare, with nothing but their bodies and liues, within certaine yeares compasse.

Thirdly, hee renteth and diuideth his Territories into many small pieces, by seuerall gouernments: so that none hath much vnder him to make any strength, though he had other opportunities.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, he gouerneth his Countries by men of ſmall reputation, and no power of themſelues, and ſtrangers (in thoſe places) where their gouernment lyeth.

Fiftly, he changeth his Gouernors once a yeare ordinarily, that there grow no great liking, nor intierneſſe betwixt the people and them, nor acquaintance with the enemy, if they lie towards the Borders.

Setting diuels together by the eares.

Sixtly, hee appointeth in one and the ſame place aduerſary Gouernors, the one to be as Controller of the other, as the Dukes and Diacks: where (by meanes of their enuies and emulations) there is leſſe hurt to be feared by their agreement, and himſelfe is better informed what is done amiſſe.

Seuenthly, he ſendeth many times into euery Prouince ſecret Meſſengers (of ſpeciall truſt about him) as intelligencers, to pry and hearken out what is doing, and what is amiſſe there. And this is ordinary, though it be ſudden, and vnknowne what time they will come.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the Country of Ruſsia, with whom they haue moſt to do in warre & peace.

Their neighbours with whom they haue greateſt dealings and intercourſe, both in peace and warre, are firſt the *Tartar*: Secondly the *Polonian*, whom the *Ruſſe* calleth *Laches*, noting the firſt Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called *Laches* or *Leches*, whereunto is added *Po*, which ſignifieth *People*, and ſo is made *Polaches*, that is, the *People or Poſterity of Laches*: which the *Latines* (after their manner of writing) call *Polanos*. The third are the *Swedens*. The *Polonians* and *Swedens* are better knowne to theſe parts of *Europe*, then are the *Tartars*, that are farther off from vs (as beeing of *Aſia*) and diuided into many Tribes, different both in name and gouernment one from another.

The Poloni-ans called Laches by the Ruſſe, and the reaſon why.

The Chrim Tartar, or the Great Cham.

The greateſt and mightieſt of them is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom ſome call the *Great Cham*) that lyeth South, & South-eaſtward from *Ruſsia*, and doth moſt annoy the Country by often inuaſions, cõmonly once euery yeare, ſometime entering very farre within the inland parts. In the yeare 1571. he came as far as the Cittie of *Mosko*, with an Army of two hundred thouſand men, without any battaile, or reſiſtance at all, for that the *Ruſſe* Emperor (then *Iuan Vaſilowich*) leading forth his Army to encounter with him, marched a wrong way: but (as it was thought) of very purpoſe, as not daring to aduenture the Fielde, by reaſon that he doubted his Nobility and cheefe Captaines, of a meaning to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the yeare 1571.

The Cittie hee tooke not, but fired the Subburbs, which by reaſon of the buildings (which are al of Wood, without any Stone, Brick or Lime, ſaue certaine outroomes) kindled ſo quickly, and went on with ſuch rage; as that it conſumed the greateſt part of the Citty, almoſt within the ſpace of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compaſſe. Then might you haue ſeene a lamentable ſpectacle: beſides the huge and mighty flame of the Citty all on light fire, the people burning in their houſes and ſtreetes, but moſt of all, of ſuch as laboured to paſſe out of the gates, fartheſt from the enemy; where meeting together in a mightie throng, & ſo preſſing euery man to preuent another: wedged themſelues ſo faſt within the gate and ſtreetes neere vnto it, as that three rankes walked one vpon the others head, the vppermoſt treading down thoſe that were lower: ſo that there periſhed at that time (as was ſaide) by the fire & the preaſe, the number of eight hũdred thouſand people, or more.

A ſtrange accident as euer was heard of.

The *Chrim* thus hauing fired the City, and fed his eyes with the ſight of it all on a light flame; returned with his Army, and ſent to the *Ruſſe* Emperor a Knife (as was ſaid) to ſtick himſelfe withall: vpbraiding this loſſe, and his deſperate caſe, as not daring eyther to meete his enemy in the fielde, nor to truſt his ſtiends nor ſubiects at home. The principall cauſe of this continuall quarrell betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Chrim*, is for the right of certaine border parts, claimed by the *Tartar*, but poſſeſſed by the *Ruſſe*. The *Tartar* alleadgeth, that beſides *Aſtracan*, & *Cazan* (that are the ancient poſſeſſion of the Eaſt *Tartar*) the whole Country, from his bounds North and Weſtward, ſo farre as the Citty of *Mosko*, and *Mosko* it ſelfe, pertaineth to his right. Which ſeemeth to haue bin true, by the report of the *Ruſſes* themſelues, that tell of a certaine homage, that was done by the *Ruſſe* Emperour (euery yeare) to the Great *Chrim* or *Cham*, the *Ruſſe* Emperour ſtanding on foote, and feeding the *Chrims* Horſe (him-ſelfe ſitting

The Chrims ſalutation to the Emperor.

The quarrell betweene the Ruſſe and Tartar.

Homage done by the Ruſſe to the Chrim Tartar, and in what manner.

The homage released by the Chrims surprizall.

sitting on his back) with Oates out of his owne Cap, instead of a Boule or Maunger, and that within the Castle of *Mosko*. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of *Basileus*, grandfather to this man. Who surprizing the *Chrim* Emperour by a stratagem, done by one of his Nobility (called *Iuan Demetrowich Belschey*) was content with this ransome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of Furres: which afterwards also was denied to be paide by this Emperors Father.

The Chrims comming against the Russe.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell; the *Russe* defending his Country, & that which he hath won, the *Chrim Tartar* inuading him once or twice euery yeare, sometime about Whitsontide, but oftner in Harueſt. What time, if the great *Cham* or *Chrim* come in his owne person, hee bringeth with him a great Army of an hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand men. Otherwise, they make short and sudden roads into the Country with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border, as wilde Geese flie, inuading and retiring where they see aduantage.

The manner of the Tartars fight & armor

Their common practise (beeing very populous) is to make diuers Armies, and so drawing the *Russe* to one, or two places of the Frontiers, to inuade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of fight, or ordering of their Forces, is much after the *Russe* manner (spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carry nothing else but a Bowe, a sheafe of Arrowes, & a faulchon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vse to shoote as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horsemans staffe like vnto a boare speare, besides their other weapons.

The common Soldiours Armour of the Tartars, differing from the Nobleman.

The common Soldiour hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheepes skinne, with the wooll side ourward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their *Morseys* or Noblemen imitate the Turke both in apparell and armor. When they are to passe ouer a Riuer with their Army, they tye three or foure horses together, and taking long Poles or pieces of wood, binde them fast to the tayles of their horses: so sitting on the Poles they driue their horse ouer. At handy-strokes (when they come to ioyne battaile) they are accounted farre better men then the *Russe* people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloudy by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no parts of peace, nor any ciuill practise.

Their passage of Riuers.

The subtilty of the Tartar.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them; they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise stratagems (vpon the sudden) for their better aduantage. As in their war against *Beala* the fourth, King of *Hungary*, whom they inuaded with fiue hundred thousand men, and obtained against him a great victory. Where (among other) hauing slaine his Chancellor, called *Nicholas Schinick*; they found about him the Kings priuy Seale. Whereupon, they deuised presently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings Name, to the Citties and Townes next about the place, where the field was fought; with charge, that in no case they should conuey themselues and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the Country desolate, to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemy, as was the *Tartar* Nation, tearming themselues in all reprochfull manner.

The Tartars war against Beala King of Hungary, and their cunning pollicy.

All policies in warre are by them accounted lawfull.

For, notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly; yet hee doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the accesse of a notable victory, if the sauage *Tartar* durst abide him in the field. To this purpose, hauing written their letters in the *Polish* Characters, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the fielde, and signed them with the Kings Seale; they dispatched them foorth to all the quarters of *Hungary*, that lay neare about the place. Whereupon the *Hungarians*, that were now flying away with their goods, wiues, and children, vppon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort by these counterfeit Letters; staied at home. And so were made a prey, being surprized on the sudden by the huge number of these *Tartars*, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

Besiedging of Townes or Forts.

When they besiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and send many flattering

flattering messages to perswade a surrender, promising all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they vse all manner of hostility, and cruelty. This they do vpon a rule they haue, viz. *That Iustice is to bee practised but towards their owne.* They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselues, and made some short conflict) they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemy into it if they can. But the *Russe* being wel acquainted with their practise, is more wary of them. When they come a rouing with some final number, they set on horsebacke counterfeit shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

A subtle rule among the Tartars.

When they make any onset, their manner is to make a great shoute, crying all out together, *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God help vs, God helpe vs.* They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemy, & are seene (when they are slaine) to bite the very weapon when they are past striking, or helping of themselues. Wherein appeareth, how diffrent the *Tartar* is in his desperate courage, from the *Russe* and *Turke*. For the *Russe* Souldior, if hee begin once to retire, putteth all his safety in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckning straight to die. The *Turke* commonly, when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to entretie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them vp, as it were to be tied: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe bondslaue.

The Tartars contempt of death.

Of the Russe Soldiour.

Of the Turkish Soldiour.

The cheefe booty the *Tartars* seeke for in all their wars, is to get store of captiues, specially yong boies and girles, whō they sell vnto the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets, made like Bakers Panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tier, or to be sick on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leaue him dead. The Soldiours are not troubled with keeping the Captiues, and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their wars; but they haue certaine bands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receiue and keepe the Captiues and the other prey.

The booty of the Tartars.

The *Russe* borders (being vsed to their inuasions lightly euery yeare in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the border parts, saue Swine onely, which the *Tartar* wil not touch, nor driue away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no Swines flesh. Of Christ our Sauior, they confesse as much as doth the *Turk* in his Alkaron, viz. That he came of the Angell *Gabriel*, & the Virgin *Mary*, that he was a great Prophet, & shall be the Iudge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: hauing felt the Turkish Forces, when hee wonne from them *Azou*, and *Caffa*, with some other townes about the *Euxine*, or *Blacke Sea*, that were before tributaries to the *Chrim Tartar*. So that now the Emperor of the *Chrims* (for the most part) is chosen some one of the Nobility, whom the Turke doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the *Chrim Tartar* giueth to the *Turke* the tenth part of the spoile, which he getteth in his wars against the Christians.

The Tartars religion like to the Turke.

Choise of the Tartars Emperor.

Heerein they differ from the *Turkish* Religion, for that they haue certaine idoll puppets, made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to bee as *Ianusses* or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certaine religious women, which they haue among them, for that and like vses. They haue besides, the image of their King or Great *Cham*, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euery stage, when the Army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bow vnto as he passeth by it, be hee *Tartar*, or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures, vpon euery accident which they heare or see.

Difference from the Turkish Religion.

Addiction to witchcraft.

In making of marriages, they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinity. Onely with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marry, and though hee take the woman into his house, and accompany with her; yet hee accounteth her not for his Wife, till he haue a childe by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowry of her friends, of Horse, Sheep, Kine, &c. If she bee barren, after a certaine time

Making of mariages among the Tartars.

The Tartar Nobilitie, and their authoritie.

time, he turneth her home agayne.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certayne Dukes, whom they call *Morſeis*, or *Diuoymorſeis*: that rule ouer a certayne number of tenne thouſand, twenty thouſand, or forty thouſand a peece, which they call *Hoords*. When the Emperour hath any vſe of them to ſerue in his wars, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, euery man with his two horſe at the leaſt, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his horſe eaten. For their chiefe vittaile is horſe fleſh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a *Tartar* be taken by a *Ruſſe*, he ſhal be ſure lightly to finde a horſe legge, or ſome other part of him hanging at his ſaddle bowe.

The Tartars dyet, is horſe fleſh.

This laſt yeare, when I was at the *Moſco*, came in one *Kiriach Morſey*, Nephew to the Emperour of the *Chrims* that now is (whoſe father was Emperour before) accompanied with 3. hundred *Tartars*. and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widdow. Where being entertayned in very good ſort (after the *Ruſſe* manner) he had ſent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his ſupper and his companies, two very large and fatte horſes, ready flayed on a ſledde. They preferre it before other fleſh, becauſe the meate is ſtronger (as they ſay) then beefe, mutton, and ſuch like. And yet (which is maruell) though they ſerue all as horſemen in the warres, and eate all of horſe fleſh, there are brought yearely to the *Moſco*, to be exchanged for other commodities, thirty or fortie thouſand *Tartar* horſes, which they commonly call *Cones*.

A preſent at a Tartars entertainment.

Their vſe of blacke ſheeps milke.

They keepe alſo great heards of kine, and flockes of blacke ſheepe, rather for the skinnes and milke (which they carrie with them in great bottles) then for the vſe of the fleſh, though ſometimes they eate of it. Some vſe they haue of Rice, Figges, and other Fruites. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the moſt part, carde them both together. They vſe ſometimes (as they doe trauell by the way) to let their horſes blood in a veine, and to drink it warme, as it cometh from his body.

Townesthydo plant none, nor other ſtanding buildings, but haue walking houſes, which the Latines call *Veii*, built vpon wheeles, like vnto a Shepheards cottage. Theſe they draw with them whither ſoeuer they goe, driuing their cattaile with them. And whē they come to their ſtage, or ſtanding place, they plant their Carthouſes very orderly in a ranke: and ſo do make the forme of the ſtreetes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himſelfe, who hath no other ſeate of his Empire, but an *Agora*, or towne of wood, that mooueth with him whither ſoeuer he goeth. As for the fixed and ſtanding buildings vſed in other Countries, they ſay they are vnwholeſome and vnpleaſant.

The Tartars dwelling, walking, or remouing houſes.

Agora, or Towne of wood mouing with the Emperour.

They beginne to mooue their houſes and cattaile in the Spring time, from the South part of their Countrey towardes the North parts. And ſo driuing on till they haue graſed all vp vnto the fartheſt part Northward, they returne backe agayne towardes their South Countrey (where they continue all the winter) by ten or twelue miles a ſtage: in the meane while, the graſſe being ſprung vp againe, to ſerue for their cattaile as they returne. From the border of the *Shalcan* towardes the *Caſpian* Sea, vnto the *Ruſſe* frontires, they haue a goodly Countrey, ſpecially on the South and South-eaſt parts, but loſt for lacke of tillage.

The times of remooving their houſes.

Of money they haue no vſe at all, and therefore prefer Braſſe and Steele before other mettalls, eſpecially bullate, which they vſe for Swords, Knines, and other neceſſaries. As for Golde and Siluer, they neglect it of very purpoſe, (as they do all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey leſſe ſubiect to inuaſions. Which giueth them great aduantage againſt all their neighbours, euer inuading, and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of olde time *Cyrus* and *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, on the Eaſt and Southeaſt ſide) haue done it with very ill ſucceſſe, as we finde in the Stories written of thoſe times. For their manner is, when any will inuade them, to allure and draw them on, by flying and reculing (as if they were afraid) vntill they haue drawne them ſome good way within their Countrey. Then, when they beginne to want vittaile and other

They haue no vſe of money among them.

Pollicie in their pouerty.

Their pollicy for inuaders of their countrey.

Laonicus Chalcocondylas.

other neceſſaries (as needes they muſt where nothing is to bee had) to ſtop vp the paſſages, and encloſe them with multitudes. By which ſtratagem (as wee reade in *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* in his Turkiſh ſtory) they had well nigh ſurprized the great and huge Army of *Tamberlaine*; but that he retired with al ſpeed he could, towards the Riuer *Tanais*, or *Don*, not without great loſſe of his men, and carriages.

Pachymerius.

In the ſtory of *Pachymerius* the *Greeke* (which hee wrote of the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, from the beginning of the Reigne of *Michael Palæologus*, to the time of *Andronicus* the elder) I remember hee telleth (to the ſame purpoſe) of one *Nogas*, a *Tartarian* Captaine vnder *Cazan*, the Emperor of the Eaſt *Tartars* (of whõ the Citty and Kingdome of *Cazan* may ſeeme to haue taken the denomination) who refuſed a Preſent of Pearle & other Iewels, ſent vnto him from *Michael Palæologus*: Asking (withall) for what vſe they ſerued, and whither they were good, to keepe away ſickneſſe, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no? So that it ſeemeth, they haue euer (or long time) bene of that minde, to value things no further, then by the vſe, and neceſſity for which they ſerue.

A ſtory of a Tartarian Captaine.

Perſon and complection of the Tartars and their naturall inclination.

For perſon and complection, they haue broad and flat viſages, of a tanned colour into yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thin haired vpon the vpper lip, and pit of the chin, light and nimble bodied, with ſhort legges, as if they were made naturally for Horſemen: whereto they practiſe themſelues from their childhood, ſildome going afoote about any buſineſſe. Their ſpeech is very ſudden and loud, ſpeaking as it were out of a deep hollow throate. When they ſing, you would thinke a Cow lowed, or ſome great bandog howled. Their greateſt exerciſe is ſhooting, wherin they traine vp their children from their very infancy, not ſuffring them to eate, til they haue ſhot neere the marke within a certaine ſcantling. They are the very ſame, that (ſometimes) were called * *Scythæ Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*, both by the Greekes and Latines.

* A people in Scythia about Meotis.

Some thinke, that the Turkes tooke their beginning from the Nation of the *Chrim Tartars*. Of which opinion is *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* the Greeke Hiſtoriographer, in his firſt Booke of his Turkiſh ſtory. Wherein he followeth diuers very probable coniectures.

The reaſons of the Greek Author, for his opinion of the Tartars.

The firſt, taken from the very name it ſelfe, for that the word *Turke*, ſignifieth a Shepheard, or one that followeth a vagrant and wilde kinde of life. By which name theſe *Scythian Tartars* haue euer bin noted, being called by the Greeks, *Skúthai Nómades*, or the *Scythian* Shepheards.

His ſecond reaſon, becauſe the *Turkes* (in his time) that dwelt in *Aſia the leſſe*, to wit, in *Lydia*, *Coria*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, ſpake the very ſame Language that theſe *Tartars* did, that dwelt betwixt the Riuer *Tanais* or *Don*, and the Country of *Sarmatia*, which (as is well knowne) are theſe *Tartars* called *Chrims*. At this time alſo, the whole Nation of the *Turks* differ not much in their common ſpeech from the *Tartar* Language.

Thirdly, becauſe the *Turke* and the *Chrim Tartar* agree ſo well together, as well in Religion, as matter of Trafficke, neuer inuading, or iniurying one another: ſaue that the *Turke* (ſince *Laonicus* his time) hath encroached vppon ſome Towns vpon the **Euxine* Sea, that before pertained to the *Chrim Tartar*.

*A part of the Sea, diuiding Europe from Aſia.

Fourthly, becauſe *Orcogules* ſonne to *Oguzalpes*, and (Father to *Ottoman*, the firſt of name of the Turkiſh Nation) made his firſt rodes out of thoſe partes of *Aſia*, vpon the next borderers, til he cam towards the Countreyes about the Hill *Taurus*, where he ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and ſo enlarged the name and territory of the Turkiſh Nation, till he came to *Eubœa* and *Attica*, and other parts of Greece. This is the opinion of *Laonicus*, who liued amongeſt the Turkes, in the time of *Amurath*, the ſixte Tnrkiſh Emperor, about the year 1400. when the memory of their originall vvas more freſh: and therefore the likelyer hee was to hit the truth.

The Nagay Tartar, the cruelleſt. The Chircaſſe the ciuileſt Tartar.

There are diuers other *Tartars* that border vpon *Ruſsia*, as the *Nâgaies*, the *Cheremiſens*, the *Mordwites*, the *Chircaſſes*, & the *Shalcans*, which all differ (in name, more then in Regiment, or other condition) from the *Chrim Tartar*, except the *Chircaſſes*, that border South-Weſt, towards *Lituania*, and are farre more ciuill then the reſt of the *Tartars*; of a comely perſon,

perſon, and of a ſtately behauiour, as applying themſelues to the faſhion of the *Polonian*. Some of them haue ſubiected themſelues vnto the Kings of *Poland*, and profeſſe Chriſtianity. The *Nagay* lyeth Eaſtward, and is reckoned for the beſt man of warre among all the *Tartars*, but very ſauage and cruell aboue all the reſt.

The Cheremiſen Tartar, very troubleſome and dangerous.

The *Cheremiſen Tartars*, that lye betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Nagay*, are of two ſorts, the *Lugauoy* (that is of the Valley) and the *Nagoruay*, or of the hilly Country. Theſe haue much troubled the Emperours of *Ruſsia*. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yearely penſion of *Ruſſe* commodities, to their *Morſeis*, or *Diuoymorſeis*, that are cheefe of their Tribes. For which alſo they are bound to ſerue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are ſaide to be iuſt and true in their dealings: and for that cauſe they hate the Ruſſe people, whom they account to bee double, and falſe in all their dealings. And therefore the common ſort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *Morſeis*, or Dukes for their penſions ſake.

The Mordwite Tartar the moſt barbarous of the reſt.

The moſt rude and barbarous is counted the *Mordwite Tartar*, that hath many ſelfe-faſhions, and ſtrange kindes of behauiour, differing from the reſt. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worſhippe for God, that liuing thing, that hee firſt meeteth in the morning, and to ſweare by it all that whole day, whether it be Horſe, Dogge, Catte, or whatſoeuer elſe it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his beſt Horſe, and hauing flayed off the skinne, he carrieth it on high vppon a long Pole, before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doth (as the Ruſſe ſaith) that his friend may haue a good Horſe to carry him to Heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the beſt thing that he hath.

The Shalcans and Country of Media.

Next to the Kingdome of *Aſtracan*, that is the fartheſt part Southeaſtward of the *Ruſſe* Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcans*, and the Countrey of *Media*: whether the *Ruſſe* Merchants trade for raw ſilkes, ſyndon, ſaphion, skins, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of *Media* where the *Ruſſe* tradeth, are *Derbent* (built by *Alexander* the great, as the Inhabitants ſay) and *Zamachio*, where the ſtaple is kept for rawe ſilkes. Their manner is (in the Spring time) to reuiue the ſilke-worms (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sun, and to haſten their quickning, that they may ſooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and ſo to hang thē vnder their childrens armes. As for the Worme called *Chriniſin* (as wee call it *Chrymſon*) that maketh coloured ſilke, it is bred not in *Media*, but in *Aſſyria*. This trade to *Derbent* & *Zamachio* for raw ſilks and other commodities of that Country, as alſo into *Perſia*, and *Bougharia*, downe the Riuer *Volgha*, and through the *Caſpian* Sea; is permitted aſwell to the Engliſh, as to the Ruſſe Merchants, by the Emperors laſt Graunt, as appeareth. Which he accounteth for a very ſpeciall fauour, and might prooue indeed very beneficiall to all kinde of Merchants, if the trade were well and orderly vſed.

Of reuiuing the Silke-wormes in the Spring time.

The Tartars haue no learning or written Law.

The whole Nation of the *Tartars*, are vtterly voide of all learning, & without written Law. Yet certaine rules they haue, which they hold by tradition, common to all the *Hoords*, for the practiſe of their life. Which are of this ſort.

Orders and obſeruations among them.

Firſt, To obey their Emperour and other Magiſtrates, whatſoeuer they command about the publike ſeruice.

2. *Except for the publike behoofe, euery man to be free, and out of controlement.*

3. *No priuate man to poſſeſſe any Lands, but the whole Country to be in common.*

4. *To neglect all daintineſſe and variety of meates, and to content themſelues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardneſſe, and readineſſe in the executing of their affaires.*

5. *To weare any baſe attire, and to patch their cloathes, whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no ſhame to weare a patcht Coate.*

6. *To take, or ſteale from any ſtranger whatſoeuer they can get, as being enemies to all men, ſaue to ſuch as will ſubiect themſelues to them.*

7. *Towards their owne Hoord and Nation, to be true in word and deed.*

8. *To ſuffer no ſtranger to come within the Realm. If any do, the ſame to be bond-ſlaue to*

him that first taketh him, except such Marchants, and other as haue the Tartar Bull, or Pastport about them.

Of the Permians, Samoites, & Lappes.

The *Permians* and *Samoites*, that do lie from *Russia*, North and Northeast, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the *Tartar* kinde. And it may partly be ghessed by the fashion of their countenance, as hauing all broade and flat faces, as the *Tartars* haue, except the *Chirchasse*,.

The Permians.

The *Permians* are accounted for a very ancient people. They are now subiect to the *Russe*. They liue by hunting, and trading with their furres, as doth also the *Samoyt*, that dwelleth more towards the North sea.

The Samoites

The *Samoyt* hath his name (as the *Russe* saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they liued as Cannibals, eating one an other. Which they make more probable, because (at this time) they eate all kinde of rawe flesh, whatsoeuer it be, euen the very carrion that lyeth in the ditch. But as the *Samoites* themselues will say, they were called *Samoie*, that is of themselues, as though they were *Indigenæ*, or poore people bred vpon that very soile, that neuer changed their seate from one place to another, as most Nations haue doone. They are subiect, at this time, to the Emperour of *Russia*.

Indigenæ or beggers.

I talked with certaine of them, & finde that they acknowledge one God; but represent him by such things as they haue most vse and good by. Therefore they do worship, the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh, and such like. As for the storie of *Slata Baba*, or the *Golden hagge*, (which I haue read in some Maps and Descriptions of these countries, to be an Idole, after the forme of an old woman) that being demaunded by the Priest, giues them certaine oracles, concerning the successe, and euent of things; I found it to be but a very Fable. Onely in the Prouince of *Obdaria*, vppon the Sea side, neare to the mouth of the great riuer *Obda*, there is a Rocke, which naturally (beeing somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a childe in her armes (as the Rocke by the North Cape the shape of a Fryer) where the *Obdorian Samoites* vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue and practise their sorceries, and ominous coniecturings, about the good or the bad speede of their iourneys, fishings, huntings, and other such like.

The Samoites religion.

Slata Baba or the golden Hagge.

The Obdorian.

The Samoites habite and behauiour.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side outwards downe, as low as the knees, with their breeches and neather-stocks of the same, both men and women. They are all black haired, naturally beardlesse. Therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their lookes, saue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue (in a maner) a wilde and a sauage life, rouing still from one place of the country to another, without any property of house or land, more to one then to an other. Their leader or directer in euery company, is their *Papa* or Priest.

The Lappes.

On the North side of *Russia* next vnto *Corelia*, lyeth the Countrey of *Lappia*, which reacheth in length from the farthest poynt Northward, (towardes the North-cape) to the farthest part South-east (which the *Russe* calleth *Sweetnesse* or Holy nose, the Englishmen *Capegrace*) about 345. verst or miles. From *Sweetnesse* to *Candelox* by the way of *Versega* (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles, or thereabouts. The whole Countrey (in a manner) is eyther Lakes or Mountains, which towards the Sea side are called *Tondro*, because they are all of hard and craggy rocke, but the in-land partes are well furnished with woods growing vpon the hilles sides, the Lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue none, but feed onely vpon fish and fowle. They are subiect to the Emperour of *Russia*, and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmarke*: which all exact tribute & custome of them (as was said before:) but the Emperour of *Russia* beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exact of them farre more then the rest.

Their dyet and feeding.

The opinion is, that they were first tearmed *Lappes*, of their briefe and short speach. The *Russe* diuideth the whole nation of the *Lappes* into two sorts. The one they call *Nowremanskoy Lapary*, that is, the *Noruegian Lappes*: because they be of the *Danish* Religion. For the *Danes* & *Noruegians* they account for one people. The other that haue no Religion at all, but liue as brute and Heathenish people,

Diuision of the Lappes.

people, without God in the world, they call *Dikoy Lopary*, or the wilde *Lappes*.

The Lappes voide of all Learning.

The whole Nation is vtterly vnlearned, hauing not ſo much as the vſe of any Alphabet, or Letter among them. For practiſe of witchcraft and ſorcery, they paſſe all Nations in the world. Though for the inchanting of Ships that ſayle along their Coaſt (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of windes, good to their friends, and contrary vnto other, whom they meane to hurt by tying of certaine knots vpon a Rope (ſome-what like to the tale of *Æolus* his winde-bag) is a very fable, deuiſed (as may ſeeme) by themſelues, to terrifie ſaylers for comming neare their Coaſt.

The Lappes giue or ſell no windes.

Their Weapons.

Their Weapons are the long Bow, and hand-gunne, wherein they excell, aſwell for quickneſſe to charge and diſcharge; as for nearneſſe at the marke, by reaſon of their continual practiſe (whereto they are forced) of ſhooting at wilde Fowle.

Their manner is (in Summer time) to come downe in great companies to the ſea ſide, to *Wardhuyſe*, *Cola*, *Kegor*, & the bay of *Vedagoba*, and there to fiſh for Cod, Salmon, and But-fiſh, which they ſell to the *Ruſſes*, *Danes*, and *Norgeuians*, and now of late to the Engliſh men, that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the *Lappes* and *Corelians* for their Fiſh, Oyle, & Furs, whereof alſo they haue ſome ſtore. They hold their Mart at *Cola* on S. *Peters* day: what time the Captaine of *Wardhuyſe* (that is reſiant there for the king of *Denmark*) muſt be preſent, or at leaſt ſend his deputy, to ſet prices on their ſtockfiſh, traine oile, furs, and other commodities: as alſo the *Ruſſe* Emperors Cuſtomer, or tribute taker, to receiue his cuſtome, which is euer payed before any thing can be bought or ſolde.

The Lappes Mart on S. Peters day.

When their fiſhing is done, their manner is, to draw their Carbaſſes, or Boates on ſhore, and there to leaue them with the keele turned vpwards, till the next ſpring tide. Their trauaile too and fro, is vpon ſleds, drawne by the Ollen Deere: which they vſe to turne a grazing all the Summer time, in an Iſland called *Kilden* (of a very good ſoyle, compared with other parts of that Country) and towards the Winter time, when the Snow beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe, for the vſe of their ſledde.

CHAP. IIII.

Fourthly, concerning Eccleſiaſticall Offices and Orders; The Rites and Sacraments obſerued in the Moſcouian Church: with their Marriages and other Ceremonies beſide.



Oncerning the gouernment of their Church, it is framed altogether after the manner of the Greeks, as being a part of that Church, and neuer acknowledging the iuriſdiction of the Latine Church, vſurped by the Pope. That I may keepe the better meaſure in deſcribing their Ceremonies, then they in the vſing thē (wherein they are infinite) I will note briefly.

Firſt, what Eccleſiaſticall degrees, or Offices they haue, with the iuriſdiction & practiſe of them.

Secondly, what doctrine they holde in matter of Religion.

Thirdly, what Leiturgy, or forme of ſeruice they vſe in their Churches, with the manner of their adminiſtring the Sacraments.

Fourthly, what other ſtrange Ceremonies, and ſuperſtitious deuotions are vſed among them.

Their Offices, or degrees of Churchmen, are as many in number, and the ſame in a manner (both in name and degree) that were in the Weſterne Churches. Firſt they haue their *Patriarch*, then their *Metropolites*, their *Archbiſhops*, their *Vladikey* or *Biſhops*, their *Protopapes* or *Arch-Prieſts*, their *Papes* or *Prieſts*, their *Deacons*, *Fryars*, *Monks*, *Nuns*, and *Eremites*.

The Church Officers.

Their *Patriarch*, or chiefe directer in matter of religion vntill this laſt year, was of the Citty of *Conſtanſtinople* (whom they called the *Patriarch* of *Sio*) becauſe, being driuen by the *Turke* out of *Conſtanſtinople* (the ſeat of his Empire) he remoued to the Iſle *Sio*, ſomtimes called *Chio*, and there placed his Patriarchall Sea. So that the Emperors & Cleargy of *Ruſsia*, were wont yearely to ſend guifts thither,

The Patriarch.

and to acknowledge a ſpirituall kinde of homage, and ſubiection due to him, and to that Church. Which cuſtome they haue held (as it ſeemeth) euer ſince they profeſſed the Chriſtian religion. Which how long it hath bene, I coulde not well learne, for that they haue no ſtory or monument of Antiqnity (that I could heare of) to ſhew what hath bene done in times paſt within their Countrey, concerning either Church or Commonwealth matters.

A ſolemne great marriage.

Onely I heard a report amongſt them, that about three hundred yeares ſince, there was a marriage betwixt the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, & the kings daughter of that Country: who (at the firſt) denied to ioyne his daughter in marriage with the Greek Emperor, becauſe he was of the Chriſtian Religion. Which agreeeth well with that which I find in the ſtory of *Laonicus Chalcacondylas*, concerning Turkiſh affaires in his fourth book: where he ſpeaketh of ſuch a marriage, betwixt *Iohn* the Greeke Emperor, and the Kings daughter of *Sarmatia*.

The Polonian hiſtory.

And this argueth (out of their own report) thar at that time, they had not receyued the Chriſtian Religion: As alſo, that they were conuerted to the faith, and withall peruerted at the very ſame time, receyuing the doctrine of the Goſpel corrupted with ſuperſtitions euen at the very firſt, when they tooke it from the *Greek* Church, which it ſelfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many ſuperſtitions and fowle errors, both in Doctrine & Diſcipline: as may appeare by the Storie of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, in his eight and ninth bookes.

But, as touching the time of their conuerſion to the Chriſtian faith, I ſuppoſe rather, that it is miſtaken by the *Ruſſe*: for that which I find in the *Polonian* ſtory, the ſecond Booke, the third chapter: where is ſayde, that about the yeare 990. *Vlodomirus* Duke of Ruſſia, married one *Anne*, ſiſter to *Baſilius* and *Conſtantinus* brothers, and Emperors of *Conſtantinople*. Whereupon the Ruſſe receyued the Fayth and profeſſion of Chriſt. Which, though it be ſomwhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the *Ruſſe* report; yet it falleth out al to one reckning, touching this point, viz: in what truth and ſincerity of doctrine the *Ruſſe* receyued the firſt ſtamp of religion: foraſmuch as the *Greek* church (at that time alſo) was many waies infected with error and ſuperſtition.

The tranſlation of the Patriarchall Sea from Conſtantinople or Sio to Mosko

In the yeare 1588. came vnto the *Moſko* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*, called *Hieronomo*, being baniſhed (as ſom ſayd) by the Turke, as ſome other reported, by the Greeke Clergy depriued. The Emperour being giuen altogether to ſuperſtitious deuotions, gaue him great entertainment. Before his comming vnto *Mosko*, he had bin in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported there by ſom of his company. His errand was, to conſult with the Emperor, concerning theſe points.

The firſt intention.

Firſt, about a league to paſſe between him and the King of Spaine, as the meeteſt Prince to ioyne with him in oppoſition againſt the Turke. To which purpoſe alſo Ambaſſages had paſſed betwixt the *Ruſſe* and the *Perſian*. Likewiſe from the *Georgians* to the Emperour of Ruſſia, to ioyne league together, for the inuading of the Turke on al ſides of his dominion: taking the aduantage of the ſimple quality of the Turk that then was. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambaſſador of *Almaigne*, ſent at the ſame time to ſolicite an inuaſion on the partes of *Polonia*, that lye towards *Ruſland*, and to borrow money of the Ruſſe Emperor, to purſue the warre for his brother *Maximillian* againſt the *Swedens* ſon, then King of *Poland*.

Ambaſſage betweene the Ruſſe & Perſian.

But this conſultation concerning a league betwixt the Ruſſe & the Spaniard (which was then in ſome forwardneſſe, and already one apointed for Ambaſſage into Spaine) was defeated, by meanes of the ouerthrow giuen to the Spaniſh king by her Maieſty, the Queen of Englād the laſt yeare before. Which made the Ruſſe Emperor and his Counſell, to giue the ſadder countenance to the Engliſh Ambaſſador there at that time: for that they were diſappointed of ſo good a policy, as was this coniunction, ſuppoſed to be betwixt them and the Spaniſh.

The ſecond intention.

His ſecond purpoſe (whereto the firſt ſerued as an introduction) was, in reuēge of the Turke and the Greeke Cleargye, that hadde thruſt him from his ſeate, to treate with him about the reducing of the Ruſſe church vnder the Pope of *Rome*. Wherein it may ſeeme, that comming lately from Rome, hee was ſet vppon by the

the Pope, who hath attempted the ſame many times before, though all in vaine: and namely in the time of the late Emperor *Iuan Vaſilowich*, by one *Anthony* his Legate. But thought this (belike) a far better meane to obtaine his purpoſe, by treaty and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not ſucceeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treaty, concerning the reſignation of his Patriarchſhip, and tranſlation of the Sea from *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*, to the Citty of *Mosko*. Which was ſo well liked, and entertained by the Emperor (as a matter of high religion and pollicy) that no other treaty (ſpecially of forraign Ambaſſages) could be heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The third intention.

Reaſons yeelded by the Patriarch.

The reaſons wherewith the Patriarch perſwaded the tranſlating of his Sea to the Citty of *Mosko*, were theſe in effect.

First, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was vnder the Turke, that is enemy to the faith: And therefore to be remoued into ſome other Country of Chriſtian profeſſion.

The Ruſſe Church, daughter to the Greeke Church.

Secondly, becauſe the *Ruſſe* Church was the onely naturall Daughter of the Greek at this time, and holdeth the ſame Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the reſt being all ſubiect to the Turke, and fallen away fró the right profeſſion. Wherein the ſubtill Greeke (to make the better market of his broken ware) aduanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Country: to haue the Patriarchs ſeate, tranſlated into the chiefe City, and ſeate of his Empire. As for the right of tranſlating the Sea, and appointing his ſucceſſour; hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertained wholly vnto himſelfe.

Cunning in the Patriarch.

The Patriarchſhip of Conſtantinople tranſlated to Mosko.

So the Emperour and his Counſell, with the principall of his Cleargy, being aſſembled at the *Mosko*, it was determined, that the *Metropolite* of *Mosko*, ſhold become Patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and haue the ſame full authority and iuriſdiction, that pertained before to the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*. And that it might be done with more order and ſolemnity, the 25. of Ianuary, 1588. the Greeke Patriarch, accompanied with the *Ruſſe* Cleargy, went vnto the great Church of *Precheſte*, or our Lady, within the Emperors Caſtle (hauing firſt wandred through the whole City in manner of a proceſſion, and bleſſing the people with his two fingers) where he made an Oration, and deliuered his reſignation in an inſtrument of writing, and ſo layde downe his Patriarchiall ſtaffe. Which was preſently receiued by the Metropolite of *Mosko*, & diuers other ceremonies vſed about the inauguration of this new Patriarch.

A ſolemne Holliday in Mosko.

The day was holden very ſolemne by the people of the City, who were commanded to forbeare their works, and to attend this ſolemnity. The great Patriarch that day was honored with rich preſents ſent him from the Emperor & Empreſſe, of Plate, Cloth of Gold, Furs, &c. carried with great pompe through the ſtreetes of *Mosko*, and (at his departing) receiued many gifts more, both from the Emperor, Nobility, and Cleargy. Thus the Patriarchſhip of *Conſtantinople*, or *Sio*, (which hath continued ſince the Counſell of *Nice*) is now tranſlated vnto *Mosko*, or they made beleeue, that they haue a Patriarch, with the ſame right and authority that the other had. Wherin the ſubtle *Greeke* hath made good aduantage of their ſuperſtition, & is now gone away with a rich booty into *Poland*, whither their Patriarchſhip be currant or not.

An eaſie matter to be perſwaded.

The matter is not vnlike to make ſome Schiſme betwixt the Greeke and Ruſſe Church, if the Ruſſe hold this Patriarchſhip that he hath ſo well payed for, & the Greekes elect another withall, as likely they wil, whither this man were baniſhed by the Turke, or depriued by order of his owne Cleargy. Which might happen to giue aduantage to the Pope, & to bring ouer the *Ruſſe* Church to the Sea of *Rome* (to which ende peraduenture hee deuiſed this ſtratagem, and caſt in this matter of Schiſme among them) but that the Emperors of *Ruſsia* knew well enough, (by the example of other Chriſtian Princes) what inconuenience would grow to their State and Country, by ſubiecting themſelues to the *Romiſh* Sea. To which ende, the late Emperor *Iuan Vaſilowich* was very inquiſitiue, of the Popes authority ouer the Princes of Chriſtendome, and ſent one of very purpoſe to *Rome*, to behold the order and behauiour of his Court.

With this Patriarch *Hieronimo* was driuen out (at the ſame time by the great Turke)

Demetrio Archbishop of Lariſſa excluded with the Patriarch.

Turke) one *Demetrio*, Archbishop of *Lariſſa*: who went into *England*, and pretended the same cause of their banishment by the Turke (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the yeare. Which, how vnlikely it is, may appeare by these circumstances.

Reasons of good & great likelyhood.

First, because there is no such affection, nor friendly respect, betwixt the Pope and the Turke; as that he should banish a subiect, for not obeying the Popes ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequell, for the alteration of times within his owne Countries.

Secondly, for that he maketh no such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a iust and precise account from the incarnation of Christ: whom hee doth not acknowledge, otherwise then as I noted before.

Thirdly, for that the saide Patriarch is now at *Naples* in *Italy*, whither (it may be guessed) he would not haue gone within the Popes reach, and so neare to his nose, if he had beene banished, for opposing himselfe against the Popes Decree.

The Patriarks Iurisdiction.

This Office of Patriarchship now trãslated to *Mosko*, beareth a superior authority ouer all the Churches, not onely of *Russia*, and other the Emperors dominions; but throughout all the Churches of Christendome, that were before vnder the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*: or at least, the *Russe* Patriarch imagineth himselfe to haue the same authority. He hath vnder him (as his proper Dioceſſe) the Prouince of *Mosko*, besides other peculiars. His Court or Office is kept at the *Mosko*.

The Metropolites.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one *Metropolite*, that was called the *Metropolite* of *Mosko*. Now for more state to their Church, and new Patriarch; they haue two Metropolites, the one of *Nouogrod velica*, the other of *Rostoue*. Their Office is, to receiue of the Patriarch, such Ecclesiasticall Orders, as he thinks good, & to deliuer the charge of thẽ ouer to the Archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne Dioceſſe.

Archbishops.

Their Archbishops are foure: of *Smolensko*, *Cazan*, *Vobsko*, and *Vologda*. The parts of their Office is all one with the Metropolits: saue that they haue an vnder iurisdiction, as Suffraganes to the Metropolites, and superiors to the Bishoppes.

Bishops.

The next are the *Vladikeis*, or Bishops, that are but sixe in all: of *Crutitska*, of *Rezan*, of *Otfer*, and *Torshock*, of *Collomenska*, of *Volodemer*, of *Susdalla*. These haue euery one a very large Dioceſſe: as diuiding the rest of the whole Country among them.

Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction.

The matters pertaining to the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, of the Metropolites, Archbishops, and Bishops, are the same (in a manner) that are vsed by the Cleargie in other parts of Christendome. For, besides their authority ouer the Cleargy, and ordering such matters as are meere Ecclesiasticall; their iurisdiction extendeth to all testamentary causes, matters of marriage, and diuorcements, some pleas of iniuries, &c.

Their Gentlemen, Commissaries.

To which purpose also they haue their Officials, or Commissaries (which they call *Boiaren Vladitskey*) that are Lay-men of the degree of Dukes, or Gentlemen, that keepe their Courts, and execute their iurisdiction. Which, besides their other oppressions ouer the common people, raigne ouer the Priests: as the Dukes and Diacks do ouer the poore people, within their Precincts.

Oppression also ouer the Priests.

As for the Archbishoppe or Bishop himselfe, he beareth no sway in deciding those causes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he must do it by entreaty with his Gentleman Officiall. The reason is, because these *Boiarskey*, or Gentlemen officials, are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour himselfe, or his Counsell, and are to giue account of their doings to none but to them. If the Bishop can entreat (at his admission) to haue the choise of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a speciall great fauour. But to speake it as it is, the Cleargy of *Russia*, as well concerning their lands and reuennues, as their authority and iurisdiction; are altogether ordered and ouer-ruled by the Emperor, and his Counsell, and haue so much, and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them.

The Emperor appointeth the Gentlemen Officials and not the Arch-Bishop.

Assistance of seuerall counsels.

They haue also their assistants or seuerall Counsels (as they call them) of certaine Priests that are of their Dioces, residing within their Cathedrall cities, to the number of foure & twenty a piece. These aduise with them, about the speciall and necessary

neceſſary matters belonging vnto theyr charge.

The Church reuennewes.

Concerning their rents and reuennews to maintaine their dignities, it is ſomwhat large. The Patriarches yearely rents out of his lands (beſides other fees) is about three thouſand Rubbels or Markes. The Metropolites and Archbyſhops, about two thouſand and fiue hundred. The Byſhops ſome a thouſand, ſome eight hundred, ſome fiue hundred, &c. They haue had ſome of them (as I haue heard ſay) ten or twelue thouſand rubbles a year; as had the Metropolite of *Nouograde*.

The habite of their Clergie men.

Their habite or apparrell (when they ſhew themſelues in their Pontificalibus, after their ſolemneſt manner) is a Miter on their heads, after the Popiſh faſhion, with Pearle and precious ſtone, a Cope on their backes, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroidered with Pearle, and a Croſiers ſtaffe in their hands, layed ouer all with plate of ſiluer double gilt, with a Croſſe or Shepheards crook at the vpper end of it.

Their ordinary habit.

Their ordinary habit otherwiſe, when they ride or go abroad, is a hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backs, and ſtandeth out like a Bongrace before. Their vpper garment (which they call *Reis*) is a gowne or Mantle of blacke Damaske, with many liſts or gardes of white Sattin laid vpon it, euery gard about two fingers broad, and theyr Croſiers ſtaffe carried before them. Thẽſelues followe after, bleſſing the people with their two forefingers, with a maruelous grace.

Their vpper Garment.

The election of byſhops

The election, and appointing of the Byſhops and the reſt, pertaineth wholly to the Emperor himſelfe. They are choſen euer out of the Monaſteries: ſo that there is no Byſhop, Archbyſhoppe, nor Metropolite, but hath bene a Monke; or Fryer before. And (by that reaſon) they are, and muſt all bee vnmarried men, for their vow of Chaſtity, when they wer firſt ſhorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is inueſted in the Cathedrall Church of his Dioceſſe, with many ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popiſh inauguration. They haue alſo their Deanes, and their Arch-deacons.

The learning and exerciſe of the Ruſſe Cleargy.

As for preaching the word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting ſuch as are vnder them; they neither vſe it, nor haue any skill of it: the whole Cleargie beeing vtterly vnlearned, both for other knowledge, and in the worde of God. Onely their manner is twice euery yeare, viz: the firſt of September (which is the firſt day of their yeare) and on S. *Iohn* Baptiſts day to make an ordinary ſpeech to the people, euery Metropolite, Archbyſhop and Byſhop in his Cathedrall Church, to this or the like effect.

The firſt day of the yeare.

That if any be in malice toward his neighbour, he ſhall leaue off his malice: If any haue thought of treaſon or rebellion againſt his Prince, he beware of ſuch practiſe: If he haue not kept his faſts and Vowes, nor doone his other duties to the holy church, he ſhal amend that fault, &c.

And this is a matter of forme with thẽ vttered in as many words, and no more (in a manner) then I haue here ſet down. Yet the matter is done with that grace & ſolemnity, in a pulpit of purpoſe ſet vppe for this one Act; as if he wer to diſcourſe at large of the whole ſubſtance of diuinity. At the *Mosko*, the Emperour himſelfe is euer preſent at this ſolemne exhortation.

The Prieſtes fearfull to haue their ignorance diſcoueted.

As themſelues are voyde of all manner of learning, ſo they are warie to keepe out all means that might bring any in: as fearing to haue their ignorance and vngodlineſſe diſcouered. To that purpoſe they haue perſwaded the Emperours, that it would breed innouation, and ſo daunger to their State, to haue any nouelty of lerning come within the Realme. Wherein they ſay but truth, for that a man of ſpirit and vnderſtanding, holpen by Learning and liberall education, can hardly endure a tyrannicall gouernment.

Learning can hardly liue vnder tyranny.

A Printing houſe erected in Mosko.

Some yeares paſt, in the other Emperors time) there came a Preſſe & Letters out of *Polonia*, to the City of *Mosko*, wher a Printing-houſe was ſet vp, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himſelf. But not long after, the houſe was ſet on fire in the night time, & the Preſſe and Letters quite burnt vp, and (as it was thoght) by the procurement of the Clergy men.

Prieſtes not made for merit or worthineſſe, and the manner how.

Their Prieſts, whome they call *Papaes*) are made by the Byſhoppes, without any great triall for worthineſſe of gifts, before they admit them, or ceremonies in theyr admiſſion: ſaue that their heads are ſhorn (not

(not ſhauen, for that they like not) about an hand bredth or more in the Crowne, and that place annointed with Oyle by the Byſhop: who in his admiſſion putteth vpon the Prieſt, firſt his Surpleſſe; and then ſetteth a white croſſe on his breſt of ſilke, or ſome other matter, which hee is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and ſo giueth him authority to ſay and ſing in the Church, and to adminiſter the Sacraments.

They are men vtterly vnlearned, which is no maruell; foraſmuch as their makers, the Byſhoppes themſelues (as before was ſayde) are cleere of that quality, & make no farther vſe at all of any kinde of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themſelus, ſaue to reade and to ſing them. Their ordinary charge end function, is to ſay the Liturgie, to adminiſter the Sacraments after their manner, to keep & decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies vſuall in their Churches. Their number is great, becauſe theyr Townes are parted into many ſmall Pariſhes, without any diſcretion, for deuiding them into competent numbers of houſholds, and people for a iuſt Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increaſing of knowledge, and inſtruction towardes God. Which cannot well be had, where by meanes of an vnequall partition of the people, and pariſhes, there followeth a want and vnequality of ſtipend, for a ſufficient Miniſtery.

Their vſuall charge and function.

Partition of their townes into pariſhes.

For their Prieſts, it is lawfull to marry for the firſt time. But if the firſt Wife dye, a ſecond he cannot take, but he muſt loſe his Prieſthood, and his liuing withal. The reaſon, they make out of that place of Saint *Paul* to *Timothy*, 1.3.2. not well vnderſtood, thinking that to bee ſpoken of diuers wiues ſucceſſiuely, that the Apoſtle ſpeaketh of at one and the ſame time. If he will needes marry againe after his firſt Wife is dead, hee is no longer called *Papa*, but *Roſſpapa*, or Prieſt *Quondam*. This maketh the Prieſts to make much of their Wiues, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of beſt reputation, among the Women of the Pariſh.

The Ruſſe prieſts can marry but once.

The Quondam Prieſts.

For the ſtipend of the Prieſt, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of corne, or ought elſe: but hee muſt ſtand at the deuotion of the people of his owne Pariſh, and make vp the Incomes towards his maintenance, ſo well as he can, by offerings, ſhrifts, marriages, burials, dirges, and prayers for the dead and the liuing (which they call *Molitua*.) For, beſides their publike ſeruice within their Churches, their manner is, for euery priuate man to haue a prayer ſaide for him by the Prieſt, vppon any occaſion of buſineſſe whatſoeuer, whether he ride, goe, ſayle, plough, or whatſoeuer elſe hee doeth. Which is not framed according to the occaſion of his buſineſſe, but at random, being ſome of their ordinary and vſuall Church prayers. And this is thought to be more holy and effectuall, if it be repeated by the Prieſts mouth, rather then by his owne.

Stipends allotted to the Prieſts.

Prayers for euerie priuate man.

They haue a cuſtome beſides to ſolemnize the Saints day, that is Patron to their Church once euery yeare. What time all their neighbours of their Country, & pariſhes about, come in to haue prayers ſaide to that Saint, for themſelues, and their friends: and ſo make an Offering to the Prieſt for his paines.

This Offering may yeeld them ſome ten pounds a yeare, more or leſſe, as the Patron or Saint of that Church is of credite and eſtimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keepe anniuerſary for the Prieſt) to hyre diuers of his neighbour-Prieſtes to helpe him: as hauing more Diſhes to dreſſe for the Saint, then hee can well turne his hand vnto.

Solemnizing the Saintsday of the Churches.

The manner of keeping the Prieſtes Anniuerſarie.

They vſe beſides to viſite their pariſhioners houſes, with holy Water, and Perfume; commonly once a quarter: and ſo hauing ſprinkled and beſenſed the goodman and his Wife, with the reſt of their houſhold and houſhold-ſtuffe, they receyue ſome deuotion (more or leſſe) as the man is of ability. This and the reſt laid together, may make vp for the Prieſt towards his maintenance, about thirtie or fourty Rubbels a yeere: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Byſhoppe of the Dioceſſe.

The Prieſtes maintenance.

The *Papa* or Prieſt is knowne by his long tufts of hayre, hanging down by his eares, his gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking ſtaffe in his hand. For the reſt of his habite, he is apparrelled like to the common ſort. When he ſaith the Liturgie

The Prieſts attire, & how he is knowne

gie or ſeruice, within the Church, he hath on him his Surpleſſe, and ſometimes his Cope, if the day be more ſolemne. They haue beſides their *Papaes* or prieſts, theyr *Churnapapaes* (as they call them) that is, *Blacke Prieſts*; that may keepe their benefices, though they bee admitted Friars withall within ſome Monaſterie. They ſeeme to be the very ſame, that were called Regular Prieſts in the Popiſh church. Vnder the Prieſt, is a Deacon in euerie Church, that doth nothing but the office of a Pariſh Clearke. As for their *Protopapaes*, or Arch-prieſts, and their Archdeacons (that are next in election to bee their *Protopapaes*) they ſerue onely in the Cathedrall Churches.

Black Prieſts for keeping of Benefices.

A Deacon or pariſh Clark, Protopapaes.

Of Fryars they haue an infinite rabble, farre greater then in any other Country, where Popery is profeſſed. Euery Citie, and good part of the Country, ſwarmeth full of them. For they haue wrought (as the Popiſh Fryars did by their ſuperſtition and hypocriſie) that if any part of the Realme be better and ſweeter then other; there ſtandeth a Friery or a Monaſterie, dedicated to ſome Saint.

Friers an infinite company in the Country, and as many ſuperſtitions.

The number of them is ſo much the greater, not onely for that it is augmented by the ſuperſtition of the country; but becauſe the Fryars life is the ſafeſt from the oppreſſions and exactions which fall vpon the Commons. Which cauſeth many to put on the Friers weede, as the beſt Armour to beare off ſuch blowes. Beſides ſuch as are voluntary, there are diuers that are forced to ſheare thēſelues Fryers, vppon ſome diſpleaſure. Theſe are for the moſt part of the cheefe Nobility.

Fryars liue ſafeſt from oppreſsion & taxation impoſed on the Commons.

Diuers take the Monaſteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Fryers, to auoid ſome puniſhment, that they had deſerued by the lawes of the realme. For if he get a Monaſtery ouer his heade, and there put on a Coule before hee be attached, it is a protection to him for euer againſt any Law, for what crime ſoeuer: except it be for treaſon. But this *Prouiſo* goeth withall, that no man commeth there (except ſuch as are commanded by the Emperour to be receyued) but he giueth them Lands, or bringeth his ſtocke with him, and putteth it into the cōmon Treaſury. Some bring a thouſand Rubbels, and ſome more. None is admitted vnder three or foure hundred.

The Monaſterie is as a ſanctuary for offences committed.

The manner of their admiſſion is after this ſort. Firſt, the Abbot ſtrippeth him of all his ſecular or ordinary Apparrell. Then he putteth vpon him next vnto his skinne, a white Flannell ſhirt, with a long garment ouer it downe vnto the ground, girded to him with a broad leather belt. His vppermoſt Garment is a Weede of *Garras* or Say, for colour and faſhion, much like to the vpper weed of a Chimney-ſweeper. Then is crowne ſhorne a hand bredth, or more, cloſe to the verie skin, and theſe or the like words are pronounced by the Abbot, while he clippeth his haire.

Their maner of ſhearing Fryars.

As theſe haires are clipped off, and taken from thy head: ſo now wee take thee, and ſeparate thee cleane from the world and worldly things, &c.

The Abbots wordes at a Friars admiſſion.

This done, he annointeth his crowne with oyle, and putteth on his Coule: and ſo taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetuall chaſtity, and abſtinence from fleſh.

Beſides their Landes (that are verie great) they are the greateſt Marchants in the whole Countrey, and deale for all manner of commodities. Some of their Monaſteries diſpend in Lands one thouſand, or two thouſand Rubbels a yeare. There is one Abbey called *Troits*, that hath in lands and fees, the ſumme of an hundred thouſand Rubbels, or markes a yeare.

Fryers the greateſt Marchants in the Countrey.

It is built in manner of a Caſtle, walled round about with great Ordenance planted on the Wall, and containeth within it a large bredth of ground, and great variety of building. There are of Fryers within it (beſides their Officers and other ſeruants) about ſeuen hundred. The Empreſſe that then was, had many Vowes to Saint *Sergius*, that is patrone there: to intreat him to make her fruitfull, as hauing no children by the Emperour her Huſband. Lightly (euery yeare) ſhe went on Pilgrimage to him from the *Mosko*, on foote, about foureſcore ordinary miles, with fiue or ſixe thouſand women attending vpon her, all in blew Liueries, and foure thouſand ſouldiers for her Guarde. But S. *Sergius* hath not yet heard her prayers, though (they ſay) hee hath a ſpeciall gift and faculty that way.

A warlike Abbey.

The Saint to make women fruiteſull in Children.

The Empreſſes going on pilgrimage.

What Learning there is among theyr Fri-

The Fryars learning answerable to their Byſhops

Fryars, may be known by their Byſhops, that are the choiſe men out of all theyr Monaſteries. I talked with one of them at the City of *Vologda*, where (to trie his skill) I offered him a *Ruſſe* Teſtament, and turned him to the firſt chap. of S. *Mathews* Goſpell. Where he began to read in very good order.

Queſtions & anſweres betweene the Authour & a Ruſſe prieſt.

I asked him firſt, What part of Scripture it was that he had read? Hee anſwered, that he could not well tell. How many Euangeliſts there were in the Newe Teſtament? He ſaide he knew not. How many Apoſtles there were? Hee thought there were twelue. How he ſhould be ſaued? Whereunto he anſwered me (with a peece of *Ruſſe* Doctrine) that hee knew not whether hee ſhould be ſaued, or no: But if God wold *Poſhallouate* him, or gratifie him ſo much, as to ſaue him, ſo it was; he would be glad of it: if not, what remedy? I asked him. Why he ſhore himſelfe a Fryer? Hee anſwered, becauſe hee would eate his breade in quietneſſe and peace.

This is the learning of the Fryars of Ruſſia, which though it be not to be meaſured by one, yet partly it may be geſſed (by the ignorance of this man) what is in the reſt.

Nunneries of Noblemens Widdowes & daughters, and none alſo to be admitted there.

They haue alſo very many Nunneries, whereof ſome may admit none but Noblemens Widdowes and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them vnmarried, from continuing the blood or ſtocke, which hee would haue extinguiſhed. To ſpeak of the life of their Fryers and Nunnes, it needs not, to thoſe that know the hypocriſie and vncleaneneſſe of that Cloyſter-broode. The *Ruſſe* himſelfe (though otherwiſe addicted to all ſuperſtition) ſpeaketh ſo fowly of it, that it muſt needs gain ſilence of any modeſt man.

Eremites called holy men, like to Gymnoſophiſtes.

Beſides theſe, they haue certaine Eremites (whome they call Holy men) that are like to thoſe Gymnoſophiſts for their life and behauiour: though farre vnlike for their knowledge and Learning. They vſe to goe ſtarke naked, ſaue a clowte about their middle, with their hayre hanging long and wildely about their ſhoulders, and many of them with an iron coller, or chaine about their neckes or middle, euen in the very extremity of Winter.

Prophets and men of great ſanctity.

Theſe they take as Prophets, and men of great holineſſe, giuing them a libertie to ſpeake what they liſt, without any controlment, though it be of the very higheſt himſelfe. So that if he reproue any openly, in what ſort ſoeuer; they anſwere nothing, but that it is *Pogræcum*, that is, for their ſinnes. And if any of them take ſome peece of ſale ware from any mans ſhop, as he paſſeth by, to giue where he liſte; hee thinketh himſelfe much beloued of God, and much beholding to the holy man, for taking it in that ſort.

An Eremite now liuing in Ruſsia.

Of this kinde there are not many, becauſe it is a very hard and cold profeſſion, to goe naked in *Ruſsia*, eſpecially in winter. Among other at this time, they haue one at *Mosko*, that walketh naked about the Streetes, and inueyeth commonly, againſt the State and Gouernment, eſpecially againſt the *Godonoes*, that are thoght at this time, to bee great Oppreſſours of that Common-wealth.

Baſileo the Ermite

Another there was, that died not many yeares agoe (whom they called *Baſileo*) that would take vpon him to reproue the olde Emperor for all his cruelty, and oppreſſions done towards his people. His body they haue tranſlated (of late) into a ſumptuous Church, neere the Emperors houſe in *Mosko*, & haue Canonized him for a Saint. Many miracles he doth there (for ſo the Fryers make the people to beleeue) and many Offerings are made vnto him, not onely by the people, but by the cheefe Nobility, and the Emperor & Empreſſe themſelues, which viſite that Church with great deuotion.

Offerings to a dead ſuppoſed Saint.

A mery mir acle monger.

But at my beeing at *Mosko*, this Saint had ill lucke in working his miracles. For a lame man, that had his limbes reſtored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (being then falne out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when he came home at night. And that he had intended this matter ſix yeares before.

Now he is put into a Monaſterie, and there raileth vpon the Fryers, that hyred him to haue this counterfeyte myracle practiſed vppon him. Beſides this diſgrace, a little before my comming from thence, there were eight ſlaine within his Church, by fire in a Thunder. Which cauſed his bels (that wer tingling before

all

all day and night long, as in triumphe of the myracles wrought by *Baſileo* their S.) to ring ſomwhat ſoftly; and hath wrogh no little diſcredit vnto this Miracle worker.

There was another of great account at *Plesko* (called *Nichola* of *Plesko*) that did much good, when this Emperors Father came to ſacke the Towne, vpon ſuſpition of their reuolting and rebellion againſt him. The Emperor, after he had ſaluted the Eremite, at his lodging, ſent him a reward. And the Holy man, to requite the Emperour, ſent him a peece of raw fleſh, being then their Lent. Which the Emperour ſeeing, bid one to tel him, that hee maruelled, that the Holye man would offer him fleſh to eat in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holie Church. *And doth Euasko* (which is as much to ſay as Iacke) *thinke* (*quoth Nicola*) *that it is vnlawfull to eat a peece of beaſts fleſh in Lent, & not to eate vp ſo much mans fleſh, as he hath done already?*

Nichola the Eremite of great eſtimation.

Preſents betweene the Emperor and an Eremite.

So, threatning the Emperor, with a propheſie of ſome harde aduenture to come vpon him, except hee left murthering of his people, and departing from the Towne, he ſaued a great many mens liues at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, becauſe they are as *Paſquils* to note their great mens faultes, that no man elſe dare ſpeake of. Yet it falleth out ſomtime, that for this rude liberty which they take vpon them (after a counterfeite manner) by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in ſecret: as was one or two of them, in the laſt Emperours time, for being ouer-bolde in ſpeaking againſt his gouernment.

Lawful repro uers or finde faults.

Their morning ſeruice they call *Zautrana*, that is, Mattins. It is done in this order.

Of their Liturgy or form of Church ſeruice, and their manner of adminiſtering the Sacraments.

The Prieſt entereth into the Church, with his Deacon following him. And, when hee is come vnto the middle of the Church, he beginneth to ſay with a lowd voyce: *Blaſſlauey Vladika*, that is, *Bleſſe vs heauenly Paſtor*, meaning of Chriſt. Then he addeth, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt, one very God in Trinity: and Aſpody Pomeluy*, Or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercie vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vppon vs*, repeated three times.

This done, he marcheth on toward the Chancell or *Sanctum Sanctorum* (as they vſe to cal it) and ſo entreth into the *Scharſuey Dwere*, or the heauenly doore: which no man may enter into, but the Prieſt onely. Where ſtanding at the Altare or Table (ſet neere to the vpper wall of the Chancell) hee ſayeth the Lordes prayer, and then againe *Aſpody Pomeluy*, or *Lorde haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs, &c.* pronounced twelue times. Then prayſed be the Trinity, *the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghoſt, for euer and euer*. Wherto the Deacons and people ſay, Amen. Next after, the Prieſt addeth the Pſalmes for that day, and beginneth with, *O come let vs worſhip and fall down before the Lord &c.* and therewithall himſelfe, with the Deacons, and people, all turn themſelues towards their Idols or Images that hang on the Wall, and (croſſing themſelues) bow downe three times, knocking theyr heads to the very ground. After this, hee readeth the ten Commaundements, and *Athanaſius* Creede, out of the Seruice booke.

The heauenly dore, for none to enter but the prieſt.

Worſhip to their Idols and Images.

This being done, the Deacon that ſtãdeth without the heauenly dore or Chancell, readeth a peece of a Legend, out of a Written Booke (for they haue it not in Print) of ſome Saints life, Miracles, &c. This is diuided into many parts, for euery day in the yeare, and is read by them with a plaine ſinging Note, not vnlike to the Popiſh Tune, when they ſung their Goſpels.

Aftet all this (which reacheth vnto an houre, and an halfe, or two howers of length) he addeth certaine ſet Collectes, or prayers vpon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and ſo endeth his Seruice. All this while ſtande burning before their Idols, a great many of Wax Candles (whereof ſome are of the biggeneſſe of a mans waſte) vowed, or enioyned by penance, vpon the people of the Pariſh.

About nine of the clocke in the Morning, they haue another Seruice, called *Obeiana* (or Compline) much after the order of the Popiſh Seruice, that bare that name. If it be ſome high or Feſtiuall day, they furniſh their Seruice beſides, With *Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, &c.* and, *We praiſe thee, O God.* &c. ſung with a more ſolemne and curious note.

Nine a clocke ſeruice in the morning.

Their

Their euening Seruice.

Their Euening Seruice, called *Vecherna*, where the Prieſt beginneth with *Blaiſſauey Vladika*, as hee did in the morning, and with the Pſalmes appoynted for the *Vecherna*. Which being read, he ſingeth, *My ſoule doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* And then the Prieſt, Deacons, and People, all with one voyce ſing, *Aſpody pomelui*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, thirty times together. Whereunto the boyes that are in the Church, anſwer all with one voice, rowling it vp ſo faſt, as their lips can goe; *Verÿ, Verÿ, Verÿ, Verÿ*, or *Praiſe, Praiſe, Praiſe, &c.* thirty times together, with a very ſtrange noyſe. Then is read by the Prieſt, and vpon the Holy-dayes ſung the firſt Pſalme, *Bleſſed is the man, &c.* And in the end of it, is added, *Alleluia*, repeated ten times.

The next in order, is ſome part of the Goſpel read by the Prieſt, which he ends with *Alleluia*, repeated three times. And ſo hauing ſaid a Collect, in remembrance of the Saint of that day, he ends his euening Seruice.

All this while, the Prieſt ſtands aboue at the Altare or high Table, within the Chancel, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, whence hee neuer mooueth all the Seruice time. The Deacon or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) ſtand without the Chauncell by the *Scharſuey Dwere*, or heauenly dore: for within they may not be ſeene all the Seruice time, though otherwiſe their office is to ſweep, and keepe it, and to ſet vp the waxe candles before their Idoles. The people do ſtand together (the whole Seruice time) in the Church, and ſome in the Church porch: for Piew or Seate they haue none within their Churches.

The Deacons office or ſeruice.

The manner of the Ruſſe Baptiſme.

The Sacrament of Baptiſme they adminiſter after this manner: The childe is brought to the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne:) If it be the childe of ſome Noble man, it is brought in a rich Sled or Waggon, with chaires and cuſhions of cloath of Golde, and ſuch like ſumptuous ſhew of their beſt furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Prieſt ſtandeth readie to receiue the childe within the Church-porch, with his tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare vnto them, that they haue brought a little Infidell to be made a Chriſtian, &c. This ended, he teacheth the witneſſes, that are two or three, in a certayne ſet forme out of his Booke (what their duety is, in bringing vp the childe after he is baptized, viz. That hee muſt bee taught to know God, and Chriſt our Sauiour. And becauſe God is of great Maieſtie, and we muſt not preſume to come vnto him, without Mediatours (as the manner is when we make any ſuite to an Emperour, or great Prince) therfore they muſt teach him what Saints are the beſt, and chiefe mediatours, &c. This done, he commaundeth the diuell in the name of God (after a coniuring manner) to come out of the water: and ſo after certaine praiers, he plungeth the child ouer head and eares. For this they holde to be a poynt very neceſſary, that no part of the child be left vndipped into the water.

Inſtructions giuen by the Prieſt to the witneſſes.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptiſme, vttered by the Prieſt, when he dippeth in the childe, are the very ſame that are preſcribed in the Goſpel, and vſed by vs, that is, *In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Ghoſt*. For that they ſhould alter the forme of the words, and ſay, *by the holy Ghoſt*, as I haue heard they did, following certaine heretikes of the Greeke Church, I found to be vntrue, aſwell by the report of them that haue beene often at their Baptiſmes, as by their Booke of Leiturgie it ſelfe, wherein the order of Baptiſme is preciſely ſet downe.

The Prieſts words at the dipping the childe in the water.

When the childe is baptized, the Prieſt layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together vpon the fore-head, and both the ſides of his face, and then vpon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger ouer the childs lippes (as did the Popiſh Prieſts) ſaying withall, certaine prayers, to this effect: That God will make him a good Chriſtian, &c. All this is doone in the Church porch.

Other ceremonies after Baptiſme.

Then is the childe (as being now made a Chriſtian, & meet to be receiued within the Church doore) carried into the Church, the Prieſt going before, and is there preſented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a cuſhion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the mediatour) to be commended vnto God. If the childe be ſicke, or weake (ſpecially in the Winter) they vſe to make the water luke warme. After Baptiſme, the maner is

is to cut off the haire from the childs head and hauing wrapped it within a peece of wax, to lay it vp, as a relike or monument in a ſecret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptiſme, which they account to be the beſt & perfecteſt forme. As they do all other parts of their religion, receiued (as they ſay) by tradition from the beſt church, meaning the Greeke. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Proſelite or Conuert, either of an Infidell, or of a forraign Chriſtian, by rebaptizing him after the Ruſſe manner.

Proſelites or Conuerts frō infidelity.

When they take any Tartar priſoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptized. And yet they perſwade very fewe of them to redeeme their life ſo: becauſe of the natural hatred the Tartar beareth to the Ruſſe, and the opinion he hath of his falſhoode and iniuſtice. The yeare after *Mosko* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Diuoymorſey*, one of the chief in that exploit, with 300. Tartars more: who had al their liues offered them, if they would be baptized after the Ruſſe maner. Which they all refuſed to do, with many reproches againſt thoſe that perſwaded them. And ſo being carried to the riuer *Mosko*, (that runneth thorough the Citty) they were all baptized after a violent manner: being thruſt downe with a knocke on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpoſe.

300. Tartars that wold not be baptized.

Of *Lieflanders* that are Captiues, there are many that take on them this ſecond Ruſſe baptiſme, to get more libertie, and ſome-what beſides towards their liuing, which the Emperour ordinarily vſeth to giue them. Of Engliſhmen (ſince they frequented the country) there was neuer any found, that ſo much forgot God, his faith, and countrey, as that he would bee content to be baptized Ruſſe, for any reſpect of feare, preferment, or other means whatſoeuer: ſaue onely *Richard Relph*, that following before an vngodly Trade, by keeping a *Caback* (againſt the order of the countrey) and being putte off from that Trade, and ſpoiled by the Emperors Officers of that which he hadde, entered himſelfe into the Ruſſe profeſſion, and ſo was rebaptized, liuing now as much an Idolater, as before he was a rioter and vnthrifty perſon.

Rebaptizing of Liefländers.

An Engliſhman rebaptized after the Ruſſe manner

Such as thus receiue the Ruſſe baptiſme, are firſt caried into ſome Monaſtery, to be inſtructed there in the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they vſe theſe ceremonies.

Of ſuch as receiue the Ruſſian baptiſme, what ceremonies are vſed to them.

Firſt, they put him into a new & freſh ſuite of apparrell, made of the Ruſſe faſhion, and ſet a Coronet, or (in Sommer) a garland vpon his head.

Then they annoint his head with oile, & put a wax candle light into his hand: & ſo pray ouer him foure times a day, the ſpace of vii. daies. All this while hee is to abſtaine from fleſh and white meats.

The ſeuen dayes being ended, he is purified and waſhed in a Bath-ſtoue, and ſo the eight day he is broght to the church, where he is taught (by the Friers) how to behaue himſelf in preſence of their idols; by ducking down, knocking of the head, croſſing himſelfe, and ſuch like geſtures, which are the greateſt part of the Ruſſe religion.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, they receiue but once a year, in their gret Lent time, a little before Eaſter. Three at the moſt are admitted at one time, and neuer aboue. The manner of their communicating is thus. Firſt, they do confeſſe themſelues of all their ſins, to the Prieſt (whome they call their ghoſtly Father.) Then they come to the Church, and are called vp to the Communion table, that ſtandeth like an Altar, a little remooued from the vpper end of the Church, after the Dutch manner.

The adminiſtring of the Lords Supper

Heere firſt they are asked of the Prieſt, whither they be clean, or no? that is, whither they haue neuer a ſinne behinde that they left vnconfeſſed. If they anſwer, *No*, they are taken to the table. Where the Prieſt begimneth with certain vſuall prayers, the Communicants ſtanding in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like penitentiaries, or mourners. When theſe praiers are ended, the Prieſt taketh a ſpoone, and filleth it full of Claret Wine. Then he putteth into it a ſmall peece of bread, and tempereth them both together, and ſo deliuereth them in the Spoone to the Communicants, that ſtand in order, ſpeaking the vſuall words of the Sacrament, *Eate this, &c. Drink this*, &c. both at one time without any pauſe.

After that, hee deliuereth them againe

bread by it ſelfe, and then wine carded together with a little warme water, to repreſent blood more rightly (as they thinke) and the water withall, that flowed out of the ſide of Chriſt. Whiles this is in doing, the Communicants vnfolde their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Prieſt thrice round about the Communion Table, and ſo returne to their places againe. Where hauing ſaide certaine other prayers, hee diſmiſſeth the Communicants, with charge to be merry, and to cheere vp themſelues for the ſeuen dayes next following. Which being ended, he enioyneth them to faſt for it as long time after. Which they vſe to obſerue with very great deuotion, eating nothing elſe but bread and ſalt, except a little cabbage, and ſome other hearb or roote, with water or quaſſe mead for their drinke.

Bread and ſalt the Ruſsian faſt.

This is their manner of adminiſtring the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the inſtitution of Chriſt, and what ceremonies they haue added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the Greekes, may eaſily be noted.

Of the Doctrine of the Ruſſe church, and what errors it holdes.

Their cheefeſt errours in matter of faith, I finde to be theſe.

First, concerning the word of God it ſelfe, they will not reade publikely certain Bookes of the Canonicall Scripture, as the Bookes of *Moſes*; ſpecially the foure laſt, *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Numeri*, and *Deuteronomie*, which they ſay are all made diſauthentique, and put out of vſe by the comming of Chriſt; as not able to diſcerne the difference betwixt the Morall, and the Ceremoniall law.

The Bookes of the Prophets they allow of, but reade them not publikely in their Churches, for the ſame reaſon; becauſe they wer but directers vnto Chriſt, and proper (as they ſay) to the Nation of the Iewes. Onely the booke of Pſalmes they haue in great eſtimation, and ſing & ſay them daily in their Churches.

How they allow of the new Teſtament.

Of the new Teſtament they allow, and reade all except the Reuelation: which therefore they read not (though they allow it) becauſe they vnderſtand it not, neither haue the like occaſion, to know the fulfilling of the propheſies contained within it, concerning eſpecially the Apoſtaſie of the Antichriſtian Church, as haue the Weſterne Churches. Notwithſtanding they haue had their Antichriſtes of the Greek Church, and may find their own falling off, and the puniſhments for it (by the Turkiſh inuaſion) in the propheſies of that Booke.

Apoſtaſie of the Antichriſtian Church.

Secondly (which is the fountain of the reſt of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they holde with the Papiſts, that their Church Traditions are of equall authority with the written word of God. Wherein they prefer themſelues before other Churches: affirming, that they haue the true and right traditions, deliuerd by the Apoſtles to the *Greek* Church, and ſo vnto them.

2. Traditions equall to the holy ſcripture

3. That the Church (meaning the Greeke, and ſpecially the Patriarch & his Synod, as the head of the reſt) haue a ſoueraigne authority to interpret the ſcriptures, and that all are bound, to hold that interpretation as ſound and authentique.

3. The church to haue ſoueraigne authority in interpreting the Scriptures.

4. Concerning the diuine Nature, and the three perſons, in the one ſubſtance of God, that the Holye ghoſt proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

4. The holy Ghoſt to proceed from the Father onely.

5. About the office of Chriſt, they hold many fowle errors, and the ſame (almoſt) as doth the Popiſh Church; namely, that he is their ſole Mediator of redemption, but not of interceſſion.

5 Chriſt not ſole mediator of interceſsiō.

An idle compariſon, of God, vnto a Prince of the world.

Their cheefe reaſon (if they be talked withall) for defence of this errour, is, that vnapt and fooliſh compariſon, betweene God and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that muſt be ſued vnto by Mediators about him: wherein they giue ſpecial preferment to ſome aboue others, as to the bleſſed Virgin, whom they cal *Prechefte*, or vndefiled: & S. *Nicolas*, whom they cal *Scora pomoſnick*, or the *Speedy helper*, & ſay, that he hath 300. Angels of the cheefeſt, appointed by God to attend on him. This hath brought them to an horrible exceſſe of idolatry, after the groſſeſt and prophaneſt manner; giuing vnto theyr Images, all Religious worſhip of Prayer, Thankeſgiuing, Offerings, and Adoration, with proſtrating and knocking theyr heads to the ground before them, as to God himſelfe. Which beecauſe they doo to the picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they ſay they worſhip not an Idoll, but the Saint in his image, & ſo offend not God. Forgetting the commãdemẽt of God, that forbiddeth to make the image

S. Nicolas the ſpeedy helper

A vaine excuſing palpable Idolatry.

image or likeneſſe of any thing, for any religious worſhippe or vſe whatſoeuer. Their Church walles are very ful of them, richly hanged and ſet forth with Pearle & ſtone vppon the ſmooth Table. Though ſome alſo they haue emboſſed, that ſticke from the boord almoſt an inch outwards. They call them *Chudouodites*, or their miracle workers: and when they prouide thē to ſet vp in their churches, in no caſe they may ſay that they haue bought the image but exchanged mony for it.

Miracle workers.

6. For the meanes of Iuſtification, they agree with the Papiſtes, that it is not by faith onely, apprehending Chriſt, but by their workes alſo. And that *Opus operatum* or the worke for the worke ſake, muſt needs pleaſe God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of Prayers, Faſtes, Vowes, and offerings to Saints, Almeſdeeds, Croſſings, and ſuch like, and carrie their numbering beads about with them continually; aſwell the Emperor and his Nobility, as the common people, not onely in the Church, but in all other pub like places, ſpecially at any ſet or ſolemne meeting, as in their Faſts, Law Courtes, common conſultations, entertainment of Ambaſſadors, and ſuch like.

6. Iuſtification by workes.

7. They ſay (with the Papiſts) that no man can be aſſured of his ſaluation, til the laſt ſentence be paſſed at the day of iudgment.

7. Saluation vncertaine.

8. They vſe Auricular confeſſion, and thinke that they are purged (by the verie action) from ſo many ſins as they confeſſe by name, and in particular to the Prieſt.

8. Auricular confeſsion.

9. They do hold three Sacraments, of *Baptiſme*, *the Lords Supper*, and *the laſt annoyling* or *vnction*. Yet concerning theyr Sacrament of extreame Vnction, they hold it not ſo neceſſary to ſaluation, as they doe Baptiſme; but thinke it a great curſe and puniſhment of God, if any dye without it.

9. Three Sacraments.

10. They thinke there is a neceſſitie of Baptiſme, and that al are condemned that dye without it.

10 Al damned that dy without baptiſme.

11. They rebaptize as many Chriſtians (not being of the Greeke church) as they conuert to their Ruſſe profeſſion: becauſe they are diuided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they ſay.

11. Anabaptiſme.

12. They make a difference of meates and drinkes, accounting the vſe of one, to be more holy then of another. And therefore in their ſet faſts, they forbeare to eat fleſh, and white meates (as we call them) after the manner of the Popiſh ſuperſtition: which they obſerue ſo ſtrictly, and with ſuch blind deuotion, as that they wil rather die, then eate one bit of fleſh, egges or ſuch like, for the health of their bodyes in their extreme ſickneſſe.

12 Difference of meates.

13. They hold mariage to be vnlawful for all the Clergy men, except the Prieſts only, and for them alſo after the firſt wife (as was ſaid before.) Neither do they wel allowe of it in Lay-men after the ſecond marriage. Which is a pretence now vſed againſt the Emperours onely brother, a child of ſix yeares old: Who therfore is not prayed for in their Churches, as their maner is otherwiſe for the Princes blood becauſe he was borne of the ſixt mariage, and ſo not legitimate. This charge was giuen to the Prieſts by the Emperor himſelf, by procurement of the *Godonoes*: who make him beleeue, that it is a good pollicy, to turne away the liking of the people from the next ſucceſſor.

13. Marriage for ſome perſons vnlawful

An ill perſwaſion in prieſts.

Many other falſe opinions they haue in matter of Religion. But theſe are the chiefe, which they hold partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue receiued from the Greeke Church) but ſpecially by ignorance of the holye Scriptures. Which notwithſtanding they haue in the Polonian toong (that is al one with theirs, ſome few words only excepted) yet few of them read them with that godlye care which they ought to doe: neyther haue they (if they would) bookes ſufficient of the Olde and New Teſtament for the common people, but of their Leiturgie onely, or Booke of common Seruice, whereof there are very great numbers.

The Polonian tongue differ very little.

All this miſcheefe commeth from the Cleargie, who being ignoraunt and godleſſe themſelues, are exceedingly warie, to keepe the people (likewiſe) in their ignoraunce and blindeneſſe, for theyr liuing and bellies ſake: partly alſo from their manner of Gouernement ſetled among them: which the Emperours (whom it ſpecially behooueth) liſte not to haue changed by any innouatiou, but to retaine that Religion that beſt agreeeth with it. Which notwithſtanding it is not to be doubted, but that hauing the word of God in ſome ſort (though with-

The Clergie cauſe of al ignorance.

out the ordinary meanes, to attaine to a true ſenſe and vnderſtanding of it) God hath alſo his number among them. As may partly appeare, by that which a *Ruſſe* at *Mosko* ſaid to a follower of an Ambaſſador, ſpeaking againſt their Images and other ſuperſtitions: That God had giuen vnto his Country light to day, and might giue it to morrow (if he pleaſed) to them.

A man and his wife kept in priſon 28. yeares, and after burned.

As for any inquiſition or proceeding againſt mē for matter of religion, I could heare of none: ſaue (a few yeares ſince) againſt one man and his wife, who were kept in cloſe priſon, the ſpace of 28. years, till they were ouer-growne into a deformed faſhion, for their hayre, nailes, coulor of countenance, and ſuch like, and in the ende were burned at *Mosko*, in a ſmall houſe ſet on fire. The cauſe was kept ſecret, but like it was for ſome part of truth, in matter of religion: though the people were made to beleeue by the Prieſts and Fryars, that they held ſome great & damnable hereſie.

The manner of ſolemnizing their Marriages.

The manner of making and ſolemnizing their Mariages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though he neuer ſaw the woman before) is not permitted to haue any ſight of her all the time of his wooing: which hee doth not by himſelfe, but by his Mother, or ſome other ancient woman of his kin or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (aſwell by the Parents, as by the parties themſelues, for, without the knoledge and conſent of the parents, the contract is not lawfull) the fathers on both ſides, or ſuch as are to them in ſtead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, haue a meeting and conference about the dowry, which is commonly very large, after the ability of the Parents: ſo that you ſhal haue a Market-man (as they call them) giue a thouſand Rubbels, or more with his daughter.

After liking taken on both ſides.

As for the man, it is neuer required of him, nor ſtandeth with their cuſtome, to make any ioynter in recompence of the dowry. But in caſe he haue a childe by his Wife, ſhe enioyeth a third deale after his deceaſe. If he haue two children by her, or more, ſhee is to haue a courteſie more, at the diſcretion of the husband. If the husband depart without iſſue by his wife, ſhee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, ſaue onely her

The manner of endowmēt for Wiues.

dowry: if the husband leaue ſo much behinde him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the Dowry, they ſigne bonds one to the other, aſwell for the payment of the dowry, as the performing of the marriage by a certain day. If the woman were neuer married before, her father and friends are bound (beſides) to aſſure her a maiden. Which breedeth many brabbels and quarrels at law, if the man take any conceit, concerning the behauiour and honeſty of his wife.

Agreement concerning the Dowry.

Thus the contract beeing made, the parties begin to ſend Tokens the one to the other; the woman firſt, then afterward the man, but yet ſee not one another till the marriage be ſolemnized. On the eeue before the marriage day, the bride is carried in a *Collimago*, or Coach, or in a ſled (if it be Winter) to the bridegroomes houſe, with her marriage apparrell and bedſtead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is euer prouided by the bride, and is commonly very faire, with much coſt beſtowed vpon it. Heere ſhee is accompanied all that night by her mother, and other women: but not welcommed, nor once ſeene by the bridegroome himſelfe.

No ſight till the marriage be ſolemnized.

When the time is come to haue the Marriage ſolemnized, the Bride hath put vpon her a kinde of hoode, made of fine knitworke or Lawne, that couereth her head, and all her bodie down to the middle. And ſo accompanied with hir frends and the bride-groome with his, they goe to Church all on horſebacke, though the Church bee neere hand, and themſelues but of very meane degree.

Ceremonies in marriages.

The wordes of contract, and other ceremonies in ſolemnizing the marriage, are much after the order, and with the ſame words that are vſed with vs: with a ring alſo giuen to the Bride. Which being put on, & the words of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is deliuered into the hand of the Bridegroome, which ſtandeth all this while on the one ſide of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot beeing knit by the Prieſt, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (ſtanding at the end of the Altar or Table) and falleth downe at his feete, knocking her head vpon his ſhooe, in token of her ſubiection & obedience. And the Bridegroome againe caſteth the lappe

The Brides token of obedience to her husband.

lappe of his Gowne or vpper garment, ouer the Bride, in token of his duty to protect and cheriſh her.

Signs of loue and affinitie betweene the parents and friends.

Then the Bridegroom and Bride, ſtanding both together at the Tables end, cometh firſt the father, and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themſelues downe low to the Bride-groome: and ſo likewiſe his friends bow themſelues to the Bride, in token of affinity and loue, euer after, betwixt the two Kindreds. And withall, the father of the Bridegroom, offereth to the prieſt a loafe of bread; who deliuereth it ſtraight againe to the father, and other friends of the Bride, with atteſtation before God and their Idols, that he deliuer the Dowry wholly and truely at the day appointed, and hold loue euer after, one Kindred with another. Wherupon they breake the loafe into peeces, and eate of it, to teſtifie their true and ſincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Loafe, or men of one Table.

Drinking of the Bride and Bridegroome together.

Theſe Ceremonies being ended, the Bride-groome taketh the Bride by the hand, and ſo they goe on together, with their friendes after them, towardes the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in theyr hands, with Meade and Ruſſe Wine. Whereof the Bride-groome taketh firſt a Charke, or little cuppe full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her hood or vaile belowe, and putting the Cup to her mouth vnderneath it (for being ſeene of the Bridge-groome) pledgeth him againe.

Thus returning altogether from the Church, the Bride-groome goeth not home to his owne, but vnto his Fathers houſe, and ſhe likewiſe to hers, where eyther entertaine their friends apart. At the entering into the houſe, they vſe to fling Corne out of the windowes vppon the Bridegroome and Bride, in token of plenty and fruitfulneſſe to be with them euer after.

The euening and night ceremonies.

When the Euening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bride-groomes Fathers houſe, and there lodgeth that night, with her vaile or couer ſtill ouer her head. All that night, ſhee may not ſpeak one word (for that charge ſhee receiueth by tradition from her mother and other matrons her Friendes) that the Bride-groome muſt neither heare, nor ſee her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may ſhe be heard to ſpeake, ſaue certaine few words at the Table, in a ſet forme, with great manners and reuerence to the Bride-groome. If ſhee behaue her ſelfe otherwiſe, it is a great preiudice to her credite and life euer after: and will highly bee diſliked of the Bride-groome himſelfe.

After the third day, they depart vnto their owne houſe, and make a feaſt to both their friends together. The mariage day, and the whole time of their Feſtiuall, the Bride-groome hath the honor to be called *Moloday Knez*, or young Duke, and the Bride *Moloday Knezay*, or yong Dutcheſſe.

Titles giuen to the Bride-groome and Bride.

In liuing with their wiues, they ſhew themſelues to be but of a barbarous condition: vſing them as ſeruantes rather then wiues. Except the Noble-women, which are, or ſeeme to bee of more eſtimation with their husbands, then the reſt of meaner ſort. They haue this fowle abuſe, contrary to good order, and the word of God it ſelfe, that vpon diſlike of his wife, or other cauſe whatſoeuer, the man may go into a Monaſtery, & ſheare himſelfe a Fryer, by pretence of deuotion, and ſo leaue his wife to ſhifte for her ſelfe ſo well as ſhe can.

Barbarous behauiour in liuing with their wiues.

The other Ceremonies of theyr Church, are many in number: eſpecially, the abuſe about the ſigne of the Croſſe, which they ſet vp in their high-wayes, in the tops of their Churches, and in euery doore of their houſes, ſigning themſelues continually with it on their foreheads & breſts, with great deuotion, as they will ſeeme by their outward geſture and behauiour. Which were much leſſe offence, if they gaue not withall, that Religious reuerence and worſhippe vnto it, which is due vnto none but God onely, and vſed the dumbe ſhew and ſigning of it, inſtead of Thankeſgiuing, and of all other duties vvhich they doe owe vnto God.

The other Ceremonies of the Ruſſe Church.

Riſing in the morning.

When they riſe euery day in the Morning, they goe commonlie in the ſight of ſome Steeple, that hath a croſſe made on the toppe of it: and ſo bowing themſelues tovvardes the croſſe, they ſigne themſelues withall on theyr foreheads and breſts. And this is their thankſ-

giuing to God for their nights reſt, without any word ſpeaking, except peraduenture they ſay, *Aſpody Pomeluy*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs.*

Sitting downe to meate.

When they ſit downe to meate, and riſe againe from it, the thankſgiuing to God, is the croſſing of their fore-heads and breaſts. Except it be ſome few that adde peraduẽture, a word or two of ſome ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpoſe.

Oath for deciding controuerſies.

When they are to giue an oath, for the deciding of any controuerſie at law, they do it by ſwearing by the Croſſe, and kiſſing the feete of it, making it as GOD, whoſe name onely is to bee vſed in ſuch triall of Iuſtice.

At entring into houſes.

When they enter into any houſe (where euer there is an Idoll hanging on the wal) they ſigne themſelues with the croſſe, and bow themſelues to it.

At beginning worke.

When they beginne any worke, be it little or much, they arme themſelues firſt with the ſigne of the croſſe. And this commonly is all their prayer vnto God, for good ſpeede of their buſineſſe. And thus they ſerue God with croſſes, after a croſſe and vaine manner: not vnderſtanding what the Croſſe of Chriſt is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all ſtrangers Chriſtians, to be no better then Turkes, in compariſon of themſelues (and ſo they wil ſay) becauſe they bow not thẽſelues, when they meete with the Croſſe, nor ſigne themſelues with it, as the Ruſſe manner is.

Holy water.

They haue holy water, in like vſe and eſtimation as the Popiſh Church hath. But herein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hallow their holy water ſtockes, and tubs full of water; but all the Riuers of the Country once euery yeare.

Hallowing of Riuers.

At *Mosko* it is done with great pompe & ſolemnity: the Emperour himſelfe being preſent at it, with all his Nobility, marching through the ſtreetes towards the Riuer of *Moskua*, in manner of proceſſion, in this order as followeth.

The hallowing of the Riuer at Mosko.

Firſt goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of *Prechiſte* (or our Lady) the other of S. *Michael*, fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after, the reſt of the Deacons and the Prieſts of *Mosko*, two and two in a ranke, with coaps on their backes, and their Idols at their breaſts, carried with girdles or ſlings, made faſt about their necks. Next the Prieſts, come their Biſhops in their pontificalibus: then the Fryars, Monks and Abbots: and after, the Patriarchs in very rich attire, with a ball, or ſphere on the top of his myter, to ſignifie his vniuerſality ouer that Church. Laſt commeth the Emperor, with all his Nobility. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more.

Order obſerued at the Riuer.

When they are come to the Riuer, a great hole is made in the yce, where the market is kept, of a rod and a halfe broad, with a ſtage round about it to keepe off the preaſe. Then beginneth the Patriarch to ſay certaine prayers, and coniureth the diuell to come out of the water: and ſo caſting in ſalt, and cenſing it with frankincenſe, maketh the whole Riuer to become holy water. The morning before, all the people of *Mosko* vſe to make croſſes of chawlke ouer euery doore, & window of their houſes: leaſt the diuell being coniured out of the water, ſhould flye into their houſes.

After the ceremonies are ended.

When the ceremonies are ended, you ſhall ſee the black gard of the Emperors houſe, & then the reſt of the Towne with their pailes and buckets, to take off the hallowed water for drinke, and other vſes. You ſhall alſo ſee the women dippe in their children ouer head and eares, and many men and women leap into it, ſome naked, ſome with their clothes on, when ſome man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if hee ſhould but dippe it into the water. When the men haue doone, they bring their horſes to the riuer, to drink of the ſanctified water; and ſo make them as holy as a horſe.

Horſes drinke of the holy water on Twelfth-day.

Their ſet day for this ſolemne action of halowing their riuers, is that we call *Twelfe day*. The like is doone by other Biſhops, in all parts of the Realme.

Drinking of holy water.

Their maner is alſo to giue it to their ſicke, in their greateſt extreamitie; thinking that it will eyther recouer them, or ſanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their vnreaſonable ſuperſtition, as did the *Lord Borris* his onely ſonne, at my being at the *Moſco:* whom he killed (as was ſayd by the Phyſitions) by powring into him colde holy water, and by preſenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint *Baſileo*, in the colde of the Winter, in an extreamity of ſickeneſſe.

They

The Image of Chriſt in proceſſions.

They haue an Image of *Chriſt*, which they call *Neruchi*, (which ſignifies aſmuch as *Made without hands*) for ſo their prieſts (and ſuperſtition withall) perſwades them it was. This in their proceſſions, they carry about with them on high vpon a pole, encloſed within a Pixe, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reuerence to it, as to a great myſterie.

Brewing with holy water.

At euery brewing, their manner is likewiſe, to bring a diſh of their woort to the Prieſt, within the Church: which being hallowed by him, is poured into the brewing, and ſo giueth it ſuch a vertue, as when they drinke of it, they are ſeldome ſober. The like they doe with the firſt fruites of their corne in Harueſt.

Palmeſundaie ceremonie by ancient tradition.

They haue an other ceremony vppon Palme-ſunday of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the *Mosko*, the Emperour himſelfe holding his horſe bridle, and the people crying, *Hoſanna*, and ſpreading their vpper garments vnder his horſe feete. The Emperour hath of the Patriarch for his good ſeruice of that day, 200. rubbles of ſtanding penſion. Another Pageant they haue much like vnto this, the weeke before the Natiuity of Chriſt: When euery Biſhop in his Cathedrall Church, ſetteth foorth a ſhew of the three children in the Ouen. Where the Angell is made to come flying from the roofe of the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terible flaſhes of fire, are made with rozen, and gun-powder, by the *Chaldeans* (as they call them) that runne about the towne all the Twelue dayes, diſguiſed in their Players coats, and make much good ſport for the honour of the Biſhops Pageant. At the *Moſco*, the Emperour himſelfe, and the Empreſſe neuer faile to be at it, although it be but the ſame matter played euery yeare, without any new inuention at all.

An other ceremony before Chriſtmaſſe.

Faſts, beſide foure ſeuerall Lents, and at what times they are.

Beſides their faſts on Wedneſdayes, and Fridayes throughout the whole yere, (the one, becauſe they ſay Chriſt was ſold on the Wedneſday, the other, becauſe he ſuffered on the Friday) they haue foure great Faſts, or Lents euery yeare. The firſt, (which they call their great Lent) is at the ſame time with ours. The ſecond, about Midſomer. The third, in Harueſt time. The fourth, about Hallowntide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of meere ſuperſtitions.

In their great Lent, for the firſt weeke, they doe eate nothing but Bread and ſalt, and drinke nothing but water, neyther meddle with any matter of their vocation, but intend their ſhriuing and faſting only.

Vigils or Wakes they haue three.

They haue alſo three *Vigils* or *Wakes* in their Lent, which they call *Stoiania*, and the laſt Friday their great *Vigil*, as they do call it. What time the whole pariſh muſt be preſent in the Church, and watch from nine of the clocke in the Euening, vntill ſixe in the Morning, all the while ſtanding, except when they do fall downe, and knocke their heads to their Idoles, which muſt be an hundred and ſeauentie times, iuſt, through the whole night.

Burialls, and their ſuperſtitious ceremonies at them.

About their burialls alſo, they haue many ſuperſtitious and prophane ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corpes, a Letter to Saint *Nicholas*; whome they make their chiefe Mediator, and (as it were) the Porter of Heauen gates, as the Papiſts doe theyr *Peter*.

No buriall in the winter.

In Winter time, when all is couered with ſnow, and the ground ſo hard frozen, as that no ſpade, nor picke-axe can enter; their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (ſo many as die all the Winter time) in an houſe, in the ſuburbs, or out-parts of the towne, which they call *Bohſedom*, that is to ſay, *Gods houſe*: where the dead bodies are piled vp together, like billets on a wood-ſtacke, as hard, with the froſt, as a verie ſtone, till the Spring-tide come and diſſolueth the froſt; what time euery man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

Month-minds for departed friends.

They haue beſides, their yeares and moneths mindes, for their friends departed. What time they haue prayers ſaide ouer the graue by the prieſt; who hath a penny ordinary for his paines. When any dyeth, they haue ordinarie women mourners, that come to lament for the dead party: and ſtand howling ouer the body, after a prophane, and heatheniſh manner (ſometimes in the houſe, ſometimes bringing the body into the backeſide: *Asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to die?* They bury theyr dead, as the party vſed to goe, with coate, hoſe, bootes, hatte, and the reſt of his apparrell.

Buriall according as they went liuing.

Many

Many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies they haue, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appeare, how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge and practise of Christian Religion: hauing changed the Word of God, for their vaine traditions, and brought all to externall, and ridiculous ceremonies, without any regard of spirite and truth, which God requires in his true worship.

CHAP. V.

¶ *Lastly, an Oeconomicall discourse of the Emperours Court; his Familie and Housholde affaires: And more priuate behauiour of the people.*

Of the Emperours domestike or priuat behauiour.

THe Emperours priuate behauior, so much as may be, or is meete to be knowne, is after this manner: Hee riseth commonly about foure of the clocke in the morning. After his apparelling and washing, in cometh his ghostly father, or priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, *Otetz Duhouna*, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blesseth him, laying it first on his fore-head, then vpon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then offreth him the end of it to kisse. This being doone, the clarke of the crosse (calld *Chresby Deyack Profery*) bringeth into his chamber a paynted Image, representing the Saint for that day. For euery day with them hath his seuerall Saint, as it were a patron for that day. This he placeth among the rest of his Image gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and wax Candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with pearles and precious stones. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour beginnes to crosse himselfe after the *Russe* manner; first on the fore-head, then on both sides of his breast, with *Aspody Pomeluy, Pomeluy mena hospody, sacroy mena gresnick Syhodestua*: which is as much to say, as, *Helpe mee O Lord my God, Lord comfort mee, defend and keepe mee a sinner from doing euill, &c.* This he directeth towards the Image or Saint for that day, whom he nameth in his prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call *Precheste*) Saint *Nicholas*, or some other, to whome he beareth most deuotion, bowing himselfe prostrate vnto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

The emperors ghostly father

His priuate praier, and the maner how it is perfourmed in ceremonies

Then commeth againe the ghostly father, or chamber priest, with a siluer bole ful of holywater, which they call in *Russe*, *Sweta Voda*, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand, and so all to besprinkles first the Image gods, and then the Emperour. This holy water is brought fresh euery day from the Monasteries, farre and neere, sent vnto the Emperour from the Abbot or from the Priour, in the name of the Saint, which is patrone of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

Sprinkling with holy water.

Theſe deuotions being ended, he sendeth in to the Empresse, to aske whether she hath rested in health, &c. And after a little pawse, goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle roome betwixt both their chambers. The Empresse lyeth apart from him, and keepeth not one Chamber, nor Table with the Emperour daily, saue vppon the eeue of their Lents, or commō Fasts: what time she is his ordinary gheſt at bed and boord. After their meeting in the morning, they go together to their priuate Church or Chappell, where is saide, or sung a morning Seruice (called *Zautrana*) of an houre long or there-abouts. From the Church he returneth home, & sitteth him downe in a great Chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobility, such as are in fauour about the Court. If he haue to say to any of thē, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

The emperors visitation of the Empresse.

The Emperor giueth presence euerie morning.

About nine in the morning, he goeth vnto another Church within his Castle: where is sung by Priests and Choristers, the high Seruice (called *Obeadna* or *Complin*) which commonly lasteth the space of two houres: the Emperor in the mean time, talking commonly with some of

The empetors high and sollemne seruice.

of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captains, which haue to ſay to him, or hee to them. And the Councell likewiſe conferre togither among themſelues, as if they were in their councell houſe. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himſelfe till it be dinner time.

The Emperours ſeruice at his Table.

Hee is ſerued at his Table on this manner; Firſt, euery diſh (as it is deliuered at the Dreſſer) is taſted by the Cooke, in the preſence of his high Steward, or his Deputy. And ſo is receiued by the Gentlemen waiters (called *Shilſhey*) and by them carried vp to the Emperours Table, the high Steward going before. There it is receiued by the Sewer (called *Eraſtnoy*) who giueth a taſte of euery diſh vnto the Taſter, and ſo placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his diſhes for his ordinary ſeruice, is about ſeauentie; dreſſed ſomewhat groſely, with much garlike and ſalt, much after the Dutch manner. When he exceedeth, vpon ſome occaſion of the day, or entertainement of ſome Ambaſſador, he hath many more diſhes. The ſeruice is ſent vp by two diſhes at a time, or three at the moſt, that hee may eate it warme: firſt the baked, then the roſte meates, and laſt of all, the brothes.

A Table for the Nobilitie, &c.

In his dining Chamber is an other Table: where ſit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his ghoſtly Father, or Chaplaine. On the one ſide of the Chamber ſtandeth a Cubbard, or Table of Plate, very fayre and rich, with a great ceſterne of Copper by it, full of yce and ſnow, wherein ſtand the pots that ſerue for that meale. The taſter holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all dinner time, and deliuereth it vnto him with a ſay, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many diſhes out of the ſeruice, after it is ſet on the Table, and to ſend them to ſuch Noblemen and Officers, as the Emperor liketh beſt. And this is counted a great fauour and honour.

His ſleeping after dinner.

After dinner, he layeth him downe to reſt, where commonly hee taketh three houres ſleepe, vnleſſe hee doe employ one of the houres to bathing or boxing. And this cuſtome for ſleeping after dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the *Ruſſes*. After his ſleepe hee goeth to Euenſong (called by them *Vechurna:*) and thence returning (for the moſt part) recreateth himſelfe with the

His euening recreation, or betweene meales.

Empreſſe till ſupper time, with ieaſters, and dwarfes, men and women, that doe tumble before him, and ſing many ſongs after the *Ruſſe* manner. This is his common and vſuall forme of recreation betweene his meales, wherein he moſt delighteth.

Fight with Beares, by men put to them.

One other ſpeciall recreation, is the fight with wilde Beares, which are caught in pittes, or netts, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpoſe, againſt the Emperour bee diſpoſed to ſee the paſtime. The fight with the Beare is on this ſort: The man is turned into a circle walled round about, where hee is to quite himſelfe ſo well as hee can; for there is no way to flie out. When the Beare is turned looſe, he cometh vpon him with open mouth. If at the firſt puſh hee miſſe his ayme, ſo that the Beare doe come within him, he is in great danger. But the wilde Beare being very fierce, hath this quality, that giueth aduantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he aſſaileth a man, to riſe vpright on his two hinder legges, and ſo to come roaring with open mouth vpon him. And if the Hunter then can puſh right into the very breaſt of him betweene his fore-legges (as commonly he will not miſſe) reſting the other end of the Boare-ſpeare at the ſide of his foote: and ſo keeping the pike ſtill towardes the face of the Beare, hee ſpeedeth him commonly at one blowe.

The manner to kill the Beare.

But many times theſe Hunters come ſhort, and are eyther ſlaine, or miſerably torne with the teeth and talents of the fierce beaſt. If the party quitte himſelfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doore; where he drinketh himſelfe drunke for the honour of *Hoſpodare*. And this is his reward, for aduenturing his life for the Emperours pleaſure.

To maintaine this paſtime, the Emperor hath certaine Huntſmen, that are appointed for that purpoſe, to take the wilde Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the Holy-daies. Sometimes he ſpendeth his time in looking vppon his Goldſmiths and Iewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and ſuch like, and ſo goeth to his ſupper. When it draweth towards bed time, his Prieſt ſaith certaine prayers; and then the Emperour bleſſeth and croſſeth himſelfe, as in the morning, for

His preparation to bed.

for a quarter of an houre or there-abouts, and ſo goeth to his bed.

A deſcription of the Emperor, when the Author was there.

The Emperor that now is (called *Theodore Iuanowich*) is for his perſon of a mean ſtature, ſomewhat lowe and groſſe, of a ſallow complection, and enclining to the dropſie, hawk noſed, vnſteady in his pace, by reaſon of ſome weakneſſe of his limbs, heauy and vnactiue, yet commonly ſmiling almoſt to a laughter. For quality otherwiſe, ſimple and ſlowe witted, but very gentle, and of an eaſie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall diſpoſition, nor greatly apt for matter of pollicy, very ſuperſtitious, and infinite that way. Beſides his priuate deuotions at home, hee goeth euery Weeke commonly on pilgrimage to ſome Monaſtery, or other that is neereſt hand. He is of 34. yeares old, or therabouts, and hath reigned almoſt the ſpace of ſixe yeares.

Of the Emperors priuate, or houſhold Officers.

The cheefe Officers of the Emperors houſhold, are theſe which follow. The firſt is the Office of the *Boiaren Coneſheua*, or Maſter of the Horſe. Which containeth no more then is expreſſed by the name, that is, to be Ouerſeer of the horſe, and not *Magiſter equitum*, or Maſter of the horſemen. For hee appointeth other for that ſeruice, as occaſion doth require (as before was ſaid.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreſſe. Of Horſe for ſeruice in his wars (beſides other for his ordinary vſes) hee hath to the number of ten thouſand, which are kept about *Mosko*.

Maſter of the Horſe.

The next is the Lord Steward of his houſhold, at this time, one *Gregory Vaſilowich Godonoe*.

The Lord Steward.

The third is his Treaſurer, that keepeth all his monies, iewels, plate, &c. now called *Stepan Vaſilowich Godonoe*.

The Lord Treaſurer.

The fourth his Controller, now *Andreas Petrowich Cleſinine*.

Controller.

The fift his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called *Eſtoma Biſabroza Paſtelniſchay*.

Chamberlain

The ſixt his Taſters, now *Theodore Alexandrowich*, and *Iuan Vaſilowich Godonoe*.

Taſters.

The ſeuenth his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the Office vnder thē. Theſe are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the cheefeſt account.

Harbengers.

Of Gentlemen beſide that waite about his Chamber and Perſon (called *Shilfey Strapſey*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens ſonnes.

Gentlemen of the Chamber.

His ordinary Guard is 2000. Hagbutters, ready with their pieces charged, and their match lighted, with other neceſſary Furniture continually day & night: which come not within the houſe, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time, there lodgeth next to his bedchamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of beſt truſt about him.

The Guard.

Night time.

A ſecond chamber off, there lodge ſixe other of like account, for their truſt and faithfulneſſe.

In the third Chamber lie certaine yong Gentlemen, of theſe two hundred, called *Shilſey Strapſey*, that take their turnes by forties euery night.

There are Groomes beſides, that watch in their courſe, and lye at euery gate and doore of the Court, called *Eſtopnick*.

Groomes.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thouſand (as was ſaide before) watch about the Emperors lodging, or bed-chamber by courſe two hundred and fifty euery night, and two hundred and fifty more in the Court yard, & about the Treaſure houſe.

The Guard for his lodging.

His Court or Houſe at the *Mosko*, is made Caſtle-wiſe, walled about with great ſtore of faire Ordenance planted vpon the Wall, and containeth a great bredth of ground within it, with many dwelling houſes. Which are appointed for ſuch as are knowne to be ſure and truſty to the Emperor.

The priuate behauiour and qualitie of the *Ruſſe* people, may partly bee vnderſtoode, by that which hath beene ſayde concerning the publique ſtate and vſage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are, for the moſt part, of a large ſiſe, and of verie fleſhy bodies; accounting it a grace to be ſomewhat groſſe and burley, and therefore they nouriſh and ſpread their beards, to haue them long and broade. But, for the moſt part, they are very vnweldy and vnactiue withall. Which may be thought to come, partly of the Climate, and the numbneſſe which they get by the colde in winter, and partly of their dyet, which is moſt of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and

Of the priuate behauiour, or quality of the Ruſſe people.

Conſtitution of their bodies.

Their ordinary dyet.

and ſuch like things that breed groſſe humours, which they vſe to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their drinke at their meals

Their dyet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a *Chark*, or ſmall cuppe of *Aqua vitæ*, (which they do call *Ruſſe* wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their meales; taking it in largely, and all together, with kiſſing one another, at euery pledge. And therefore, after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his after-noones ſleepe, which is as ordinary with them as theyr nights reſt. When they exceed, and haue varietie of diſhes, the firſt are their baked meates (for roſte meates they vſe little) and then their pottage and broaths. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them euery day in the week. Their common drinke is *Mead*, the poorer ſort vſe water, and thin drinke called *Quaſſe*, which is nothing elſe (as wee vſe to ſay) but water turned out of his wittes, with a little branne meaſhed with it.

The afternoones reſt.

Drinking drunke euery day.

Their often vſe of Bathſtoues,

This dyet would breede in them many diſeaſes, but that they vſe bath-ſtoues, or hot-houſes, in ſtead of all phyſicke, commonly twice or thrice euery weeke. All the Winter time, and almoſt the whole Summer, they heate there *Peaches*, which are made like the *Germane* Bathſtoues, & their *Potlads* like Ouens, that ſo warme the houſe, that a ſtranger at the firſt ſhall hardly like of it. Theſe two extremities, ſpecially in the Winter of heate within their houſes, and of extreme colde without, together with their dyet; maketh them of a darke and ſallow complection, their skinnes beeing tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: ſpecially the women, that (for the greater part) are of farre worſe complections, then the men. Wherof the cauſe I take to be their keeping within the hot-houſes, and buſiing themſelues about the heating & vſing of their bathſtoues, and peaches.

Two extremities of heat and colde.

The *Ruſſe*, becauſe that he is vſed to both theſe extremities of heate and of colde, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then ſtrangers can doe. You ſhall ſee them ſometimes (to ſeaſon their bodies) come out of their Bathſtoues all on a froth, and fuming as hot almoſt as a Pig at a Spit, and preſently to leape into the Riuer ſtarke naked, or to poure colde water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldeſt of all the Winter time. The women, to mend the bad hue of their skins, vſe to paint their faces with white and red colours, ſo viſibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, becauſe it is common, and liked well by their husbands: who make their Wiues and Daughters ordinary allowance, to buy them colours to paint their faces withal, and delight themſelues much, to ſee them of fowle women, to become ſuch faire Images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is off.

At comming out of their Bathſtoues.

Wome there paint groſſely

They apparell themſelues after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this faſhion.

The Noblemans attire.

Firſt a *Taffia*, or little night-cappe on his head, that couereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of ſilke and gold thred, and ſet with pearl and precious ſtones. His head he keepeth ſhauen cloſe to the very skin, except he be in ſome diſpleaſure with the Emperour. Then hee ſuffereth his hayre to grow and hang downe vppon his ſhoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can.

Ouer the *Taffia*, hee weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the beſt Furre) with a *Tiara* or long bonnet put within it, ſtanding vp like a *Perſian* or *Babilonian* Hat.

About his necke (which is ſeene all bare) is a coller ſet with pearle and precious ſtones, about three or foure fingers broad.

Next ouer his ſhirt (which is curiouſly wrought, becauſe he ſtrippeth himſelfe into it in the Summer time, while he is in the houſe) is a *Shepon*, or light Garment of ſilke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a *Caftan* or a cloſe coate buttoned, & girt to him with a *Perſian* girdle, whereat hee hangs his kniues and ſpoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his anckles.

Ouer that he weareth a looſe garment of ſome rich ſilke, furred and faced about with ſome gold Lace, called a *Ferris*.

Another ouer that, of Chamlet, or like ſtuffe, called an *Alkaben*, ſleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched

brooched and ſet all with pearle.

When he goeth abroad, he caſteth ouer al theſe, which are but ſleight (though they ſeeme to be many) another garment called an *Honoratkey*, like to the *Alkaben*, ſaue that it is made without a coller for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camells haire.

His buskins, which he weareth in ſtead of hoſe, with linnen folds vnder them in ſteed of boot-hoſe, are made of a *Perſian* leather called *Saphian*, embrodered with pearle. His vpper ſtockes commonly are of cloth of gold.

When he goeth abroade, hee mounteth on horſe backe, although it be but to goe to the next doore; which is the cuſtome and maner alſo of the *Boiarskey*, or gentlemen.

The Gentlemans apparel.

The *Boiarskey* or gentlemans attire is of the ſame faſhion, but diffreth in ſtuffe; and yet he will haue his *Caftan* or vndercoate ſometimes of cloth of golde, the reſt of cloth or ſilke.

The noble womans apparel.

The Noble woman (called *Chyna Boiarſhena*) weareth on her head, firſt a kall of ſome ſoft ſilke (which commonly is red) and ouer it a frontlet, called *Obroſa* of white colour.

A coife cap.

Ouer that, her Cap (made after the coife faſhion of cloath of golde) called *Shapka Zempska*, edged with ſome rich furre, and ſet with pearles and ſtones. Though they haue of late begunne to diſdaine embrodering with pearles about their caps, becauſe the Diacks, and ſome Merchants wiues haue taken vppe the faſhion.

Rich eare-rings.

In their eares they weare eare-rings (which they call *Sargee*) of two inches or more in compaſſe, the matter of golde ſet with Rubies, or Saphires, or ſome like pretious ſtone.

Chin clothes.

In Sommer they goe often with kerchiefs of fine white lawne or Cambricke, faſtened vnder the chinne, with two long taſſelles pendent. The kerchiefe ſpotted and ſet thicke with rich pearle.

Weather hats

When they ride or goe abroad in raynie weather, they vſe to weare white hats with coloured bands, called by them *Scapa Zemskoy*.

Necke collers.

About their neckes they weare collers of three or foure fingers broade, ſet with rich pearle and pretious ſtones.

The vpper garment.

Their vpper garment is a looſe gowne (called *Opoſhen*) commonly of Skarlet, with wide looſe ſleeues, hanging downe to the ground, buttond before with great gold buttons, or at the leaſt, ſiluer and gilt, nigh as bigge as a wallnut. Which hath hanging ouer it faſtened vnder the cappe, a large broade cape of ſome rich Furre, that hangeth downe almoſt to the middes of their backes.

The vnder gownes.

Next vnder the *Opoſhen* or vpper garment, they weare an other, called a *Leitnick*, that is made cloſe before with great wide ſleeues, the cuffe or halfe ſleeue vp to the elbowes commonly of cloath of golde: and vnder that a *Ferris Zemskoy*, which hangeth looſe buttoned throughout to the very foote.

Bracelets.

On the hand-wreaſts they weare very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broade of pearles and precious ſtones. They goe all in Buskins of white, yellow, blew, or ſome other coloured leather, embrodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noble woman of *Ruſsia*, when ſhee maketh the beſt ſhew of her ſelfe. The gentlewomans apparrell may differ in the ſtuffe, but is all one for the making or faſhion.

Womens buſkins.

The *Mouſicks*, or common mans attire.

As for the poore *Mouſick*, and his wife, they goe poorely clad. The man with his *Odnoratkey*, or looſe gowne to the ſmall of the legge, tied together with a lace before, of courſe white or blew cloth, with ſome *Shube* or long waſt-coate of Furre, or of ſheepe-skinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins.

The poore man.

The poorer ſort of them haue their *Odnoratkey*, or vpper garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the ſommer time, commonly they doe weare nothing but their ſhirts vpon their backes, and buskins on their legges.

The *Mouſicks* wife.

The woman goeth in a redde or blew gowne, when ſhee maketh the beſt ſhew, and with ſome warme *Shube* of Furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the ſommer, nothing but her two ſhirts (for ſo do they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without.

Head attire.

On their heads, they weare caps of ſome colored ſtuffe, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold; but for the moſt part, kerchiefes.

Eare-rings & Croſſes.

Without eare-rings of ſiluer, or ſome other mettall, and her croſſe about her necke, you ſhall ſee no *Ruſsia* woman, be ſhe wife, or maide.

As

Their wittes and capacities

As touching their behauiour, and quality otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those meanes that some other Nations haue, to traine vp their witts in good nurture and learning. Which they might borrow of the Polonians, and other their neighbors: but that they refuse it of a very selfe pride, as accounting their owne fashion to be farre the best. Partly also (as I sayd before) for that their manner of bringing vp (voyd of all good learning, and ciuill behauiour) is thought (by their gouernors) most agreeable to that State, and their maner of gouernement. Which the people would hardly beare, if they were once ciuilled, and brought to more vnderstanding of God, and good policie.

Ciuilitie bringeth the knowledge of God

This causeth the Emperours to keepe out all meanes of making it better, and to be very wary for excluding of all peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to be disliked, if it set not a print into the very mindes of his people. For, as themselues are very hardly and cruelly dealt withall by their chiefe Magistrates, and other superiours; so are they as cruell one against an other, especially ouer their inferiours, and such as are vnder them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christianoe* (as they call him) that stoupeth and crowcheth like a dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lieth at his feete, is an intollerable tyrant, where he hath the aduantage.

Cruelty of the Russe people.

By this meanes the whole Countrie is filled with rapine, and murder. They doe make no account of the life of a man. Yee shall haue a man robbed sometime in the very streetes of their Townes, if hee goe late in the euening: and yet no man to come foorth out of his doores to rescue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not speake of the strangenesse of the murders, and other cruelties committed amongst them, that would scarcely be beleeued to be doone amongst men, especially such as professe themselues to be christians.

Vagrant begging poore.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite; that are so pinched with famine and extreme neede, as that they doe begge after a violent and desperate manner; with, *Giue me, and cut mee*; *Giue mee, and kill mee*; and such like phrases. Whereby it may bee ghessed, what they are towards strangers, that are so vnnaturall and cruell towardes their owne. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the crueltie, or intemperancie that is vsed in that Countrie, I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to be named. The whole Countrie ouerfloweth with all sinne of that kinde. And no maruell, as hauing no law to restraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like vncleannesse of life.

Intemperance

No care of word or promise.

As for the truth of his word, the *Russe* (for the most part) maketh small regard of it: so he may gaine by a lie, and breach of his promise. And it may be said truely (as they know best that haue traded most with them) that from the great to the smal (except some few that will scarcely bee found) the Russe neyther beleeueth anie thing that an other man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthy to be beleeued.

The Russe odious to his neighbours.

These qualities make them very odious to all their neighbours, especially to the *Tartars*, that account themselues to be honest and iust, in comparison of the Russe. It is supposed by some, that doe well consider of the state of both Countries, that the offence they do take at the *Russe* gouernement, and their manner of behauiour; hath beene a great cause to keepe the *Tartar* still heathenish, and to mislike (as hee dooth) of the Christian profession.

CHAP. VI.

¶ *If it may be so ordered or limited, that poisons giuen at a certaine day, shall not cause death, vntill a time appoynted and prefixed.*

This is the last paradox of the first Decad.

SIr, though you can much more clearely and exactly resolue this doubt; yet notwithstanding, seeing you please to vnderstand mine aduice therein, concerning the limitation and efficacie of poysons, at a day or time prefixed; I shall briefly resolue you of my iudgement.

I haue euermore helde it absurde and

A compariſon deriued from phyſicall medicines of beſt worth.

ridiculous (although it bee maintayned in vulgare opinion) that venoms or poyſons ſhould be limited to a certaine time, by empoyſoners. For, how can it be ſo, ſeeing Phyſicall medicines, euen ſuch as are moſt profitable, whoſe vertue (in knowledge thereof, is limited to the compoſition and quantitie of the doſe) cannot be apprehended, but by long and frequent experience? And that being knowne, doth not yet leaue vs any certaine act, but coniecturall: wherfore, I cannot ſee by what reaſon, an empoyſoner ſhould gaine a prefixion of time, for the efficacie of his poyſon. For, it is not lawfull to make triall, without danger, no nor without puniſhment: euen as if the action of Phyſicall receipts, ſhould be experimented vpon healthfull perſons.

Triall of poyſons made on Dogs, Hogs, Birds, &c.

It may be alleadged, and I am of the ſame opinion too, that they approue their poyſons vpon beaſts, as Dogges, Swine and Birds, and that thereby they conſtitute rules to themſelues; hauing obſerued diuers times of death, according to the nature of the poyſons. As if the natures of men, (being the moſt temperate of all creatures) and the other were not verie farre different. Beſides, it is much more eaſie, that a preciſe and certaine houre of euent and ſucceſſe, ſhould happen vnto beaſts, then to men. For, creatures depriued of reaſon, haue very little diuerſitie (in their kinde) betweene them, feeding on one and the ſame paſturage, and being not addicted to ſundry ſtudies, and occupations: from whence enſueth, that euen by and of the ſame things, beaſts endure (almoſt) paſſions alike.

Little diuerſitie betweene vnreaſonable creatures in their kinde.

Very great & ſtrange varietie among mē, for ſeldome or neuer are two found of one and the ſame complexion.

But for men, although they agree together in kinde, yet notwithſtanding they are ſo different, as ſeldome or neuer, ſhall we find two together of likeneſſe in face: but are diuerſe in complexions, conditions and occupations or profeſſions, and no one like other among a thouſand. Vndoubtedly, I am of the minde, that in the kinde of man, there is as many differences among particulars, as there is diuerſities of kinde among all other creatures. And therefore, it ought to be helde altogether abuſiue, and noway firme, and ſuch coniecture of empoyſoners; as is very eaſie to be prooued, and made plaine to euery vnderſtanding: and vppon this hopefull perſwaſion, wee will fall preſently to our buſineſſe.

Theophraſtus a learned Philoſopher, his opinion of Aconitum.

Many haue thought and held, that *Theophraſtus* (a very graue and approued Philoſopher) was the Authour of this opinion, becauſe he wrote thus of *Aconitum*. *It is ſaid to be compounded in ſuch ſort, that it can kill at a certaine time: as namely, within two moneths, three moneths, ſixe moneths, a whole yeare, and ſometimes in two yeares. And ſome affirme, that ſuch people ſhall die more miſerably, then if they could haue reſiſted longer time. For their bodies will impaire by little and little, periſhing in a daily languiſhing: whereas ſuch as die ſuddenly, haue the more eaſie death.*

Theophraſtus not to be credited in this caſe.

But the authoritie of *Theophraſtus*, or of our ſelues, can mooue nothing in this matter; conſidering, that he wrote this, more vpon others opinion, then his own, as the words themſelues doe euidently teſtifie. And if any one deſire to know the cauſe of this perſwaſion, hee ſhall meete with a two-folde anſwere thereto. The firſt is, the ſubtile craftineſſe of men, who flatter and fondly play with their owne vices. For, how many may be found, that can not ſo paciently endure, when they are reproоued in ſome euill, happening by an externall accident; as if one ſhould tell them, that it receiued originall by a bad temperature of their body, or of their owne intemperance? For, admit that nothing could be ſaide, to bee the cauſe of the firſt conſtitution, and therefore (by conſequent) the reproofe of his imperfection concerned him nothing: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe it is our owne naturally, we will conceale and couer it, yea, and fauour it beyond meaſure. So that if there happen any fault on the behalfe of our imperfection, we ſtand moſt in feare to be thereof reproued. And hence it enſueth, that we more gladly yeelde agreement, to haue the cauſe from ſome externall occaſion, then of any interiour.

Two anſwers to the friuolous perſwaſiō The firſt anſwere.

We can not indure to hear our owne imperfections reproоued.

Examples in this caſe are very manifeſt, euen in ſuch as haue leaſt knowledge, being ignorant in good Arts and Sciences, tranſported by ſimple iudgement of ſelfeloue. As aged, and the moſt part of weake witted people doe, to whom nothing admitable can be ſpoken; vnleſſe it be referred to ſome Saint, or poyſon cloſely giuen, or to the witching lookes of ſome old woman: whence proceeded the complaint whereof *Virgill* ſpeaketh.

The ignorāce of cauſes induceth (very often) a falſe opinion and Sorceries.

I know not by what ill aſpect of wrong,
My tender Lambes (enchanted) walke along.

For there muſt needes be probable lying, that either inſtantly, or ſoone after the poyſon is giuen, or continued in the ſureſt manner; if any length or reſpite of time can be giuen thereto.

The other cauſe of this opinion, is the depraued interpretation of Aſtronomicall Theoremes or Speculations. For the proofe whereof, Aſtrologers conſtitute (which is true) the diuers manners or paſſions of inferiour bodies, to be from the diuers coniunction, oppoſition and enterchanged aſpect of the ſuperiour. From hence, the ignorant vulgar take occaſion, to ground and eſtabliſh the varietie of effects, euen vpon the leaſt differences that can bee obſerued in the celeſtiall bodies. As when they conſtitute ſome one plant, to haue power and efficacie againſt feauers; prouided, that it be gathered before Sunne riſing. This is an errour ſpread too farre abroad. For, not onely from theſe differences (triuiall, light, and of no account at all) men commonly conſtruct the diuerſitie of effects in their kinds: but alſo would haue the accidents of thoſe effects to be diuers, for the ſelfe ſame reaſon; euen as is the time to manifeſt the efficacie of poyſon. The folly (in this point) further related by *Theophraſtus*, he ſayth: *That death happeneth in as ſhort a time, as a Plant is to be gathered*. Let vs ſeeke then for a true ſolution of this Probleme, by reaſon rather then the teſtimonies of any. Which we may moſt commodiouſly doe (if I abuſe not mine owne iudgement) by beginning with the definition of venome or poiſon; to the end it may be the eaſier vnderſtood, what the matter is that vrgeth our inſtant diſputation.

The ſecond anſwere and obſeruation of the ſecond cauſe.

The like iſt of heatbs gathered vpon Saint Johns Eue or Vigile.

Theophraſtus his words for the ſudden enſuing of death

A definition of poiſon or venome, and what it is vnderſtood to be

We properly call venome or poyſon, whatſoeuer being receiued into the body, doth ſo fight againſt the body, as it is not to be ſurmounted; but contrariwiſe, doth ſo alter the body, as the body it ſelfe alters in diet. In all venoms there are two eſpeciall differences: for, eyther they are enemies to humane nature, by reaſon of their manifeſt qualitie; or elſe they are aduerſe thereto in their whole ſubſtance. Moreouer, ſome may kill quickely, others more tardily, euen of their owne proper nature. Such kill ſuddenly, and in feweſt daies and houres, which are immediatly carried to the profunditie of the hart. Such venoms are extreamly hot, and (for the moſt part) corroſiue or putrefactiue; the Greeks call them *Septiques*, endued with moſt ſubtile parts. For, colde and groſſe venomes are more ydle, and inſinuate into the veines and arteries more ſlowly.

The operation of poyſons in their owne nature.

Some there are, which infect and kill the body, by their onely vapour or inuiſible exhalation. Others, that holde the prime place of atrocitie and malignitie. As certaine poiſons artificial, which haue ſo ſubtile a vertue, as being but rubbed or annointed vpon the ſtirrops, will pierce thorow the bootes of the Rider, euen till it attaine to the naked ſoale of his foote; and from thence aſcendeth vp into the body, by the ſouſpiralles or ouertures of the skinne, and ſo corrupt all the members. Bridles and Saddles of horſes may alſo be infected, and afterwards, inducted by naturall heate into the arteries and veins of the rider entring by the pores in his hands and thighes. As in like maner, Garments, Beds and Couerings may be poyſond. To theſe venoms may be referred, ſuch as kill only by ſight, ſmel, or being but taſted only (without ſwallowing or letting downe) ſuddenly deſtroying a man, without any the leaſt lingering.

Of ſome that deſtroy ſooner then other.

Poyſoning mens ſtirrops, bridles & ſaddles for horſes, garments, beds, &c.

All venomes or poyſons bring preſent death with them, ſo as there remains not any time of reſpite, for ſuccor to ſaue the poore mans life, but he dies. I vnderſtand, that ſuch poyſons are in frequent vſe among the *Turkes*, and ſuch other nations. Groſſer venoms or poiſons do differ from theſe, as being ſlower in performing their action; but in the end burne very ſtrongly, bite, eat, torment, & (by their lingring) beget the greater ſtrength & cruel violence.

Such ſpeeding poyſons are in daily vſe amongeſt the Turkes and other barbarous nations.

Now there is not onely a difference of efficacie, in poiſons of diuers kinds, but alſo there happens to them as great a varietie of reſpites, to hurt according to their conſtitution and temperature, by whom they are taken. For ſome feele the harme ſooner or later then other; ſome are ouerthrowne thereby, others eſcape. Becauſe many times it comes ſo to paſſe, that the poiſons power is mitigated & ouercome, by the very complexiō of him that hath receiued it, elſe, that it is ſo ſtrōg of it ſelf, as it needeth no other counterpoyſon to vanquiſh it. So falleth it out with them that dwell in peſtilent aires, & others that

Diffrence in the poyſons, and difference in their times of working.

Of bodies peſtilentially infected.

are attainted with the plague: ſome of them being ſicke, chance to die ſuddenly, others later, and other (in the end) eſcape.

A very ridiculous affirmation.

If it be ſo, it ſeemes then altogether ridiculous to affirme, that it is poſſible to giue a poiſon, which (at a day prefixed, & at a certaine time of that day) ſhall cauſe the parties death, & that the condition of the poiſon is ſo to doe. To which errour I may well referre another, ſauouring of the ſame taſte, and which we haue long ſince ouerthrowne, to wit: *That medicines take the beginning of their mutation or changing from our heate*. Whence it enſueth, that being groſſely preſſed, they produce their effects the later. But if I ſhould conſent to them herein, yet notwithſtanding, they can neuer come to approue their affirmation, vnleſſe it be captiouſly. For if any man argue thus: This drugge diſcouereth his power later then this; therefore he will doe it at a certaine time. The argumentation is falſe, and *Ariſtotle* calleth it *Elenchus non conſequens*: Euen as if a man ſhould ſay, A Goat is a Beaſt, therfore a Goate is an Aſſe. For, *To do a thing late, and to do a thing at a certaine time*, are of diuers kindes, and differ from doing a thing in ſome time.

Galen in Parad. 1, Dec. 2.

A kind of ydle argumentatiõ.

A Goate is a beaſt, therefore a Goate is an Aſſe.

Heereby it appeareth, that theſe great Profeſſours haue no other eye, but onelie on the conditions of the poyſons, as in this poynt it is very euident, for we heare no diſtinction of bodies: but onely pretence of the poyſon, whereunto they only attribute the limitation of time, and not to any complexion in the parties. Obſeruation hath beene made, that poiſon hath beene giuen at a Feaſt or Banquet to diuers perſons, all in one houre, (when friends haue merrily met together, without ſuſpition of any ſuch villanie) whereof ſome dyed ſuddenly, others died within ſome few dayes after, and ſome felt no anguiſh at all, yet euery one receiued a like quantitie.

At a ſolemne Banquet in Italie made by Cæſar Borgia.

The like we ſee to happen daily in purgatiue medicines, which being giuen to diuers perſons (euen all alike in meaſure, and all alike in preparation) they worke vpon ſome bodies very ſuddenly, others more ſlowly, others very hardly, and vpon ſome nothing at all. Moreouer, the vacuitie of ſome men is with much eaſe, others with great difficultie, grieuouſly grinding or cutting, and frequent debility of the heart. What need is there then of alleadging many men, when vppon one and the ſame man, one and the ſame medicine cannot produce the ſame effects?

An example deriued from phyſicall purgatiues.

Seeing then, that according to the diuers and vnparaleld complexion, & conformation of the body, we ſee ſuch things to happen, for the moſt part; and beſides, that the iuſt temperature of euery particular man is no way to be comprehended: how then ſhall any one man dare to ſay, how long time naturall heate ſhall reſiſt or withſtand poiſon? Say I admitted, that ſome one man ſhould be ſo expert an empoiſoner, that he could weigh (in a certainty of iudgement) the power of his poiſon, euen as exquiſitely as he weigheth muske in the Ballance: yet notwirhſtanding, I will neuer graunt, that he can as exactly limite poyſon, for the nature of him that is to receiue it: but he wil faile ſomewhat of the end, or of the time by him propoſed. For, Phyſicke it ſelfe is held to be a Science, grounded but vpon coniectures, concerning what is to be preſcribed for euery man, in the proper quantitie and qualitie of meeteſt remedies. *For, no man knoweth how to write or ſpeake iuſtly or properly*, as *Galen* ſaith in the third book of his Methods. And a little after: *In the Arte of Phyſicke* (ſaith he) *there is not anie thing or remedie, but may bee named in his kinde: but that which cannot be ſpoken, written, nor entirely appointed or ordained, is the quantitie for euery one.*

The complexion and temperature of all men is incomprehenſible, neither can poiſons worke in one and the ſame manner vpon them.

Phyſick a Science grounded but on coniecture.

Hee repeateth this ſame matter many times, and to the purpoſe enſuing, as enſtructing, that euery man hath his peculiar curing, and that the naturall propertie is vnſpeakeable and incomprehenſible of an exact Science. Vulgar Phyſitians call it *Idioſyncraſis*, the naturall propertie, as *Galen* ſaith. And becauſe all confeſſe, that it cãnot be comprehended; they attribute the true Art of Phyſicke to *Aeſculapius* & *Apollo*. For the principle, and foundation (as it were) of perfect, compleate, & infallible Phyſicke (which *Galen* calls; *The true Arte of Medicine*) is the particular knowledge of Naturals. Whereupon he makes this addition. *If I knew how to acknowledge iuſtly, the nature of each one in particular: I ſhould verily thinke to be ſuch a one as Aeſculapius, and to know as much in my vnderſtanding. But becauſe it is not to be doone, I am determined to exerciſe my ſelfe ſo*

Galen in libr. vbi ſupra.

ſo much, to come ſo neere him as a man may, and to exhort others therein to follow mine example.

The Art of phyſicke is more coniecturall then certaine.

If Phyſicke then be coniecturall, and not certaine in the party that prepareth or appointeth remedies to euery body, & the iſſue is not to be ſeene; but finally by a long obſeruation and experience; who can perſwade himſelfe herein concerning poyſons? For, if in the Art of phyſicke, *Experience is dangerous*, as the wiſe & learned *Hippocrates* well aduiſeth vs: it is eaſie to conceiue, how vncertain the proofe of poyſons are, becauſe it is not lawfull to experiment their vertue, both without danger and puniſhment alſo, as wholſome medicines in diuerſitie of perſons.

Hippoc. in lib. 1. Aphor. 1.

Beaſts natures are very much differing from mens.

And whatſoeuer hath bin obſerued vpon brute Beaſts, as I formerly ſaide, is very vnapt for any accommodation to a man, becauſe the natures of men and beaſts are greatly differing, as namely by this proofe: that Stares feede ſafely vpon Hemlocke, and Quailes on Helleborus, which are both phyſicke and poyſon to vs. From theſe reaſons then we may collect finally, that the Arte (if it may bee tearmed an Arte) or coniectures of empoyſoners, is to be eſteemed very erronious, and of ſlender firmnes: conſidering, that one ſelfe-ſame poyſon produceth his action, ſometimes quickly, and ſometimes ſlackly; and that not ſo much by any reaſon in it ſelfe, as by the nature and complection of the body, wideneſſe or narrowneſſe of the paſſages, ſtrength or weakneſſe of naturall heate; and the plenty or ſcarſity of ſemblable excrements, & diuers other meanes.

One ſelf-ſame poyſon differeth in his operation, and in his times.

For the power of poyſon remaineth ſometimes vaine and fruitleſſe, or mightily rebated, according to ſuch bodies, as haue their faculties of the ſoule ſtout and ſtrong, by reaſon of an excellent good temperature. And *Galen* thinketh, that the building and compoſition of the body, is the cauſe why Hemlocke killeth a man, & nouriſheth Stares. Whereto he addeth, the ſtrength and vigour of heate, diminiſhing and ſubtillizing, in regard he is perſwaded that it happeneth ſo, that colde poyſons better and ſooner doe declare their force, when they are giuen to hotte natures. Which may appeare a Paradoxe to many: but hauing bin made moſt euidently apparant by the ſaid author, I dare let the proofe paſſe vpon my credite, becauſe his experience is warrantable.

Bodies of ſtrong and good temperature reſiſt the power of poyſon,

Cold poyſons work ſooneſt on hot natutes.

As for the nature of excrements, they weaken the actions of poyſons, being repugnant to their qualities. For if there be any aboundance of phlegme in the entrailes, the power of hot poyſon will bee greatly rebated: and on the contrary, hot moyſture haſteneth the action of ſuch a poyſon. Likewiſe, ouer-copious choller ſtoppeth and breaketh the ſtupefactiue venome receiued, whereas phlegme fauoreth it. And all that theſe wicked empoyſoners do know, is nothing elſe, but what poyſons onely kill, by euident condition of their qualities, and that they hurt with all their ſubſtance. Such are they as kill by corrupting or corroſion, which muſt haue time to enforce their mallice (as *Galen* ſaieth) wheras other do weaken themſelues by their tardying. For they do all putrifie in time, & ſo much the more, as the place is moiſter and hotter.

Of the ſeuerall action of poiſons vpon phlegme and choller, by their ſcanting or abounding.

Such then as worke by putrifying, time doth augment their action: becauſe they encreaſe the corruption, and in regard they ceaſſe not to corrupt themſelues; reciprocally they corrupt and rot the body. From whence enſueth, that death is cauſed long time after: eſpecially ſuch poyſons as are of groſſe and earthy ſubſtance. Thus you may ſee, what empoyſoners haue learned by long obſeruation.

Of poyſons that haue their working by putrifaction.

What apprehenſion empoyſoners haue of them by four means in obſeruations.

Firſt, they know how to diſtinguiſh venomes, which kill by their inſigne and notorious qualities, from other that cauſe death by their whole ſubſtance.

Secondly, that they naturally bring to any man whatſoeuer, a moſt ſudden harme, and yet doe not diſcouer their vigour, but vpon longer time.

Thirdly, that (of both the two kindes) they kill eyther ſooner or later (without any reſpect to the body) acording as they haue the moſt, or the leaſt quantity.

Fourthly, they can deale in ſuch ſort, that all poyſons ſhall be tempered according to their owne pleaſure, and make them ſweeter or ſharper, becauſe they ſhould kill the ſooner or ſlower, which is without any ſecret or myracle of nature.

Application of purgatiue drugs in phyſicke.

We vſually exerciſe the ſame cunning, in purgatiue drugges, ſetting an edge on ſuch as are dull and ſlowe, and giue them as ſpurs to further purpoſe: and contrariwiſe, wee retaine ouer-haſty penetration

Effects of poyſons impoſsible to be limitted to a moment of time.

in the other, by mingling with them, ſuch as are naturally more ſlacke & tardy. But that a man ſhould limit the effects of poiſons, to a certaine day, and to a point or moment named; we hold to bee meerely abſurd and ridiculous, becauſe the nature of each man cannot be perfectly knowne (as we haue before ſufficiently declared) from whence proceedeth the moſt vncertaine tearme or time of euery poyſon, for procuring the death of a man. For euery naturall action meeteth with diuers effects, according to the diuers diſpoſition, as well of that which worketh, as of that which ſuffereth. And this happeneth, not onely by reaſon of euident qualities, but alſo of hidden and proper: whence alſo it enſueth, that the thing which doth this man a great deale of harme, may bee as profitable to another.

Diuerſity of effects both in the agent and patient.

The iudgement and anſwer of Pedro de Albano vpon this point.

Pedro de Albano (whom ſome call the Reconciler, or Peace-maker) where hee explicateth this queſtion, propoundeth: That he may do it, who hauing certainly knowne the continuance of a mans life, by the meaſure and quantity of his radicall humour: may giue him a poyſon, that ſhall conſume in ten yeares ſpace. From hence he collecteth, ſome men may bee poyſoned, that droope and dry away daily (vulgarly tearmed in *Italian*, *Herbati et Strigati*) and ſo it may bee ordered ſometimes, that poyſoning may bee limitted. But that it is to be preſuppoſed by Aſtrologye, I hardly thinke to be euer diuined.

Fore-ſpoken or bewitched.

I confeſſe, that all ſuch as are ſeene to droope and decay by little and little, being empoyſoned, haue a long affliction: but yet there is no certaine time when thoſe men ſhall bee taken hence. *Pliny* ſpeaketh of no time knowne more certaine of death, then vſe of the Sea-Hare (a venomous fiſh) bringeth, where he ſaith: *Such men as (in eating) feele poyſon, and by the firſt ſigne perceiue the poyſon: ſhall dye in as many houres after, as the Hare hath liued.* Now, who ſhall diuine the age of the Hare, to the ende, that the appointed houre of death, may be fore-tolde thereby?

Plin. in lib. 4. cap. 7.

A mã of more then ordinary skill to haue ſuch knowledge.

And yet if I did admit them, that a man did know how many dayes the Hare hath liued: I can neuer grant (for al that) that all men ſhall dye at one and the ſame time; becauſe one and the ſelfe-ſame poiſon, worketh diuerſly, according to the diuerſity of mens bodies, as it hath beene more then ſufficiently proued. So that it had beene much more truely ſaide (as the ſame *Pliny* after addeth) *The ſaide poyſon can haue no certainty of time*, according as *Licinius Macer* alſo ſaith.

Poyſon can haue no certainty of time

CHAP. VII.

Of diuers erronious and idle opinions, conceiued in fantaſticke braines, and verily beleeued, as if they were ſound truths.

Reports deliuered by ancient people, do carry no mean credite among many.

PEople erre in many matters, concerning diuers creatures (haply not inuented of themſelues) but held by elder and precedent intimation, as little alſo apprehended or vnderſtoode by them; but, perhappes, meere fictions of their owne braines, vpon ſome appearing probable reaſons. As wiſe and woorthie Poets, who haue enſtructed bad and beſtiall men, to the imitation of vertue, by witty fables and pleaſant inuentions, which euer hath bene, and ſtill is permitted as lawfull in them, euen as the like licence is allowed to Painters, as *Horace* teſtifieth, ſaying:

The ſaying of Horace.

Poets and Painters equall power containe,
To ſay or do, what beſt ſhall like their braine.

The variable ſhapes giuen by Painters to many things.

As for Painters, we ſee that they figure an Angell in the forme of a Youth, cloathed with a garment of Starres, bare headed, and hauing wings like a Bird. And the Soule of man is repreſented like to a young Infant, ſtark naked. The diuell, to haue hornes, and a dreadfull taile: And yet neuertheleſſe, theſe are but ſpirites without bodies, and cannot carry the reſemblance of any viſible creature.

Angell.
Diuell.

In the like manner, Hell, which is but a place, is figured with a hideous gaping throate: Death, beeing but a priuation of life, is reſembled by the Anatomized bones of a dead man, carrying a Scithe in his hand. Loue, which is but a paſſion and accident, not ſubſiſting any way of it ſelfe; is painted and preſented like a naked childe,

Hell.
Death.

Loue.

The Windes.

childe, and blind; wearing wings, a Bow, and a Quiuer furniſhed with Arrowes, The Winds, which are but a moued agitated Ayre; are figured with mens heads, hauing their Cheekes hugely ſwolne, euen as we ſee one ſounding of a Trumpet.

The twelue ſignes in the Zodiack in ſeuerall figures.

As for Aſtrologers, though they want paintings, whereby to enſtruct ignorant people: yet haue they demonſtrations likewiſe, and preſentation is made of the twelue Signes of the Zodiack (which are but certaine Starres) yet diſpoſed into diuers figures, as one of a Ramme, another of a Bull, the third of two twinne infants, &c. And ſo the images of heauen vvhich are out of the Zodiacke; one in forme of a Beare, another of an Eagle, others in riuers, in an Harpie, Dogge, Dragon, &c.

The figures of heauen.

The Planets.

And next the Planets, which are but ſtars, as Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Mercurie, and Venus; theſe beare the forme of perſonages, in diuers habites and countenances: but the Sun and Moone are otherwiſe ſhewne and diſtinguiſhed.

The Starres.

Painters alſo haue euermore denoted the figure of a Starre with fiue rayons or beames, thereby expreſſing theyr twinckling ſplendour: although all the Starres do not ſparkle in that manner; and well wee know beſide, that they are all round in figure, without points or corporeall beams.

The elements Fire, Ayre, Water, Earth.

As for the Elements, they figure the fire (which is inuiſible) like vnto our artificiall fire, which is not much amiſſe to the purpoſe. The Ayre cannot be painted, no more then heauen, cleare and tranſparant bodyes; but yet they are repreſented by a blewe or azure colour. Water is figured by Waues, and the Earth in ſhape of a Globe, rounde as a Ball.

Creatures figured in fabulous maner The Salamander. The Dolphin.

Of Creatures, they counterfeyte ſome fabulouſly: as the Salamander, which is no ſuch thing as it is painted; nor the Dolphine likewiſe, as it is preſented in Armes and Deuices; Nor the Flower de Luce, as it is commonly knowne to euery one. And the Heart, be it of a man, or of other creature, it is of no ſuch ſhape as Painters giue it.

The Pellican.

The Pellicane is figured, vvith her ſharpe Beake turned vpon hir breſt, which ſhe launceth therwith, to make hir blood yſſue forth, for the noriſhing of hir yong ones, euen to the price of her owne life, dying thereby: And yet we ſee and know that the Pellican hath her beak edgeleſſe, flat, and broad; iuſtly like in faſhion vnto the Apothecaries Spatule or Slice, as being no way able to wound her breaſt. Alſo, the Greeke worde [*Pellican*,] ſignifying an Axe or Coopers Adge or Ads, plainly declareth that her Beake is flat, & as it ſhould be.

Moreouer it is ſayde, that the Sire or Hee-Bird, beateth the young ones, euen as with blowes on the face, or (as wee vſe to ſay) boxes on the eare, vntill they are almoſt dead; and then the Dam woundeth her breaſt, to reuiue them with her blood: blowes commonly are giuen with flat, and not pointed things.

The Phoenix.

The Phœnix, being painted burning her ſelfe in a fire, prepared purpoſely for her; is much more fabulous. But al theſe things are lawfully permitted to Painters and Poets (as we ſaide before) vpon ſome good reſpect and ſecret reaſon, needleſſe to bee reported heere; making mention onely but of certaine erronious opinions, which the vulgar holde for ſure and moſt certaine, and which are the more excuſable, becauſe many great Philoſophers and ancient Phyſitions, haue defended the like opinions.

1. *Of the Viper.*

In what manner the Viper is ſaide to engender by hir male.

IT hath bin a very ancient opinion, that the Viper ioyneth with her male, by receyuing his head in at her mouth (throgh defect of other genitall partes) and that the female by the delight ſhe feeleth, locketh her teeth ſo faſt together, as thereby ſhe biteth off her males head, and ſo conceyueth. Afterwardes, when the time for deliuery commeth, the yong ones hauing no other yſſue, and (euen as it were) to reuenge the death of theyr Father: bite and teare the belly of their mother, wherby ſhe dyeth. Here is the reaſon why it is ſaide of a *Poſthumus*, of whome the mother dieth in deliuerance, *He is like the Viper, that neuer ſeeth his father nor mother.*

Words giuen of the poſthumus.

This hath ſomtime ſerued as an Emblem with this deuice or motto, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*

What thou wouldſt not haue done to thee, doe not thou to another.

All this is falſe, and fauored by many, but badly; that beeing well vnderſtoode which *Ariſtotle* hath ſaid. *The Viper* (ſaith he) *is conceiued of Egges which ſhe hatcheth in*

Ariſt. in Anim. lib. 9. cap. 7.

The Viper deliuereth her broode, but by one daily.

in her belly, and become little Vipers: they come foorth all formed, being despoyled of the membrane or thinne skinne, which contained them within the wombe; and that is their secondine. But the later-most (mooued with impatience) bite and teare that membrane, to issue forth the more hastily. For the damme or mother bringeth aboue twenty, and yet deliuereth but one daily; which maketh the hinmost impatient, and constraineth them angerly to gnawe the tunicle or membrane; but neither the mothers sides or belly, as is vainely imagined.

No Serpent yeeldeth her yong liuing, but the Viper.

Many may be deceiued also, concerning the originall and etymologie of the word, as if *Vipera* were to say, *Quasi vi pariens:* whereas it is (indeed) of *Vivum pariens*. For there is not any Serpent, that produceth her broode or young aliue, or liuing, but the Viper. Others lay egges, which (out of the belly) are conuerted into Serpents.

2. *Of the Beauer, called Castor also.*

The naturall vnderstanding of the Beauer.

IT is vulgarly helde, that this beast teareth away his testicles with his owne teeth, when he perceiueth himselfe to be pursued by Huntsmen: hauing a kind of knowledge naturally, that they seeke him only for them. Whereupon some thinke, that this name of *Castor* was giuen him: because he geldeth himselfe, and so (by consequent) becometh chaste.

Dioscorides li. 4. c. 23.

Which is meerely false, for, as *Dioscorides* wrote long since; hee can by no meanes reach or touch his stones. Those are onely two tumours, which (by yeares) comes to him, & are as impostums, ful of fatte matter or suppouration, called *Castoriam*, which also hee can not teare away. And he is not tearmed *Castor*, of gelding, or of chastitie; but of the Greeke word *Gaster*, which signifieth a Belly, because he is full paunched, and this is nothing else, but by changing the letter *G* into *C*. Read hereupon the most learned History of *M. Rondeletius*, of Fishes, in the last chapter of the second Tome.

Rondelet. de pisc. tom. 2. cap. vlt.

3. *Of the Salamander.*

GReat errour is there also, concerning the true nature of this creature, which is said to liue in the fire, and hath power to extinguish it. From which coniecture, was taken the deuice of great King *Frances*, the first of that name (father of Arts and Sciences) *Nutrisco, & extingo:* I feed and extinguish.

Dioscorides hath very learnedly deliuered the contrary, and *Galen* also, saying: *That the Salamander can resist the fire for some time; but it burneth, by tarrying any long while therein.* Neuertheless, it were better to hold with *Aristotle*, in saying; *That the Salamander is not burned in the fire, but walkes aloft vpon it, extincting both the flame and coales.*

Dioscor. lib. 2. ca. 5

Galen in lib. 3 de Temper.

Arist. in histor. Anim. l. 5. ca 19

Experience, which is more strong then all authorities of the wisest in the world, teacheth vs, that this is a matter no way to be credited. As for the figure of the Salamander, the portraiture thereof also is meerely fabulous, and contriued by Painters, who haue thrust such an imagination vpon it; making shew also of it, to be a farre greater Beast then it is. It is like to the smaller sort of Lizzards, which frequent the walles in *Languedoc*, named *Langroles*, and in *Daulphine Larmuses*. But the Salamander is somwhat greater, marked with many spots. His body is full of a white moysture, and thicke like Milke, which issueth foorth by the pores of the skinne, pressing it neuer so little. Which milke or moisture is so colde, that the Salamander may (for some time) withstand the fire, but yet not long, without burning, roasting and dying, as we haue many times made good triall of. Farre is it from quenching the fire, or much lesse liuing in it: like as the Chameleon liueth by the ayre; and I iudge both alike in truth: albeit I neuer saw any Chameleon aliue to make proofe of.

Painters haue failed in true forme of the Salamander.

Like Newtes, Askes and little Lizards haunting olde and ill-kept houses.

A description of the Salamanders resemblance.

4. *Of the Shee-Beare.*

IT is said also, that she produceth a piece of flesh, not hauing the forme of any creature: and afterward shee licketh it in such manner, that thereby onely shee giueth it both fashion and forme. This is but a kinde of hyperbolicall speaking, for to say truely, the yong one is very vnsightly after the birth, being all couered with foame or froth, and in such a quantity, as it seemeth indeede but a lumpe of flesh, without any distinction of parts. The Dam or Mother cleanseth it immediately thereof, by licking al the filth away; whereby

The Beare is brought forth a perfect creature at the first, although not so readily distinguished, as afterward.

by (not long after) it appeareth in the true ſhape of a creature. So may we ſee a Whelpe (or a yong Lambe newly yeaned) much muddied and beſmeared at the firſt, as it is hardly knowne at the prime view: but when the Damme hath doone her louing and naturall Office, then all the parts are plainly ſeene and diſtinguiſhed.

CHAP. VIII.

A vulgar Queſtion: What Language a child ſhall ſpeake, that neuer heard any ſpeech. That a man or woman borne dumb, is neceſſarily deafe. As alſo, hee that is Nurſt among dumbe people; And not, on the contrary, that one dumbe by Nature, ſhould be deafe: And whence it enſueth, that a man is ſo tardie, in knowing howe to ſpeake.

The opinion of the vulgar people.

VIgar people beleeue, and hold it as a thing moſt aſſured, that a man ſhoulde naturally ſpeake the Language of *Adam*, if he neuer learned any other ſpeeeh from his infancie; euen as if hee had bene nurſſed by a dumbe Woman, among dumbe people, or in a Deſert vtterly vninhabited of people, where neuer any ſpeech had beene heard.

Herodot in l. 2. Proofe made by a King of Egypt, to know which was the moſt ancient Language of all other.

Herodotus declareth in his ſecond book, that *Pſammeticus*, a King of the Ægyptians, was deſirous (on a time) to make proofe heereof, to the end, that he might iudge thereby, what was the moſt auncient and naturall Language, of all them that were ſpoken in the world. He cauſed two Children to bee nurſed in a Forreſt, where neuer any voyce of man was, or could be heard. After two yeeres were paſt, and they being brought before the King, ſometimes they could pronounce this Word *Bec*, which in the Phrygian tongue, ſignifieth Bread. Whereuppon ſome gathered, that the Phrygian was the firſt language of man.

The opinion of S. Auguſtin *Aug. in Geneſ. lib. 9.*

But as Saint *Auguſtine* ſayeth, theſe children might haue learned the Word *Bec* (and ſo retained it) of Goats, among which they were nouriſhed. For, as hee ſheweth in his worke of the quantitie of the Soule; all manner of ſpeaking is by hearing, and by imitation. Notwithſtanding, in his Booke of the Cittie of God, hee thinketh and beleeueth, that before the confuſion of Tongues (which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babell*) the Hebrew Language was naturally to all. As if words were an action proceeding from naturall inſtinct, or the ſimple and proper motion of the ſoule: euen as if they had power in themſelues (and of themſelues, with ſome naturall inclinations) to bring forth in euidence and effect ſpeech, without any enſtructing. Such knowledge is to ſucke, to cry, mourne, laugh, mouing hands and feet, & when ſtrength ſerueth, to go.

Aug in Ciuitat. Dei. l. 16. *ca.* 11

A refutation of the latter words of S. Auguſtine.

The Goate, Lambe, Chicken, and other ſuch like creatures, ſo ſoone as they are bred and brought forth, bring themſelues to the teates, knowing naturally, that there is their nouriſhment. Beeing grown greater, they make choiſe (among a thouſand diuers plants) ſuch as beſt digeſt and agree with their complexion. They bleate and cackle, euen from theyr production, which anſwereth to the cries of children: and this is done without teaching, or any enſtruction, or ſo much as example or imitation.

Such things as are done by inſtinct of nature onely.

Man hath the like actions and repreſentations, euen as other creatures, ſimply naturall of his owne, and without any apprentiſhip. But the worde or Speech, which is a voyce ſignificatiue, expreſſing the conceptions of a reaſonable Soule: they proceede onely and wholly from a Science or Diſcipline, which is comprehended by the means of hearing. So that it is impoſſible, that any one being deafe, from his birth, and perſeuering in the ſame deafeneſſe, ſhould euer knowe how to ſpeake, although that his tongue, and other parts thereto appointed, are moſt exquiſitely compoſed and ordayned, as none more formally can be any way deſired.

That wordes or ſpeaking proceedeth of a ſcience or diſcipline.

What then ſhall wee ſay of him that neuer heard any thing? Speech is a Diſcipline, no leſſe then that of Muſick: both the one and the other, are apprehended by hearing. From whence it commeth, that a childe (in what place ſoeuer it is nouriſhed and brought vp) apprehendeth

Speech is an inſtruction comparable to Muſicke.

eth and retaineth the same vulgar Language (which some tearme Vernacle or Maternall) whatsoeuer it be, either Hebrew, Greeke, Latine or Barbarisme; one is as easie to him as another. For, in hauing nothing by naturall impression, he is indifferent to all: like as the colour of white receiueth all other tinctures, and some kinde of water all sauours; and so in the like comparisons.

The mother tongue, or learned from the Mother.

Adam could neuer haue spoken any naturall language of his owne, no more then we: but God inspired him with an vnderstanding soule, capable of such a language as pleased him: As he did likewise to *Eue*; and their first children learned to speake by them, euen as ours now do of vs.

That Adam had neuer spoken of himselfe, or naturally.

Heere wee are to know, that from the corruption of our first Parents transgression, we haue and hold al our naturall conditions and inclinations, and namely, the very greatest imperfection that can be, of enclining more vnto euill then good, more truely tearmed Original sinne. But as concerning speech or speaking, we haue it not but by aptitude & hability, euen as all other disciplines or enstructions.

Men naturally more enclined to euill then good.

That which is truely naturall of our soule, is enchased or carractred into a body of such quality, temperature and complection, as man ought to haue for his perfection. For the fonde niceness of birth, is like the infant in his first yeare, vnapt to reason, by the imperfection of his body, and likewise as they, who by accident of sickness, or passion of minde (as Loue and idle disturbances) become weakly braind, foolish, sottish, lunaticke, and mad. In all which imperfections, the soule is euermore her owne, remaining still in her integrity: and yet (neuertheless) cannot exercise her reason, by not hauing the body at her command.

What is truly naturall of the Soule.

The vnaptnes of children in their first yeares, & the effects ensuing by passions of the minde.

Aristotle enstructeth (to singular good purpose) *That our soule is ignorant of all things, and like vnto a new Table, neatly polished and prepared, wherein nothing hath bene depicted or engrauen, when it was infused into the body of man, but sent downe from Heauen as we beleeue. Shee hath nothing but simplicity, sincerity, purity, facility and conueniencie, with inclination and aptitude to euery Arte and Science, and to all knowledge of things diuine and humane* (which is the true definition of Philosophy) Alwayes reserued and excepted, those faculties and actions, necessarily required in a liuing soule, as those in Beasts; which our soule exerciseth in the body from the very beginning, and before the infant is borne, without doctrine or discipline (as already hath beene related.

The opinion of Aristotle, that the soule hath nothing of it selfe, as concerning Sciences.

The true definition of philosophy concerning the Soule.

Doctrine is not requisite in her, but for Artes and Sciences, hauing nothing in her, whatsoeuer diuine *Plato* sayeth to the contrary, affirming; *That the reasonable soule hath knowledge of all things, when it commeth into the body: but beeing plunged and submerged in the great humidity of the body, it forgetteth all.* Like to him that becommeth obliuious, or (as they say in Greek) sicke of a Lethargye, in regard of the Phlegmaticke humour which drowneth his braine. But afterward, in such measure, as the body loseth this great humidity, and drieth it selfe by little and little: the Soule also recouereth it selfe by paucity of degrees, and comprehendeth all things demonstrated and shewne vnto her, as in remembring and acknowledging her selfe, and not in learning any nouelties.

The opinion of Plato, quite contrary to that of Atistotle, concerning the capacity of the soule.

This was the opinion of good olde *Plato*, which maketh well for such as affirme, that wee haue some certainty of Language, which came from our first Parents, *Adam* and *Eue*: and that wee should (in time) speake the very same, if the other, which wee ordinarily heare in our houses, did not preoccupate it. But in truth, our soule neyther knoweth, or holdeth (of it selfe) any Language, nor is affected or giuen to any one in particular: but enclineth equally, and is indifferent to all tongues, and in so good mãner, as one hindereth not another, which (perhaps) a naturall tongue would, if it had any at all. At leastwise, some slippes or branches would be remembred thereof, as in such, that could not altogether forget the accents, or the prolations, with some certaine words and phrases of their mother-tongue.

A naturall Language from our first Parents Adam & Eue.

That our soul knoweth not any manner of language naturally.

The reasonable soule then, hauing not any language of it selfe, is very proper and apt to comprehend, and well to expresse by sound and entire instruments,

The happy memory of King Mithridates.

ments, all diuersity of tongues. As it is recorded of King *Mithridates*, to haue so happy a memory; that he could well and properly speake two and twenty diuers Languages.

That the voice is onely of nature, and not of words or speech.

By nature, we haue no more simply then a voyce, common to all other creatures that breathe, and different onely in them, by and according to their kindes. For euery animall hath a proper voyce, which grossely signifieth his affections or passions: *Which is no way knowne how to be expressed* (saith *Ammonius* vpon *Aristotle*) *or represented by letters or syllables, no more then the sundry murmures of the Sea, and of the Windes.* Euen so, man in his prime or first moneths, when hee liueth simply as a beast, hath nothing but a voice onely, before he learnes to speake: wherof being depriued, he is said to be dumb, although he hath not lost his voyce. Whereof *Aristotle* speaketh very notably in his Problems: *That Man onely is dumbe.*

Euery creature hath properly a voice.

Arist. Probl. 57. lib. 11.

What it is to speake, how it is formed, and to what ende.

Speech then is nothing else, but to fashion and articulate the voice naturall, by addition of a vocall consonance, in the composing and enterlacing, for the expressing of significant words, which explicate, and (as a man may say) do infantize and produce the conceptions of mã: which are infinitely more diuers, and in farre greater number, then those of other Creatures, exempted of reason and discourse. And therefore it greatly behoueth, that a man should know extraordinarily, how to diuersifie his voice, for answering to that which the great capacity of his spirit containeth.

How an infant beginneth first to practise & attaine to speech.

An infant collecteth and assembleth diuers conceptions in his vnderstanding, and the words which he heareth (accompanied with some actions) striue to make signification of all: which he comprehendeth by little and little, and then retaineth by frequent reitteration. Afterward, whẽ his tongue is growne more firme and able; hee striueth to represent that which he hath retained, by imperfect fumbling, and at the ende of a little long apprentiship, speaketh like to a young Parrot, after a long time spent in listening. For otherwise, as well the one as the other, would haue but his branches or slippes, which is the naturall voyce, without any other signification; then of certaine affections or passions, as we haue already said.

Lets now obserue that which *Aristotle* saith, in his Historie of Creatures. *Those creatures which speake, haue voyce also: but all such as haue voyce, speake not. For, such as are deaffe by nature, are also dumb: whereby they may yet render a voyce, but not speake one word.* And in his Booke of the Senses, and their organs, where he maketh a comparison of such as are blind and deafe borne, he saith, *Deafe and dumbe are as accidents, which necessarily follow one another.* Also *Alexander Aphrodiseus* produceth in his Problemes, that beeing demaunded, why men borne deafe, should be dumbe likewise; answereth familiarly, *They can neuer speake that which they neuer heard.*

Difference betweene the voyce and speech. *Arist in 4. lib. Anim. in cap. 9.*

cap. 1.

Alex. Aphrod. in lib. Probl. 133.

For better confirmation of this matter, we must necessarily adde that which *Aristotle* writeth in the same place before alledged, concerning the Voyce, and the singing of Birdes, which is in part simply naturall, and in part of some intelligence and learning as his owne amongst them. For, I will not heere inferre, that some man may teach a Bird, to tune another Song beside her owne: and the enstruction of the dammes (both he and she) to their yong ones. Whereby we may easily comprehend, that if Birds haue one naturall song (which is the voyce common to all their kinde) and another taught or apprehended in time of continuing with their owne: that, they could not so keepe and enioy, as if they had bin immediatly seperated, and taken out of the neast. Euen so in like manner, an infant to be frequented with all people that speake, and (by their meere conuersation) instructed to speake; would else haue none other but his owne naturall voyce, as at the instant of his birth, and bringing into the world.

That the singing of Birds is in part by apprehension or learning.

A child without teaching to speake, could haue but his naturall voyce.

The voice (saith *Aristotle*) *displaieth, what difference is saide to be among the languages of Beasts & Birds, euen among them of one and the same kinde, in diuers places. Let the Partridge in sundry Countries serue for example, hauing diuers notes; for some chucke or iouke, and others clacker or chirpe. And there are diuers smaller Birds, which chaunt no such notes as their Dams doe; but being taken out of their Nests, are quite chãged from paternall education: and so learne the tunes of other enstructed Birds, or of mens voices: inuring themselues to their notes, customes and manners. Sometime it hath beene obserued in a Nightingale, that taught*

Arist in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 7.

That Birds do learne diuers notes & tunes one of another, besides their owne.

taught her Iargon to her young ones, and ſo gaue them imitation to diuers ſongs. For, ſpeech cannot come of nature, as the voyce doth: but is to be attained by ſtudy and diſcipline. Thus you may perceiue alſo, why men make vſe of diuers Languages, albeit they are like to one another in voice, &c.

The concluſion, that men borne dumb, are deafe alſo

Me-thinks this ſhould ſeeme proofe enough, that ſpeech is a thing properly learned by the meanes of hearing, from whence it enſueth ineuitably, that ſuch as are deaffe borne, & they that neuer heard any ſpeech (without being deaffe) are dumbe by conſequent, except (by ſucceſſion of time) they doe enioy hearing, and their eares be vnſtopt; as we haue diuers times obſerued, and made practiſe of, by children that haue not ſpoken before ſeauen or eight yeares.

What difference there is betweene the ſpeech of Infants & that of Birds.

Now I come (in paſſing along) to touch a point not impertinent to our purpoſe, to wit: What difference there is in the ſpeech, which an Infant learneth of himſelfe, from that of a Parrot, a Starling, a Pye, a Larke, a Linnet, a Thruſh, a Rauen, a Iaye, and ſuch like, as they haue learned. Very certaine it is, that as their ſoules are different, euen ſo is their Language: in regard that a childe vnderſtandeth what he ſpeaketh, and would ſpeake ſo and ſo, or better if hee could, to explicate and make his conceptions vnderſtood: whereas on the contrary, a Bird hath not any intelligence, of the ſignification of whatſoeuer it pratleth. So that, if a Bird demaund, or anſwere ſometime (prouing to purpoſe) it is by hap or aduenture, and not ordinary; except it bee ſuggeſted, remembred, or elſe expreſſely made to ſpeake it.

Whatſoeuer Birds practiſe, is quite without any intelligence.

Moreouer, a Bird will alwaies adde ſome croſſe thwarting word or other, which argueth ſufficiently, that it hath not any intelligence at all. Whereupon it hath bin commonly ſaide, that whoſoeuer ſpeaketh, and knoweth not what he ſpeaketh, prateth like a Parrot. So a ſimple man may learne ſome folly, or vnfitting words, in the *Germaine*, *Poliſh*, or any other vnknowne tongue to him, and ignorantly vſe it as a ſalutation, and be derided for his labour: like others, that thinking to bee reputed learned, will vſe many Latine ſentences and phraſes, quite contrary to their owne meaning in the ſpeaking.

The ſecond Argument: whether the dumbe man by birth, is alſo deafe by conſequent.

It remaineth now to know, ſeeing the naturall dumbe man is deaffe by conſequent: if likewiſe the man dumbe by nature (by reaſon of ſome defect in his tongue, or in other parts requiſite for ſpeaking) bee alſo deaffe conſequently? *Lactantius Firmianus*, in his Booke of the workes of God, would haue it to bee ſo: but being too groſſe an Anatomiſt (as is eaſily comprehended by his reaſons) hee is not in this point to be credited. *Alexander Aphrodiſeus*, in the place before alledged, ſeemeth to ſay no: but he buildeth vpon no good foundation, when he ſaith; *That there is a paire of nerues, which come from the Braine, one portion whereof goeth to the tongue, and the other to the eares. And that by this means, the affections of the toong and of the eares, doe eaſily communicate thẽſelues together. Alſo, foraſmuch as that one of the ſaid portions may bee offended and corrupted, without the other: it hapneth alſo, that a man may become deaffe by ſome diſeaſe, and yet (on the contrary) not be dumbe.*

Lactan. in Oper. Dei li. 2. cap 7.

Alex. Aphrod. in lib. Probl. 133.

Diuers both ancient and moderne writers deceiued in this point.

But his ſuppoſition holdeth no place in this point, no more then the reaſons of ſome moderne men; following *Pedro de Albano*, tearmed the Peace-maker, ſaying: *That the ſixt likeneſſe in the Nerues of the Braine, which mooueth the tongue, is firmely allied to the fift likeneſſe, which ſerueth for hearing.* For, as I will neuer grant, that defect of ſpeech followeth deafeneſſe, by any conſent or ſimpathy of the toong with the eares, but only through want of enſtruction, which ſhould be receiued by the eares: ſo can I not conſent, that by the vice or incongruity of thoſe parts dedicated to ſpeaking, hearing ſhould any way be offended.

An eſpeciall note well worth the obſeruing.

In the acte alſo there is no likelyhood or coherẽce, conſidering that thoſe parts worke not, eyther for the integrity, nor for the conſtruction of the eares, & leſſe for the enſtruction of hearing, who (for her ſelfe) hath no neede of any teaching, no more then the ſight, or any of the exteriour ſences. And as for them, they require nothing elſe, but to be free and open, without any impeachment or hinderance, and that their obiect ſhould bee neere, within a certaine diſtance. Why then, we ſee and heare naturally, without any doctrine or diſcipline. Seeing then, that hearing neyther taketh or apprehendeth any thing of the verball inſtruments,

What the exterior ſences do neceſſarily require.

nor

Hearing apprehendeth nothing of the verbal instruments, nor of words.

nor of words themselues (as concerning her owne simple action to heare) he that is dumbe from his birth, by the imperfection of his tongue, shall not be deafe in that respect: no more, then as if from a braue discoursing man, the toong should bee torne out of his head. And it hath bene commonly obserued, that such as haue their tongues cut or slit, haue heard neuer a iot the lesse in that regard, neither found any defect in their hearing.

If it be true then, that the instruments of speech, conferre not nor communicate particularly with the eares, and that speaking worketh nothing with hearing, as (on the contrary) hearing doth, and is necessarie for speech; it ensueth plainely, that the dumbe by nature, shall neuer heare in that respect (supposing, that the organ of the eare or hearing, is no way therein interessed. And that the deafe by byrth, must be dumbe necessarily: although in his tongue, and those other parts, requisite for speech, there is not any defect at all. Obserue then I pray ye, that in all this purpose, I speake of birth and of Nature, indifferently, to signifie the deafe or dumbe from the beginning. And I name the dumbe from byrth, not he that cannot speake (for so wee should bee all dumbe) but hee that is not any way apte to speake.

The Authors caueate, beecause he wo'd not be misunderstood.

Let vs come now to the third point. From whence it proceedeth, that a man hauing so prompt and able a spirite, that hee comprehendeth all thinges in small compasse of time; is yet (notwithstanding) so slow and tardie, in knowing howe to speak, and articulate his voice. Whereas on the contrarie, beasts & other creatures, immediately, or soone after theyr production, haue their voice absolute & perfect, euen as well and fully, as euer they shall haue.

The third argument. From whence it ensueth, that man is at first so tardie of speech.

Aristotle in his Problemes, maketh answer heereto, saying; *The voyce of man hath great diuersities in it; other creatures expresse no Letters at all, or very fewe, (as two or three onely) and without Consonants, which, ioyned with Vowels, make the worde. Speech* (saith he) *is not soly and simply of the voice, but is perfected and accomplished of the affection or condition of the voyce, with signification; and the affections of the voice, they are the letters.* Children therefore, before they know how, or can pronounce

Arist in lib. 11. *Prob.* 58. & 60

In the voice of beasts, are few or no letters at all,

letters, expresse their passions (no otherwise then as beasts do) by a natural voice and no way taught or enstructed, which is common to all infants, of any country whatsoeuer. But yet speech is different in Towne and Towne, nay, in one and the same Towne or Citty, by reason of the voice artificially distinguished, thorough the great diuersity of letters coupled, and interlaced of infinite kinds; whereof proceedeth diuers words, signifying an infinity of things. Seeing then, that there are so many manners or fashions of speaking; and that (of fiue or six letters) may bee made fifty seuerall words, and al differing the one from the other: wee may easilie thereby vnderstand, why an infant formeth his voice so late, in regard of beasts; who haue their voices meerely simple, & (as *Alexander Aphrodiseus* sayth) most naturall of all creatures.

A childes speech hath many diuersities and difficulties in it.

Difference of speech almost in euery Citie and Towne.

Concerning the voyce of beasts. *Alex. Aphrod. l.* 11. *Prob.* 1 41

For, whatsoeuer is extreamly diuers, & must be diuersified by many differēces; cannot bee attained in any short space of time. Be it in regard of the soul, which apprehendeth the science of speaking; or be it in the toong, which ought to expres it, & requireth time also, both to break and enable the words in their vttering, as we vse to say of the hand, for instruments of Musick. Wherupon he that is dumb, beginneth at the first to mumble and snaffle in the mouth, beeing not able to make a sound of al the Letters, nor to pronounce words with any hability; onely by reason of the tongues softnes, whereas her rudenesse requireth a new labour.

Things of extreme diuersitie craue time for their learning.

There is another doubt vpon the same purpose, which is much more vneasie to explicate, & *Aristotle* propoundeth it in his Problemes. *From whence it cometh, that some infants begin to speak before due age; to whom commonly the words are formed, and after they haue wel expressed som words, become dumb again, and return to the first condition, vntil the ordinary terme and time of speaking?* Many haue held this to be prodigious, & especially, when it is told them, that some haue spokē at the very point of their birth. Questionles, it is very rare, and hardly to be credited: and yet it may well happen by naturall reason, as thus. An infant, at the same instant it heareth, it vnderstandeth, & then it may speake. But ordinarily, hearing goeth far before vnderstāding, & vnderstanding likewise precedeth

Arist. in lib. 11. *Prob.* 27.

What is the reason, that some infants speake before their time, & afterward become dumbe

ſpeaking: the inſtrument for ſpeech and words, is not (as yet) of ſuch temperature as is conuenient for explicating thoſe things which the ſpirit hath conceiued.

Of ſuch infants as ſooneſt practiſe to ſpeake, and yet faile therof afterwards.

On the contrary, ſome ſpeake much ſooner then they knowe how to vnderſtand (as we haue already ſaide of Parrats and other Birds that prattle) counterfeyting ſuch words as they heare: vntill time conuenient for them both, that is to ſay, ability to vnderſtand and ſpeake. Such children then, to whom the obiectes of hearing make much ſooner impreſſion in the ſoule, then the inſtrument of Speech knowes how to perfect: it happeneth to them ſometimes, that after they haue vnderſtood diuers things, ſodainly they pronounce them. And eſpecially after theyr ſleepe, when the ſpirits haue made themſelues more copious; they haue thē more ſtrength and impetuous vigour, to moue the tongue in diſtincter manner. But this endureth not, neither can be of any long continuance; but the infant will returne to his firſt dumbneſſe againe.

An apt compariſon of ſome conditions in our ſelues, anſwerable to childrens imperfections.

In like manner, ſometimes wee ſhall finde our ſelues ſo diſpoſed as (vvithout thinking thereon) words and ſentences will meerely flow in our mouths: whereof againe (at other times) we ſhall be ſo delayed and hindred, as wee can ſcarſely, or with any eaſie poſſibility, expreſſe things well knowne and familiar vnto vs. Euen ſo it may come to paſſe, that an infant ſhall ſpeak ſomething, and afterward his tongue returning to the firſt ordinarie condition: he becommeth dumbe, vntill the vttermoſt time of his perfection and ſtrength.

Of children becomming dumbe by deafeneſſe.

It is a contrary caſe, in an infant that becommeth dumbe by deafeneſſe, after he hath ſpoken ſome gibbridge or prittle prattle, yea ſpoken intelligibly; as we haue heard credibly reported, concerning all the male children of M. *Anthony Butin* (a famous Apothecary in *Toloſſa*, dwelling at the ſigne of the three Kings) frō which his daughters were exempted. They all ſpake, till about the age of foure years, & afterward became deafe in ſuch ſorte, as they could not heare any noyſe; and ſo (by little and little) ceaſed to ſpeake. This hapned, in regard that their hearing continuing no longer, they did eaſilie forget the little Language, which they had learned in their firſt yeares. As an infant (indeed) is very obliuious, by reaſon of his great humidity: and particularly the ſaide *Butines* children, who were verie rheumaticke. And ſo hauing no longer means of continuance, to apprehend and ſpeake by hearing, they became dumbe. As any one, who hath learned ſome few French or Dutch words, through want of continuing conference in thoſe Languages, forgets the little he had before. Or hee that diſcontinueth his Grammer, or ſom other Science, or playing on Inſtruments of Muſicke, eaſily forgetteth all by want of vſe.

Men learning Languages, may ſoone loſe them by want of vſe.

Theſe and ſuch like accidents hapning dayly, confirme our firſt propoſition, in fauour whereof, we haue thus largely diſcourſed. For, if one may become dumb, by reaſon of deafeneſſe, which happeneth by accident, & after he could ſpeak: who will make any doubt at all, but that the deafe by birth, muſt needes be ineuitably dumbe?

Deaf by birth, is ineuitably dumbe.

Of ſuch as haue forgot all things, and their owne very names.

I will adde heereto a very notable accident, which maketh ſome-what to this purpoſe: of ſome, that by a Wounde or hurt, or ſome ſickeneſſe beſide of the braine: haue wholly loſt remembrance of all things, yea euen of ſpeech, which they learned againe by little and little, like as children do, hauing hearing at their command, and the inſtruments of ſpeech no way engaged. Graue men, and woorthie of faith, doe teſtifie, to haue ſeene ſome wounded in the head, from one ſide to the other, and euen in the eye (wherof M. *Rondeletius* relateth an Hiſtory in his practiſe, and the appendix to the 21. Chapter) who forgot ſo much as theyr owne Names, and were faine to bee taught all things, euen like yong children. So came they wholly to the firſt condition of an infant from birth: except vulgar ſpeech, which yet ſome of them retained. But other impreſſions of their tongues became eſtranged, concerning Artes and Sciences learned before, and thinges which they had formerly both ſeene and knowne; all quite defaced out of their ſoules, by the inundation and ruine of the harme.

Rondelin lib. practi. Cap. 21.

A rare example of dumbneſſe.

The End of the Ninth booke.

The Tenth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome of Ireland: The Antiquity, Originall, and first Inhabitation thereof, according to the confirmation of the best approued Authors.

IN the yeare of the world 1525. the holy Patriarch *Noah*, began to admonish the people, of vengeance to follow, for their wicked liues and detestable sinnes; and hee prepared to builde the Arke, as thereby foreshewing to his kinsfolke and friends, the vniuersall Flood or Deluge that was to ensue, and wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered within few yeares, except amendment grew from them in short time; all which he did before the Flood, one hundred and fiue and twenty years. But when euery man seemed to neglect his worthie admonitions; a Neece to *Noah*, who was named *Cesara*, hearing this dreadful prophesie of her Vnckle, and doubting least it would come to passe indeed, determined (with certaine friends of hers) to seek their fortune in some forraigne Region. Perswading her selfe, that if she could find a Country neuer inhabited, and (consequently) vnspotted with sin: the generall sentence of Gods wrath would not there take effect.

The warning giuen by Noah of the worlds vniuersali destruction by water.

Cesara, who was the neece to Noah.

Hereupon, rigging a Nauy, shee committed her selfe to the seas, sayling foorth still, til at length she arriued in *Ireland*, with three men only, and fifty women; hauing lost the residue of her company, by misfortune of sundry shipwrackes, sustayned in that her long and troublesome voyage. The names of the men were these, *Bithi*, *Laigria*, and *Fintan*. The coast where shee first set foote on land, and where also she lyeth buried, was cald *Nauiculare Littus*, *The Shipping riuage or shore*. The Stones, wherein the memory hereof was preserued from violence of the Waters, haue beene seene of some, as they themselues haue reported, but how truely I haue not to say.

Cesara arriued in Irelād, with three men, and fiftie women.

Bithi, Laigria, Fintan.

Nauiculare Littus.

An. mun. 1556

Within forty dayes after her comming on Land there, the Vniuersall Floude came, and ouer-flowed all that coast, as well as the other parts of the worlde. But whereas this tale bewrayeth it selfe (too manifestly) to bee an vntrueth, if time and other circumstances be thorowly examined; I will stand no longer about the proofe or disproofe thereof. Onely this is sufficient (I thinke) to bring it out of credite, to consider: that the Art of Nauigation or sayling, was vnknowne to the world, before the vniuersall Deluge, and no part inhabited, except the continent of *Syria*, and thereabout.

This tale can carry no likelyhood of any truth in it.

Rab. Isaac in Gen. 5.

But to let passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof engrauen in a Stone, (a deuice borrowed, as some think, from *Iosephus*;) it shall bee sufficient for the glory of the Irish nation in their Antiquity, to graunt, that *Ireland* was discouered and peopled by some of *Noahs* kindred, euen as the first Islands of the Worlde (if they wil needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to ỹ which is set forth in their histories. When about 300. years after the generall floode, immediately vpon the confusion of Tongues; *Iaphet*

An. mun. 1557 After the best authors, make 300. yeares, & not 100. betweene Noahs Flood, & Babell.

and his posteritie (imboldened by *Noahs* example) aduentured by ship, to commit themselues to passe the seas, and to search out the vnknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuers Isles in the west parts of the world.

Bartolenus or Bastolenus. Clem. lib. 4. Cambreid. li. 3

There was (say they) in that retinue, one of the same progeny named *Bartolenus*, or *Bastolenus*, who, encouraged with the late attempt and successe of *Nimrod*, kinseman to *Ninus* (then newly intruded vpon the Monarchy of *Assyria*) searched so farre west: intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without any partner in authoritie; till at the length, Fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of *Ireland*. Heere hee setled himselfe with his three sonnes *Languina*, *Salanus* and *Ruthurgus*, right actiue and stout Gentlemen, who, searching the Land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names, in certaine notable places, and named after them; as *Languine*, *Stragruus* & mount *Salanga*, since named Saint *Dominicks* hill, and *Ruthurgus* his Poole. Little is remembred of *Bartolenus*, sauing that in short space (with many hands working at once) he ridde and made playne a great part of the Countrey, ouer-growne with woods and thickets.

Languina, Salanus and Ruthurgus, the three sons to Bartolenus.

Ruthurgi Stagnum.

Ireland first inhabited.

Thus became *Ireland* inhabited by this people, vnder the gouernement of the three Sonnes to *Bartolenus*, and their offspring, for the space of three hundred yeares. Together with *Bartolenus*, arriued in *Ireland* certain vngodly people of *Nimrods* race, woorthily tearmed Giants, as those that (in bodily shape) exceeded the common proportion of other men, and vsed their strength to gaine soueraigntie, and to oppresse the weake with rapine and violence. That linage (*Chams* brood) did grow, in short while, to great numbers, and alwaies endeuoured themselues (whereseoeuer they came) to beare the rule ouer others. One cause thereof was their bodily strength, answerable to their hugenesse of stature; another, the examples of *Cham* or *Zoroastres* the Magitian, & *Nimrod*, grandfather to *Ninus*. Which two persons (in themselues and progenie) were renowned through the world as victorious Princes, ruling ouer two mighty Kingdomes, *Aegipt* and *Assyria*.

Giants ariued in Ireland.

Bergion the sonne of Neptune, and brother to Albion (as Iohn Bale hath it) conquerd Ireland and the Orkeneis.

A third cause also there was, namely, they repined at the blessings bestowed on *Sem* and *Iaphet*, thinking it necessary to withstand all lawfull rule and dominion: lest the curse of slauery (propheseied by *Noah*) should light vpon them, as at the length it did. Whereupon, rebelliously withdrawing their obedience, from their lawfull Gouernours heere in *Ireland*, and taking head; they set vp a King of theyr owne fashion, and maintayning his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides, betweene the lawfull Gouernours and these vsurpers, with daily risings and skirmishes, so much to the griefe of them, who coueted to liue in quiet order vnder their rightfull Princes: that they determined, with the chance of one generall battel, eyther wholie to subdue those prowd rebellious tyrants, or else, to end their liues in freedome, and so be rid of further misery.

Euill examples are too quickly followed,

Rebellion against Gouernours.

A very generous and worthy resolution

But first, whereas there had growne certayne debates and enmities amongest themselues, whereby they had weakened their owne forces; they held it not amisse, to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the Giants: concluding therefore an agreement, & ioyning in league (with promise) to assist each other in subdewing the common enemy. Growing to assemble their power, out of all partes of the land, and coming to ioyne battel with the Giants; after they had fought fiercely together for the space of certayne houres: victorie enclined to the rightfull part, so that the lawfull Kings preuayling against the vsurping tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole broode of that mischieuous generation. For the Kings, meaning to free themselues from all danger in time to come, vsed their happy victorie with too great crueltie, which after turned to their owne confusion. For, sparing neyther man, woman, nor childe that came in their way, for meere despite, & fuller satisfying their intended reuenge; they vouchsafed not to bury the carkases of their slaine enemies, but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs; through the noysome stench whereof, such an infectious pestilence ensued in all places, only thorow the ayres corruption, as few escaped with life, besides such as got away by Sea.

It is not good in weakenes, to warre with strong men,

Victory ouer cruelly vsed, and with more rigour then needed.

A very strange infecting pestilence. *Anno mundi.* 2257.

And hereby runnes a vaine tale among the

the *Iriſh*, that one of the Giants named *Ruanus*, chancing to be preſerued from this mortalitie, liued 2041 yeares, which is more then twiſe the age of *Methuſalem*. By this man (ſay they) Saint *Patricke* was informed, concerning the whole eſtate of the Countrey, and afterwards, (vppon requeſt) hauing receiued Baptiſme of the ſayd Saint *Patricke*: hee deceaſſed in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour foure hundred and thirty, as in the *Iriſh* hiſtorie hath beene very vnaduiſedly written. But, letting that paſſe, wee finde it recorded, That an infinite number of Giants were ſlayne and deſtroyed, in manner as hath been already related: yet ſome got themſelues into lurking Caues and Dens, and kept cloſely there, till lacke of food cauſed them to come foorth, and make ſhift for ſuſtenance. When, perceiuing no reſiſtance, becauſe the Land was (in a manner) left deſolate; they waxed bolder, and when they vnderſtoode how matters had paſſed: they ſetled themſelues in the beſt parts of the Countrey, eaſily ſubdewing the poore ſilly ſoules that remayned, and ſo reuiuing their linage, they became lords of the whole Iland, keping the ſame in ſubiection, three ſcore years together.

A ſtrange report how long Ruanus the giant liued, and that hee was baptized by S. Patricke.

Some Giants left that ſaued their liues in caues & dens.

Among the ſons of *Iaphet*, we reade in *Geneſis*, that *Magog* was one, who planted his people in *Scythia*, neare *Tanais*, from thence, about the yere of the world, 2317 *Nemodus*, with his foure ſonnes, *Starius*, *Garbaneles*, *Anuinus* and *Ferguſius* Captaines ouer a faire companie of people) were ſent into *Ireland*: who paſſing by *Grecia*, and taking in ſuch as were deſirous to ſeeke aduentures with them; at length they landed in *Ireland*, inhabited the Countrey, and multiplied the Land, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giants two hundred and ſixteene yeares. At the end of which tearme, the Giants preuayling, chaſed them thence agayne, ſo that they returned into *Syria*. This was about the yeare after the Creation (as by their account it ſhould ſeeme) two thouſand fiue hundred thirtie three; from which time, the Giants kept poſſeſſion of the Land (without forraine inuaſion) till the yeare two thouſand ſeauen hundred and foureteene. But yet all that time, they were not able to frame a Common-wealth: for, falling ſtill at variance among themſelues, and meaſuring euery thing by might, ſeditiouſly they vexed one another.

Geneſis 10,2

An.mun 2317 Nemodus and his foute ſons, Starius, Garbaneles, Anuinus, and Ferguſius.

Ireland again inhabited by the of-ſpring of Iaphet.

An.mun. 2533

Which comming to the knowledge of the *Grecians*, it mooued fiue brethren, ſonnes to one *Dela* (being notable Seamen and skilfull Pilots) to rigge a Nauie, & to attempt the conqueſt of this Iland. Theſe were all of the neereſt poſteritie to *Nemodus*, and named *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagandus*, *Rutheranius* and *Slanius*. When all things were ready, and their companies aſſembled: they put to Sea, and landed at the length in *Ireland*; where finding the power of the Giants greatly weakned, by their owne quarrells and ciuile diſſentions; with the more eaſe did they come to the end of their owne purpoſe, winning the whole Countrey, and vtterly extirpating that bloodie generation, deadly enemies to mankinde: diuiding alſo the Iſland into fiue parts, and in each of them they ſeuerally reigning. Furthermore, to ſatisfie all ſides, and auoyde contention; they concluded to fixe a Meare-ſtone in the middle point of *Ireland*, to' which each of their kingdomes ſhould extend; ſo that they might be equally partakers of the cõmodities, found within the Countrey ſoile.

The ſonnes of Dela, neere in linage to Nemodus, skilful in Nauigation

They paſſe into Ireland, & vtterly roote out the race of the Giants,

They diuided the whole Iſland into fiue parts, diſtinguiſhed by a meare-ſtone.

Theſe brethren alſo are ſuppoſed, to haue inuented the diſtribution of Shires into Cantreds, euery Cantred or Baronny to containe one hundred townеſhips. At length, deſire of ſoueraignetie, ſet the fiue brethren at variance, and greatly hindered their growing wealth. But *Slanius*, getting the vpper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a lowe ebbe: tooke on him as chiefe aboue his other brethren, intruding round about the Meare-middle Stone, for the ſpace of certayne miles, which plot of ground (in time) obtayned the priuilege and name, of one intire part, and now maketh vp the number of fiue parts (into which *Ireland* is ſayd to be diuided) and is called *Meth*, and in Latine *Media*; taking this name (as ſome haue ſuppoſed) bicauſe (in reſpect of the other) it contained but the moitie of Cantreds, viz. ſixteene; whereas each of the other Cantreds comprehended 32. a peece: or elſe, becauſe it lyeth in the middeſt of the land. This part *Slanius* ioyned as a ſurpluſage (ouer and aboue his inheritance) to the Monarchy; which part (notwithſtanding) grew after to be a ſeuerall kingdome.

A Cantred.

Deſire of Soueraignetie is the cauſe of variance,

Meth or the middle part of Ireland, and how it attained that name

Slanius dyed, and was buried in a mountaine in *Meth*

Thirty yeares the Monarchy yet continued in this order; but finally, *Slanius* departed this life, and was buryed in a Mountaine of *Meth*, which till nowe (as they say) beareth name after him. Then the Princes, subiect to him, began to stomacke the matter, and denied their obedience to his succeſſor: whereuppon enſued continuall Warres betweene them, which (in long time) could neuer be fully ceaſſed. In the necke of theſe troubles alſo, there arriued in *Ireland* a new Army of Scythians, who made claime vnto the Land (by a title of right) which they pretended from their fore-father *Nemodus*: and ſo taking and making parts, they ſet all in ſuch an vprore, that hauocke vvas made on each ſide hoſtilely, in moſt miſerable manner.

A new Armie of Scythians arriued in Ireland.

Brennus cald into Ireland, to ayde one part of the factious people.

To be ſhort, they ſpent themſelues, in purſuing one another with ſuch outrage: that they began to grow careleſſe, what Nations or Soldiers they receyued to their ayde, either to keepe vp, or beate downe a ſide. By which occaſion, the *Britaines* alſo ſtept in among them, procuring *Brennus*, the brother of *Belinus*, to direct his courſe thither with the ſame Nauy, which he had made ready to paſſe ouer into *Gallia*, now called *France*, to the ayde of *Segwine*, then King of the *Allobroges*, that inuaded the Countreyes of *Sauoy* and *Daulphinois*.

Segwine king of the Allobroges.

The Britiſh Princes neuer enioyed the quiet poſſeſſion of Ireland.

But his enterprize into *Ireland* tooke ſmall effect, though there were other Kings of the Britaines, that got dominion there; inſomuch that *Gurgwintius*, or *Gurguntius*, the ſonne of *Belinus*, accounted *Ireland* (among other his dominions) to belong to him by lineall deſcent. Notwithſtanding, the Britiſh Princes neuer enioyed the quiet poſſeſſion thereof, longer then they held it by maine force; but were often repelled, and put to the worſe with ſeeking after it, finding there little other gaine then ſtripes, whereof they carried away good ſtore. But now to com to the Spaniards, that laſtly (vnder the conduct of foure Captaines) paſſed into *Ireland*, from *Biſcaye*, and inhabited that Iſland: it ſhall not be impertinent (following the order obſerued) to ſpeake ſomwhat of their originall, that it may the better appeare, from whence the Iriſhe nation had their firſt beginning.

In the yeare of the world, 2436. after the vniuerſall flood, 870. while the Iſraelites ſerued in Ægypt, *Gathelus* the ſonne of one *Nealus*, a great Lord in *Grecia*, vpon diſfauour was exiled his country, with a number of his factious friends and adherents. This noble Gentleman, beeing very wiſe, valiant, and well ſpoken: gotte honourable entertaine of *Pharaoh*, ſurnamed *Orus*. And afterward departing that Countrey, trauerſed the ſeas, and landing firſt in *Portugall*, after ſome bickerings with the inhabitants: at length, yet hee got (by their conſent) a portion of the Countrey, lying by the bankes of the Riuer, anciently called *Munda*, and nowe *Mondego*, where (ſhortly after) he began to builde a Citty, firſt named *Brachara*, but now *Barſalo*, as *Hector Bœtius* affirmeth.

The hiſtory of the Spaniards arriuall in Ireland, vnder the conduct of foure Captaines.

The Riuer of Munda, now Mondego.

Brachara now Braga or Barſalo.

After this, when the people vnder *Gathelus* began to encreaſe in power; thorough perſwaſion of the Spaniards theyr neighbours, they remoued into *Gallicia*, where they alſo builded a Citty, named *Brigantium*, which is now called *Coruna*. Finally, when they grewe into ſuch a huge multitude, that *Gallicia* was not able to ſuſtaine them; *Gathelus*, with a certain number of them, paſſed ouer into *Ireland* and there grew into ſuch eſtimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge eſpecially in Languages, hee was highly honoured. For, he not onely enriched and beautified the Iriſh tongue: but enſtructed them in letters alſo: he ſought vp their Antiquities, and likewiſe practiſed their youth in warlike exerciſes, after the manner of the Greekes and Egyptians, from whence he was diſcended.

The Cittie Compoſtella of Gallicia in Spaine.

Gathelus paſſeth into Ireland, and is there highly honoured.

To conclude, hee was ſo acceptable and welcome to them, that (to gratifye ſuch a worthy benefactor) they agreed to call the Iſland *Gathelia*, and after his wife *Scotia*. This is one opinion, but yet incredible, not onely to *Humfrey Lhuid*, but alſo to other learned men, and diligent ſerchers of Antiquities: by reaſon of the ſundry arguments of improbability, as well in the miſcount of yeares, as other vnlikelyhoods found therein, when the circumſtances come to be duly examined, thorowly weighed, and well conſidered. Yet certaine it is, that Ireland was aunciently named *Scotia*, and the people Scots, as by diuers old writings it may be ſufficiently proued: albeit, by what occaſion it took firſt

The names of Ireland, and whereof they were deriued, as they holde opinion.

Ire land was anciently called Scotia.

first that name, or from whence they came, it is yet doubted. But to proceede with the Hiſtory, as we finde it. The reſidue of *Gathelus* his people, which remayned in Spaine, founded the City of *Bayon*, in the Confines of *Gaſcoigne*, and repleniſhed the Sea coaſtes of *Spaine*, with ſtore of inhabitants. And wel-neere about two hundred yeares, after their firſt arriuall there (when they were againe peſtered with multitudes of people) they began to fancie a new voyage: but whether at that time, or ſome other els, they croſſed ouer into Ireland, is altogether vncertaine.

Bayon builded by Gathelus his people

The gouernor of Bayon, and foure brethren Spaniards trauelled to ſeeke their fortune abroad.

Notwithſtanding, ſure it is, that in the dayes of *Gurguntius*, King of the Britains, the cheefe Gouernour of *Bayon*, with four Brethren Spaniardes, two of which are ſaide to be *Hiberus* and *Hermion*, not the ſonnes (as ſome thinke) of *Gathelus* (as *Hector Bætius* affirmeth) but ſome other perhaps, that were deſcended of him; who vnderſtanding that diuers of the weſterne Iſles were empty of inhabitants: aſſembling a great company of men, women, and children, embarked with the ſame in threeſcore great veſſelles, and directing their courſe Weſtwarde, houered a long time on the Sea, about the Iſles of *Orkeney*. At length, they met (by good hap) with *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conqueſt of Denmarke (as in the Brittiſh hiſtory it apeareth) whom they beſought in conſideration of their want of victuals and other neceſſaries (being ſuch, as they were no longer able to endure the Sea, being cumbred with ſuch ſtore of women and children) to direct & appoint them ſome place, where they might inhabite; promiſing to hold the ſame of him, and to become liege-people to him and his heires for euer.

Gurguntius coming from the conqueſt of Denmarke.

Gurguntius aduiſing with himſelfe hereon, remembred, with what troble he held the Iriſh in ſubiection, & cõceiuing hope that theſe ſtrangers might either ſubdue, or wholy deſtroy that vnruly generation; accepted & took thoſe oathes of the Spaniards with hoſtages, & furniſhing them & their ſhips, with all needful things; ſet them ouer into Ireland, where, aſſiſted with ſuch Britaines as *Gurguntius* had appointed to go with them for their guides: they made a conqueſt of the whole country, & ſetled themſelues ioyfully therein.

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards ſeates in Ireland, to liue vnder his ſubiection.

Some write, that *Ireland* was (before that preſent) voide of all inhabitants: but yet they agree, that theſe Spaniards were guided thither by the Britains, & vnder ſuch conditions as before is recited. Whereby it appeareth, that the kings of Britain had an elder right to the realm of *Ireland*, then by the conqueſt of K. *Henry* 2. which title they euer maintained, & ſometimes preuailed in purſuit thereof, as in the daies of K. *Arthur*, to whom the Iriſh (as in diuers hiſtories is remembred) acknowledged their due ſubiection, with paimẽt of their tribute, & making their appearance at the city, called in the Britiſh toong, *Caer Lheon*. Wherunto, when their free aſſent, the ſubmiſſion of their Princes, with lawfull conqueſt & preſcription are annexed; an inuincible title muſt needs be enforced.

The arriuall of the Spaniards in Irelãd, and their conqueſt there.

Geffrey Mon.

But now to our purpoſe. The Spaniards ſubſtantially aſſiſted with the Britains, ſetled themſelues, and diuided their ſeats in quarters; the foure Brethren reigning ſeuerally apart in ſũdry portions, with good quietneſſe and encreaſe of wealth: vntill pride & ambition armed two of them, againſt the other two; as *Hiberus* and one of his brethren, againſt *Hermion* and his Brother. In this diſſention, *Hermion* ſlewe his brother *Hiberus*: of whom, at the ſame time (as ſome hold) the countrey was named *Hibernia*. Although ſome are of opinion, that it tooke name of Iron, by plentifull Mines of that kinde of Mettall, wherewith the land abounded: & ſo thoſe Authors of Antiquity, which call it *Ierna*, name it more aptly after the ſpeech of the inhabitants, then others which cal it *Hibernia*.

The Iriſh wer ſubiect to K. Arthur, and payed him Tribute at weſt Cheſter.

Diſſention betweene the bretheren, ſuch are the fruites of ambition.

Hibernia, after the name of Hiberus, as ſome imagined.

Proceede wee now to *Hermion*, who to auoyde the ill opinion of men, by attaining thus to the Soueraignty, making his way through his brothers blood moſt vnnaturally, and in an vnhappie Ciuill-Warre: purged himſelfe to his ſubiects, that neyther maliciouſly, nor contentiouſly, but for his neceſſarie defence and ſafety, hee had borne Armes againſt his brethren. And to witneſſe, how farre he was from all deſire to rule alone: hee appointed certaine Captaines, as Kings, to rule (vnder him) ſeuerall Countreyes: reſeruing to himſelfe but one fourth part, and the portion of *Meth*, allotted to the Monarchy, for the better maintenance of his eſtate.

No crime ſo manifeſt or deteſtable, that wanteth a colourable pretence to excuſe it.

Theſe

Ireland diuided into fiue Kingdomes: And one soueraigne Ruler ouer the rest.

These parts appointed foorth in this wise, at length grew to fiue Kingdomes, *Leinster*, *Connaght*, *Vlster*, and *Mounster* diuided into two parts, and sometime to more, by vsurping or compounding among themselues: but euer, one was chosen to bee chiefe soueraigne Monarch ouer them all. Thus it seemeth certainly, that the *Spaniards* of the North parts of *Spaine*, inhabiting about the Countries of *Biscaie* and *Gallicia*, came and peopled *Ireland* (as both their owne Histories, & the *British* do agree wholly) but from whence they came first, to inhabite those Countries of *Spain*, cannot by me be auouched. For no other Writers (but such as haue registred the *Scottish* Chronicles) make mention of *Gathelus* his coming thither, with *Scota* his Wife, and their people, as by the said Chronicles is pretended.

An hundred and thirty Kings from Hermion to Laogirius.

An hundred and thirty cheefe Kings are reckoned of this Nation, from *Hermion* to *Laogirius*, the sonne of *Nealus Magnus*; in whose time, that holy esteemed man, S. *Patricke* conuerted them to Christianity. But now, while the *Irishmen* liued in some tollerable rest & order, vnder their seuerall Kings; one *Rodoricke*, a *Scythian* Prince (with a small company of men, being weather-driuen about the Coasts of *Britaine*) was by chaunce cast vpon the shore of *Ireland*. These were

The first Picts arriued in Ireland.

Picts, and the very first that had bin heard off in those parts (as some good Authors haue recorded) a people (euen from their cradle) naturally addicted to contention, land-leapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardy. They being brought & presented to the *Irish* King, desired Interpretors; which being granted them; *Rodorick* their chiefe Commander and Leader, made this request for him and his, as followeth.

The Oration of Roderick, King of the Picts, to the King of *Ireland*.

NOt *as degenerate, or falling from the courage of our Ancestours, but fashioning our selues to Fortunes course; wee are become to craue of* Ireland (*as humble Suppliants*) *who neuer before this present, haue embased our selues to any other Nation. Behold Sir King, and regard vs well: no light occasion causeth these lustie bodies to stoope.* Scythians *we are, and* Picts of *Scythia; no small portion of glory remaineth in these two names. What shall I speake of the ciuill warre, that hath expelled vs from our natiue homes, or rip vp olde Histories, to mooue strangers to bemoane vs? Let our seruants and children discourse thereof at leisure. Our instant motion is, to grant vs some time of abode in your Land, for which effect & purpose, our vrgent necessity beseecheth your fauour: A King, of a King, and men of men, are to craue assistance.*

Dreadlesse he deliuereth of what country they are, and what manner of people in the Country.

Princes can well discerne and consider, how neere it toucheth their honour and reputation, yea, and their owne surety, to vphold and releeue the state of a King, decayed by treason. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more beseemeth the nature of men, then to be moued with compassion: yea, euen (as it were) to feele themselues hurt, when they heare and vnderstand of other mens calamities. Admit then (we beseech you) and receiue among yee, these few scattered remnants of Scythians. *If your roomes be narrow, we are not many: If the soile of your Country be barren, we are borne and inured to hardnesse: If you liue in peace, wee are at your command as subiects: If you warre, we are ready to serue you as Soldiors. We demaund no Kingdome, no State, no pompeous triumph in Ireland. We are heere alone, and haue left such vanities behinde vs with our enemies. Howsoeuer you esteeme of vs, we shall content our selues therewith, and learne to frame our likings to yours: as calling vnto minde, what we haue bene, not what we are.*

Princes can best iudge how to succour and releeue one anothers distresse.

Misery is very apt in making shewes of great humiliation.

Great consultation was had about the request of these strangers, & many things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the *Irish* gaue foorth for answer, the opinion of their Antiquaries, such as were skilfull in olde Histories, & graue sayings of their Elders. Whereby they gathered, that it could not be expedient for thē, to accept the *Scythians* into their Land; because commixture of Nations in any Realme, bringeth quarrels. Moreouer, the multitude of their owne Inhabitantants was such, that roome in the whole Isle was scarse able to receiue them: and therfore those few new commers, beeing placed among

In doubtfull cases it is alwayes good to consult with deliberation & aduice

mong ſo many auncient Inhabitants, might quickly breed diſturbance to bring all out of ioynt, neuertheleſſe, they returned them this anſwer.

The Anſwere of the Iriſh King, to the Oration made by King *Rodericke*.

Wiſe men preuent their owne perils by putting thē to others, ſo the Iriſh perſwaded the Picts to place themſelues in Brittaine.

VVE haue conſidered on your requeſt, as alſo thoſe extremities vrdging thereto: And though we may not (conueniently) receiue you among vs; yet ſhall you finde vs ready in furthering ye to our neighbours. Not farre hence lyeth the great Iſle of Britaine, *in the North-part whereof (being voide of Inhabitants) your manhood and pollicie may purchaſe roome, to place your ſelues at your eaſe. We ſhall appoint Captaines to guide you thither, and wee ſhall aſſiſt yee with our Forces in that Countrey. Make ready your Shippes, that you may paſſe thither with all conuenient ſpeed.*

Encouraged by this perſwaſion, they tooke their courſe towards the North parts of *Britaine*, now called *Scotland*, where (contrary to their expectation) *Marius*, King of *Britaine*, was ready to awaite their comming, and with ſharpe battaile vanquiſhing them in field, ſlewe *Rodericke*, with a great number of his followers. Thoſe that eſcaped with life, & ſought vnto him for grace; he licenſed to inhabite the vttermoſt ende of *Scotland*. This *Marius*, *Humfrey Lhuid* taketh to be the ſame, whom the Romaine Writers name *Aruiragus*, who reigned about the yeare of our Lord, ſeuenty: A Prince of noble courage, and of no ſmal eſtimation in his dayes, as appeareth by that which is written of him. His right name (as the ſaid *Lhuid* auoucheth) was *Meurig*.

Marius, otherwiſe called Aruiragus King of the Britaines ſlew king Roderick

But now concerning the *Picts*, whether thoſe that eſcaped with life, got the Seas by King *Meurigs* graunt, or getting to their Ships, with-drew into the Iſle of *Orkeney*, is doubtfull. Wiues alſo they wanted to encreaſe their iſſue, & becauſe the *Britaines* thought ſcorne to match their daughters, with ſuch an vnknowne and new come Nation: the *Picts* continued their firſt acquaintance with the *Iriſh*, and (by entreaty) obtained Wiues from them, with condition, that if the Crowne ſhould hap to fall in contention, they ſhould yeelde thus much to the prerogatiue of the woman: that the Prince ſhould bee elected rather of the blood Royall of the Female kinde, then of the Male. Which order (ſaith *Beda*) the *Picts* were very well knowne to keepe vnto his time.

The Britaines ſcorned to marry their daughters with the Picts

Picts marry with the Iriſh, and couenant the ſucceſsion of their kings

Heere I could enter into a long, various and friuilous diſcourſe, concerning great combuſtions, warres and bloody contentions, happening (for a very long time) betweene the *Iriſh*, *Picts* and *Scots*: but beeing impertinent to my intended purpoſe, and little beneficiall to the Reader, I will firſt deſcribe the parts and diuiſions of *Ireland* into Shires and Countries, and then proceed to ſhew, how it receiued the Chriſtian faith at the firſt.

Ireland became diuided into foure Regions; *Leinſter* Eaſt; *Connaght* Weſt; *Vlſter* North; *Mounſter* South: And into a fift plot, defalked from euery fourth part, yet mearing on each part, called thereof *Media*, *Meeth*, comprizing as well Eaſt *Meeth*, as Weſt *Meeth*. *Leinſter* butteth vpon *England*; *Vlſter* vpon the *Scottiſh* Iſlands, which face with the *Hebriades*, ſcattered betweene both the Realmes: wherein (at this day) the *Iriſh Scot*, Succeſſour of the elder *Scythian*, *Pict* or *Redſhanke* dwelleth. Each of theſe fiue, where they are frame-able to ciuility, & anſwer the Writs of the Princes Courts; are ſundred into Shires or Counties in this manner.

The diuiſions of Ireland.

1 Lagenia.
2 Connatia.
3 Hultonia.
4 Momonia.
5 Media.
Weſt Meeth & Eaſt Meeth
Hebriades.

In *Leinſter* lyeth the Counties of *Dublyn*, *Kildare*, *Weiſeford* or *Gueisford*, *Catherlach*, *Kilkenny*, the Counties of *Leiſe* and *Ophalie*, called the Kings and Queenes Counties: theſe two were ſo named by Parliament, in the Reignes of *Phillip* and *Mary*, hauing Shire-Townes concordant, as *Phillips* Towne, and *Mary-Bourgh*.

The Shires & Counties of Ireland. Leinſter.

Connaght hath the County *Clare*.

Connaght.

Vlſter, the Counties of *Louth*, *Doune*, *Antrim*, one moity of the Towne of *Droghedagh* (for the reſt is in *Meeth*) and *Carregfergus*.

Vlſter.

In *Mounſter* lye the Counties of *Waterford*, *Limerike*, *Corke*, the County Palantine of *Tipperary*, *Kerie*, & the Croſſe of *Tipperarie*. In elder time, *Mounſter* was

Mounſter, and how diuided in elder time.

was diuided into East *Mounster*, *Ormond*, West *Mounster*, *Desmond*, South *Mounster*, and *Toonemound*. Now the reason why *Ireland* was thus diuided, you haue heard already, by the fiue brethren arriuing there, valiant and Martiall Gentlemen; *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagundus*, otherwise named *Gangandus*, *Rutheragus* or *Rutheranus* and *Slanius*.

Another diuision of Ireland into the English Pale, and the Irishrie.

There was also another diuision of *Ireland*, into the *English Pale*, and *Irishry*. For, whē *Ireland* was subdued by the *English*, diuers of the Conquerours planted themselues neere vnto *Dublin*, and the confines thereto adioyning, and so enclosing and impaling themselues (as it were) within certaine lists and territories; they forced away the *Irish*. Insomuch, as that Country became meere *English*, and therof it was tearmed the *English Pale*: which (in ancient time) stretched from *Dundalk* to *Catherlagh* or *Kilkenny*. But afterward, what by the slackness of Marchers, and encroching of the *Irish enemy*; the scope of the *English Pale* became greatly impaired, being cramperned and caught into an odde corner of the Country, named *Fingall*, with a parcell of *Meeth* the Kings Land, the Countries of *Kildare* & *Louth*, which parts were applyed cheefely with good husbandry, and taken for the richest and ciuilest soyles in *Ireland*. But *Fingall* especially (from time to time) was alwayes so addicted to the chiefe points of husbandry; as that they became nicknamed by their neighbors (for their continuall drudgery) Collonnes, of the Latine word *Coloni*, wherunto the clipt *English* word Clowne, seemeth to be answerable.

The empayring of the English Pale.

Fingall excelled in husbandry.

Collonnes of Fingal clowns

The word *Fingall* counteruaileth in *English*, the race or sept of the *English* or strangers, because they were soly seized of that part of the Island, gryping with their Talents that warme nest so firmely; thar from the Conquest, to this day, the *Irish* enemy could not rouze thē thence. The Inhabitants of the *English Pale*, haue beene (in olde time) so much addicted to their ciuility, and so farre sequestred from barbarous sauagenesse; that their onely mother tongue was *English*. And truely, so long as these impaled dwellers, did sunder themselues (aswell in land, as in language) from the rude *Irish*: rudenesse was day by day supplanted in the Country, ciuility engrafted, good lawes establisht, loyalty obserued, rebellion suppressed, & in the ende, the coine of a young *England* was like to shoote in *Ireland*. But when their posterity became not altogether so wary in keeping, as their Ancestors were valiant in conquering; the *Irish* language became free-dennized in the *English Pale*. This canker tooke such deepe roote, that the body, which before was whole and sound: became festered by little and little, and (in a manner) wholly putrified. And not only this parcel of *Ireland* grew to that ciuility; but *Vlster* also, and the greater part of *Mounster*. Albeit, of all other places, *Weiseford*, with the territory baied, and percloſed within the Riuer called the *Pill*, was so quite estranged from *Irishry* (which was rare in those dayes) that if a trauailer of the *Irish*, had pitcht his foote within the *Pill*, and spoken *Irish*: the *Weisfordians* would command him forthwith, to turne the other ende of his tongue, and speake English, or else to bring his Trouchman with him. But afterward, they so acquainted themselues with the *Irish*, making a mingle-mangle of both languages, that (commonly) the Inhabitants of the meaner sort, grew to speake neither good *English* nor good *Irish*.

The Irish Lā-guage free-dennized in the English Pale.

Weiseford wholly English.

The Riuer Pil

Wee come now to declare, in what manner *Ireland* came to receiue the christian faith: And finde, that immediately after Christs time, Saint *Iames* the Apostle & other, trauailing into these West parts; did first enstruct the *Irish* people, and teach them the glad tydings of the Gospel. So that diuers among them, euen then were christened, and beleeued: but not in such numbers (as may be thought) wherby it should be said, that the Country was generally conuerted. Notwithstanding, the *Scottish* Chronicles doe auouch, that in the dayes of *Fincomarke* their King, who departed this life in the yeare of our Redemptiō, 358, *Ireland* was conuerted to the faith, by this meanes.

Ireland enstructed in the Christian faith by Saint Iames the Apostle.

Fincomarke King of Scotland.

A woman of the *Pictish* blood (say they) chanced in those dayes to serue the Queene of *Ireland*; which woman herselfe beeing a Christian, first enstructed her Queene and Mistresse, in the faith & true points of Christianity, & the Queen her Husband the King, who conuerted the whole *Irish* Nation. Howbeit, by the report

A Pictish woman conuerted the queen of Ireland to the faith.

The great ciuility in ancient times among the impaled dwellers.

Fingall, and why it was so named.

of the *Irish* Writers themselues, this should not seeme altogether true.

The heresie of Pelagius had greatly decai ed Christian faith in the west parts of the world.

For they affirmed, that their Country was rather still esteemed as one of the vnchristned Isles, till about the yeare of our Lord, foure hundred twenty and sixe: when *Celestine*, the first of that name, gouernd the See of *Rome*, who, on conference had with his Cleargie, touching the restoring of the Christian faith in the West parts of the world (greatly there decayed by the heresie of *Pelagius*) vnderstood that *Ireland* also, by reason of distance from the heart of Christendome, and rudenesse of the Nation; had receiued little fruit at all of true Religion, a thing much to bee lamented.

Paladius made offer to go into Ireland, and therupon was consecrated Bishop.

Among other, that then were assembled to treate of those matters, was one *Paladius*, Arch-deacon of *Rome*, who offered his charitable trauaile, towardes the cõuersion of those lands, whither it shold please them to appoynt him to goe. *Celestine* knowing the sufficiẽcie of the man, consecrated him Bishop, authorized his iourney by Letters vnder his Seale, furnished his wants, and associating to him, such religious persons and others, as were thought necessary to assist him: deliuered vnto him the Bible with great solemnitie, and other monuments, in furtherance of his good speede, for so long and tedious a iourney.

Paladius landed in the north of Ireland, and conuerted many to the Faith.

At length hee landed in the North of *Ireland*, from whence he hardly escaped (with life) into the Ilesadioyning, where he preached the Gospell, and conuerted no small number of *Scots* to the Christian faith and beleefe; purging also that part which was christened, from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottish historie more at large appeareth. He was required by the *Scots*, that dwelt in *Britaine*, to leaue the Isles, and come ouer to them, there to enstruct the people in the way of true saluation: to the which (with the Popes licence) he seemd willing enough. And the bishop of *Rome*, the more readily condiscended thereto, because at that instant time, when *Paladius* was to depart: one *Patricke* attended at *Rome*, suing for licence to be sent into *Ireland*.

The Scots in Britaine required the company of Paladius

Patricke sent into Ireland, and Paladius appointed to go into Scotland.

The Pope therefore graunted, that *Paladius* might passe ouer to the *Scottes* in *Britaine*, and appoynted *Patricke* to goe (with authoritie from him) into *Ireland*, where, vpon his arriuall, hee found the people so well bent to heare his admonitions (contrary to their accustomed forwardnesse) that a man would haue imagined, vpon sight of their readinesse; that the Land had beene reserued for him to conuert. And because it pleased God, to bestow such an vniuersall benefite on the Land, by his meanes; wee thought good (by folowing our Author herein) to touch some part of the course of his life.

The toward. nesse of the Irish men to heare Patr cks preaching.

This *Patricke*, in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the Marches betweene *England* and *Scotland*, in a Towne by the Sea side, named *Eiburne*, whose fathers name was likewise called *Calphurnius*, a Deacon, and sonne to a Priest: his Mother, named *Conches*, was sister to S. *Martine*, that famous Bishoppe of *Tours* in *France*. *Patricke* (of a childe) was brought vp in learning, and well enstructed in the faith, beeing much giuen to deuotion. The *Irishmen* (in those daies) assisted with some *Scots* and *Picts*, were become arch-Pirats, greatly disquieting the Seas about the Coasts of *Britaine*, and vsed to sacke little small Villages, that lay scatteringly along the shore, and would leade away the Inhabitants captiue home into their Country. And as it chaunced, *Patricke* being a Lad of sixteene yeares olde, and a Scholler then in seculer learning: was taken among other, and became slaue to an *Irish* Lord called *Macbuaine*, from whõ (after the terme of sixe yeares) he redeemed himselfe, with a piece of gold, which he found in a clod of earth, that the swine had newly turned vp, as he followed thẽ in the time of his captiuity, beeing appointed (by his Master) to take charge of them, and keepe them.

In what place Saint Patricke was borne.

The life of S Patricke discoursed briefly.

Saint Patricke taken prisoner when he was yong, and how he redeemed himselfe.

And as affliction (commonly) maketh men religious; the regard of his former education, had stamped in him such remorse and humility, that beeing thencefoorth weaned from the world: hee betooke himselfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and trueth in that Land. And withall not despairing, but that (in continuance of time) some good might be wrought vpon them; hee learned the Language perfectly. And, alluring one of that Nation, to beare him company for exercise sake; hee departed thence, and got him into *France*, euer hauing in his minde, a desire to see the con-

Affliction is an especiall meanes to make men becom religious

The passage Patricke into Fraunce.

uersion

uerſion of the *Iriſh* people, whoſe babes yet vnborne, ſeemed to him in his dreaming, from forth theyr mothers wombs, to call for Chriſtendome.

Saint Patricke placed in ſeruice with Germanus Biſhop of Auxerre.

In this purpoſe, he ſought out his vnkle *Martine*, by whoſe meanes he was placed wiih *Germanus* the Biſh. of *Auxerre*, continuing with him as Scholler or Diſciple for the ſpace of fourtie yeares: all which time hee beſtowed in the ſtudie of holy Scriptures, Prayers, and ſuch godly exerciſes. Afterwards, beeing renowned through the Latine Church, for his wiſedome, vertue and learning: hee went to *Rome*, bearing Letters with him in his commendation, from the *French* biſhops vnto Pope *Celeſtine*, to whom hee vttered his whole minde and ſecret vow, which long before hee had conceiued as touching *Ireland*. *Celeſtine* inueſted him Archbiſhop and Primate of the whole Iſland, ſet him forward with al fauor he could deuiſe, bringing him and his diſciples onward to their Countrey.

He went to Rome, highly commended to pope Celeſtine.

Patricke inueſted Archbiſh. of Ireland.

In the 23 yeare of the Emperour *Theodoſius* the yonger, being the yeare of our Lord, 430. *Patricke* landed in *Ireland*, and bicauſe he ſpake the tongue perfectly, and withall, being a reuerend perſonage in the eyes of all men; many liſtened and gaue eare to his preaching. And the rather, becauſe (as ſome Writers haue recorded) he confirmed his Doctrine with diuerſe miracles. But eſpecially thoſe men regarded his words before all others, that had ſome taſte of the Chriſtian Faith before, eyther by the comming into thoſe partes of *Paladius* and his Diſciple one *Albius*, an *Iriſh* Biſhop, or otherwiſe by ſome other. For, it is to be thought, that continually there remained ſome ſpark of knowledge of Chriſtianity, euer ſince the firſt preaching of the Goſpell, which was ſhortly after Chriſts Aſcention, by S. *Iames* as before is mentioned. But in continuance of time, *Patricke* wonne the better part of that kingdome to the faith of Chriſt.

Patricke verie reuerently reſpected by the people in Ireland.

Albius an Iriſh biſhop, diſciple to Paladius.

Laigerius ſon to *Nealus* the great Monarch, albeit he receiued not the Goſpell himſelfe; yet he permitted all that would to embrace it. But becauſe he refuſed to be baptiſed, and apply to his doctrine; the Biſhop denounced againſt him a curſſe from God accordingly, but yet tempered with mercy and iudgement, as thus: *That during his life he ſhould be victorious: but after him, neither ſhould the kingdome ſtand, nor his linage inherit*. Thence he tooke his way to *Conill*, lord of *Connagh*, who honorably receiued him, and was conuerted with al his people: ſending him afterward to his brother *Logan*, king of *Leinſter*, whō he alſo conuerted. In *Mounſter* he found great frendſhip, by the means of an Earle there, called the Earle of *Daris*, who honored him highly, & gaue him a dwelling place in the Eaſt Angle of *Armagh*, called *Sorta*, where he erected many Celles and Monaſteries, both for religious men and women. He trauelled 30. yeares in preaching through the land, planting Biſhops and Prieſts in conuenient places, whoſe learning and conuerſation, by the eſpeciall grace & fauor of God, eſtabliſhed the Faith in that rude nation. Other 30. yeres he ſpēt in his prouince of *Armagh*, among his brethren placed in thoſe houſes of Religion, which by his means were founded. So he liued (in all) about 122. yeares, and lyeth buryed in *Downe*.

Laigerius ſon to Neale the great monark of Ireland, permitted the Iriſhmen to become chriſtiās

Conill Lord of Connagh.

Logan King of Leinſter.

The Earle of Daris.

The death of S. Patricke & his place of buriall in Downe

Now, concerning the chiefe citties and townes of *Ireland*, we are firſt to ſpeake of *Dublin*, termed the beautie and eye of *Ireland*. I find it recorded, that about the yere 155. three noble Eaſterlings, being brethren, ariued in *Ireland*, whoſe names were *Auellanus*, *Sitaracus* and *Yuorus*. *Auellanus* being the eldeſt brother, built *Dublin*; *Sitaracus*, *Waterford* and *Yuorus*, *Limerike*. Of the founder *Auellanus*, *Dublin* was termed *Auellana*, and after, by corruption of ſpeech, *Eblana*, and ſo *Ptolomie* calleth it. Some termed it *Dublin*, other, *Dublinia*, many *Dublinum*, but Authors of better skill name it *Dublinium*. This cittie, as it is not inferiour for Antiquity to any in *Ireland*; ſo in pleaſant ſcituation, gorgeous buildings, multitude of people, martiall Chiualry, obedience and loyalty, aboundance of wealth, largeneſſe of hoſpitality, in manners and ciuilitie, it is ſuperiour to all other citties and towns in that realme: whereupon it is commonly called, the *Iriſh* or yong *London*. The Charter of this citie is large, King *Henry* the 4. gaue it the Sword, in the yeare 1409. and was ruled by a Maior and two Bailiffes: which were changed into Sherifs, by a Charter granted by king *Edward* the ſixt, 1547. But it appeares by the ancient Seale of this cittie called *Signum præpoſituræ*, that the Cittie hath (in elder times) beene gouerned

The famous cities & towns of Ireland.

Dublin, & the firſt founder thereof, who was Auelanus

Dublin the Iriſh London.

The Sword giuen to Dublin.

Sheriffes of Baylifes.

uerned by a Pronoſt.

Waterford called Menapia by Ptolomy.

Waterford was founded by *Sitaracus*, in the yeare 155. beeing a Citty properly builded, and very well compact. Both yong and old there are giuen to thriuing, free from factions: the men deale in traffick, the women in ſpinning & carding; and as they diſtill the beſt *Aqua vitæ*, ſo they ſpinne the cheefeſt Rugge in *Ireland*.

The worthy loialty of Waterford.

Of this Citty *Waterford* it is written, to haue continued ſo loyall to the Crowne of *England*, that it is not found regiſtred (ſince the Conqueſt) to haue bin ſtained with the ſmalleſt ſpot of treaſon, notwithſtanding the ſundry aſſaults of traiterous attempts. And therfore the Cities Armes are deckt with this golden word: *Intacta manet*.

The Poeſie of Waterford.

Limericke, Yuorus the Founder ther of.

Limericke, called in Latine *Limericum*, was builded by *Yuorus*, about the very ſame yeare of 155. coaſting on the Sea, hard vpon the Riuer *Sennan*; whereby are moſt notably ſeuered *Mounſter* and *Connaght*, the *Iriſh* name this Citty, *Loumneagh*, and therefore in Engliſh it is called *Limerike*.

Corke the fourth Citty of Ireland.

Corke, in Latine *Corciuam* or *Corracium*, the fourth Citty of *Ireland*, happily planted on the Sea: their Hauen being a Hauen royall. On the land-ſide they were ſo encumbred with euill neighbours, the *Iriſh* Out-lawes, that they were faine to watch their gates hourely, to keepe them ſhut at ſeruice times, and at meales. And from Sun to Sun, not to ſuffer any ſtranger to enter the Citty with his weapon, but to leaue it at a Lodge appointed.

Drogheda.

Drogheda, accounted the beſt Towne in *Ireland*, and truely not farre behinde ſome of their Cities: the one moity of this Towne is in *Meeth*, the other planted on the further ſide of the water, lyeth in *Vlſter*.

There ranne a blinde Propheſie of this Towne, that *Roſſe* was, *Dublin* is, *Drogheda* ſhall be the beſt of the three.

Roſſe.

Roſſe, a Hauen Towne in *Mounſter*, not farre from *Waterford*, ſeeming to haue beene (in ancient time) a Towne of great port, whereof ſundry and probable coniectures are giuen, by the olde Ditches, which are now a mile diſtant from the Walles of *Roſſe*: betweene which walles and ditches, the reliques of the auncient Walles, Gates, and Towers (placed betweene both) are to bee ſeene vnto this day.

Weisford.

Weisford, a Hauen Towne not farre from *Roſſe*, whereof no great matters are recorded: but onely that it is to be eſteemed by all the Engliſh poſterity planted in *Ireland*, as a Towne that was the firſt Fortreſſe and Harbourer, of the Engliſh Conquerors, doing them (from time to time) many great and acceptable ſeruices.

Kilkenny.

Kilkenny, the beſt vpland, or (as they tearme it) the propereſt dry Towne in *Ireland*; is diuided into the high Towne, and the *Iriſh* Towne. The high Towne was builded by the Engliſh, after the Conqueſt, and had a parcell of the *Iriſh* Towne vnited to it, by the Biſhops grant, made vnto the Founders vpon their earneſt requeſt. *Robert Talbot*, a worthy Gentleman, in the yeare one thouſand foure hundred, encloſed with walles the better part of this Towne.

Walles bnilded in Anno. 1400 by M. *Robert Talbot*.

Thomas town

Thomas Towne, a proper Towne builded in the County of *Kilkenny*, by one *Thomas Fitz-Anthony*, an Engliſhman: thereof the *Iriſh* call it *Ballie mac-Andan*, that is, *The Towne of Fitz-Anthony*. But becauſe the Reader may perceiue, in what parts of the Country the Cities and cheefe Townes ſtand, I haue ſet them downe in this order.

The names of the cheefe Townes in Vlſter.

The names of the cheefe Townes in Leinſter.

Drogheda, *Carregfargus*, *Downe*, *Armagh*, *Arglaſhe*, *Cloagher*, *Muneighan*, *Doonnegaule*, *Karreg mac Roſſe*, *Newrie*, *Carlingford*, *Ardie*, *Doondalke*, *Louth*, *Dublin*, *Bulrudrie*, *Luske*, *Swords Taſhaggard*, *Lions*, *Newcaſtle*, *Ratheoule*, *Oughterarde*, *Naas*, *Clane Mainooth*, *Kilcocke*, *Rathaimgan*, *Kildare*, *Luianne*, *Caſtle-Towne*, *Phillips-Towne*, *Mary-borough*, *Kilcullen*, *Caſtle-Marten*, *Thiſtledermot*, *Kilca*, *Athie*, *Catherlaugh*, *Leighelen*, *Ganranne*, *Thomas Towne*, *Eneſtiocke*, *Caſhelle*, *Callanne*, *Kilkenny*, *Knocktofer*, *Roſſe*, *Cloumelle*, *Weiſeford*, *Fernes*, *Fidderd*, *Eneſcortie*, *Tathmon*, *Wickloa*, *Ackloa*, *Waterford*, *Liſmore*, *Doongarnon*, *Yoghill*, *Corke*, *Limerike*, *Kilmallocke*, *Aloana*, *Galuoie*, *Anrie*, *Louaghriagh*, *Clare*, *Toame*, *Sligagh*, *Roſſe comman*, *Aritlowne*, *Trimme*, *Doonſhaghlenne*, *Rathlouth*, *Nauanne*, *Aooie*, *Scrine*, *Taraugh*, *Kelmles*, *Doonboine*, *Greenocke*, *Dulecke*, *Molingare*, *Fowre*, *Loughſende*, *Kilkeniweſt*, *Moilagagh*, *Deluinne*.

Cheefe towns in Mounſter.

Cheefe towns in Connaght.

Chiefe towns in Meeth.

Chiefe towns in Weſtmeeth

Diuiſiō made of Meeth into two Counties.

In the foure and thirtie yeare of the Reigne of King *Henry* the eight, it was enacted in a Parliament holden at *Dublin*, before Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, Knight, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*: that *Meeth* ſhould be diuided and made two Shires, one of them to bee called the County of *Meeth*, and the other to bee named the County of *Weſtmeeth*. And that there ſhould be two Sheriffes, & Officers conuenient within the ſaide Shieres, as is more at large expreſſed in the Act.

The names of the cheefeſt Hauen townes in Ireland.

Loughfoile, the *Banne*, *Wolderfrith*, *Carregfergus*, *Strangford*, *Ardglas*, *Longheuē*, *Carlingford*, *Kilkeale*, *Dunkalke*, *Kilclogher*, *Duuane*, *Drogheda*, *Houlepatrike*, *Nanie*, *Baltraie*, *Brimore*, *Balbriggen*, *Roggers-Towne*, *Skerriſh*, *Ruſh*, *Malahide*, *Banledoile*, *Houth*, *Dublin*, *Dalkee*, *Wickincloa*, *Arckloa*, *Weisford*, *Bagganbun*, the *Paſſage*, *Waterford*, *Dungaruan*, *Roſſe noua*, *Youghille*, *Corke mabegge*, *Corke*, *Kinſale*, *Kierie*, *Roſſe Ilbere*, *Dorrie*, *Baltinimore*, *Downenere*, *Downeſhead*, *Downelounge*, *Attannanne*, *Craghanne*, *Downeuehwine*, *Balineskililiedge*, *Daugine Ichouſe*, *Trolie*, *Semme*, *Caſſanne*, *Kiluewine*, *Limerike*, *Inniskartee*, *Belalenne*, *Arinenewing*, *Glanemaugh*, *Balliweiham*, *Binwarre*, *Dowris*, *Woran*, *Roskam*, *Galwaie*, *Killinillie*, *Innesboſinne*, *Owran*, *Moore*, *Kilcolken*, *Burske*, *Belleclare*, *Ratheſilbene*, *Bierweiſowre*, *Bucaneis hare*, *Ardnemakow*, *Rosbare*, *Kilgolinne wallalele*, *Rabranne*, *Strone*, *Berweis now*, *Zaltra*, *Kalbalie*, *Ardnocke*, *Adrowſe*, *Sligaghe*, *Innes Bowſenne*.

Of the Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction in Ireland.

The ſpirituall Iuriſdiction of *Ireland*, is ordered into foure Prouinces, whereof the Primacy was euer giuen (in reuerence of S. *Patricke*, that conuerted the Country) to the Archbiſhoppricke of *Armagh*, who is called *Primas totius Hiberniæ*, and the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, *Primas Hiberniæ*. Which cuſtome was ſince confirmed by *Eugenius* the third, in Anno. 1148. or 1152. Who ſent withal three other palles of Archbiſhops to be placed, one at *Dublin*, one at *Caſhill*, and the laſt at *Twene*.

The Archbiſhoppricks.

29. Suffragans

To theſe were Suffraganes in right, nine and twenty, and they all to the *Primas* of *Armagh*.

Vnder Armagh.

Vnder whoſe Prouince are the Biſhops of *Meeth* and *Deren*, *Ardach*, *Kilmore*, *Cloghere*, *Doune*, *Coner*, *Clonknos*, *Raboo*, *Dromoore*.

Vnder Dublin

Vnder *Dublin*, whereunto *Innocentius* the third vnited *Glandelagh*, the Biſhop of *Elphine*, *Kildare*, *Fernes*, *Oſſorie*, and *Leighlin*.

Vnder Caſhil

Vnder *Caſhill*, the Biſhop of *Waterford*, to whom *Liſmore* is vnited, *Corke* and *Clone*, *Roſſe*, *Ardigh*, *Limerike*, *Emelie*, *Killalooe* and *Ardfert*.

Vnder *Twene*, *Kilmaco*, *Olfine*, *Anaghdonne*, *Clonfert* and *Morroo*.

In this recount ſome difference happeneth, by reaſon of perſonall and reall vnion of the Sees, and for other alterations.

The Names of the Gouernours, Lieutenants, Lord Iuſtices, and Deputies of Ireland, ſince the Conqueſt thereof, by King Henry the ſecond.

The yeares of our Lord.

Richard Strongbow, Earle of *Pembroke*, Gouernour, *Reimond le Grace* beeing ioyned (for his more eaſe) in Commiſſion with him. 1174.

Reimond le Grace, Lieutenant by himſelfe. 1177.

William Fitz-Adelme, Lieutenant, hauing *Iohn de Curcy*, *Robert Fitz-Stephans*, and *Miles Cogan*, ioyned in Commiſſion with him.

Hugh Lacie, Lieutenant.

Iohn Lacie, Conſtable of *Cheſter*, and *Richard de Peche*. } Gouernours. 1182

Hugh Lacy, againe Lieutenant.

Hugh Lacy the younger, Lord Iuſtice.

Henry Loandoris, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*, Lord Iuſtice. 1227.

Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Lord Iuſtice. 1228.

Iohn Fitz-Geffrey, Knight, Lord Iuſtice. 1253.

Alan de la Zouch, Lord Iuſtice.

Stephen de Long Eſpe, Lord Iuſtice. 1258.

William Deane, Lord Iuſtice.

Sir *Richard Rochell*, or *Capell*, Lord Iuſtice. 1261.

Dauid Barry, Lord Iuſtice. 1267.

Robert Vfford, Lord Iuſtice. 1268.

Richard de Exceſter, Lord Iuſtice. 1269.

Iames Lord *Audley*, Lord Iuſtice. 1270

Maurice Fitz-Maurice, Lord Iuſtice. 1272.

Walter, Lord *Genuille*, Lord Iuſtice.

Robert Vfford, againe Lord Iuſtice.

Fulborne,

1281. *Fulborne*, Bishop of *Waterford*, Lord Iustice.
Iohn Stamford, Archbishoppe of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.
William Vescie, Lord Iustice.
1295. *William Dodingsels*, Lord Iustice.
Thomas Fitz-Maurice, Lord Iustice.
1298. *Iohn Wogan*, Lord Iustice.
1384. *Theobald Verdon*, Lord Iustice.
1315. *Edmond Butler*, Lord Iustice.
1317. *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, Lord Iustice.
Alexander Bignor, Archbishop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.
1319. *Roger* Lord *Mortimer*, the second time Lord Iustice.
1320. *Thomas Fitz-Iohn*, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice.
1321. *Iohn Birmingham*, Earle of *Louth*, Lord Iustice.
1323. *Iohn* Lord *Darcy*, Lord Iustice.
1327. *Roger Outlaw*, Prior of *Kilmainan*, Lord Iustice.
Anthony Lord *Lucy*, Lord Iustice.
1332. *Iohn* lord *Darcy*, second time Lord Iustice
Iohn Lord *Charleton*, Lord Iustice.
1333. *Thomas*, Bishop of *Hereford*, L. Iustice.
1339. *Iohn* Lord *Darcy*, ordayned Lord Iustice by Patent, during his life, by King *Edward* the third.
Raphe Vfford, Lord Iustice.
1346. *Robert Darcy*, Lord Iustice.
Iohn Fitz-Maurice, Lord Iustice.
Walter, Lord *Birmingham*, Lord Iustice: his Deputies were *Iohn Archer*, Prior of *Kilmainan*, and Baron *Carew*, with Sir *Thomas Rokesby*.
Maurice Fitz-Thomas, Earle of *Desmond*, had the Office of Lord Iustice, for tearme of his life, by the grant of king *Edward* the third.
Thomas Rokesby, Knight, Lord Iustice.
1355. *Almericke de S. Amand.*
1357. *Iohn Butler*, Earle of *Ormond*. } appointed lord Iustices by
Maurice Fitz-Henry, Earle of *Kildare*. } turnes.
1361. *Lionell*, Duke of *Clarence*, Lord Iustice.
1367. *Gerald Fitz-Maurice*, Earle of *Desmond*, Lord Iustice.
1369. *William* Lord *Windsor*, the first Lieutenant in *Ireland*.
1372. *Roger Ashton*, Lord Iustice.
1381. *Roger Mortimer.* } Iustices & Lieutenants
Phillip Courtney. } especially recorded, in
Iames Earle of *Ormond.* } the dayes of King *Richard* the second.

Robert Vere, Earle of *Oxford*, Marquesse of *Dublin*, created Duke of *Ireland*.
Roger Mortimer Earl of *March*, Lieutenāt. 1394.
Roger Mortimer, Earle of *March* and *Vlster*, Lieutenant.
Roger Grey, Lord Iustice.
Iohn Stanley Knight, Lord Lieutenant.
Thomas of *Lancaster*, brother vnto King *Henry* the 4. Lord Lieutenant; whose Deputies at sundry times, were *Alexander*, Bishop of *Meeth*; *Stephen Scroop*, Knight, and the Prior of *Kilmainan*. 1401.
Iames Butler, Earl of *Ormond*, Lord Iustice 1403.
Gerald, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice.
Iames Butler, Earle of *Ormond*, sonne to the foresaid *Iames*, Lord Iustice. 1407.
Iohn Stanley, againe Lord Lieutenant. 1413.
Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.
Iohn Lord *Talbot* of *Sheffield*, Lieutenant. 1414.
Iames Butler, earle of *Ormond*, the second time Lieutenant. 1420.
Edmond Earle of *March*, *Iames* Earle of *Ormond*, his Deputy. } Lieutenants to king *Hēry* the 6.
Iohn Sutton, Lord *Dudley*; Sir *Thomas Strange*, his Deputy.
Sir *Thomas Stanley*, Sir *Christopher Plunket* his Deputy.
Lion, Lord *Welles*, Deputy to the Earle of *Ormond*.
Iames Earl of *Ormond*, by himselfe.
Iohn Earle of *Shrewsbury*; the Archbishop of *Dublin* (in his absence) Lord Iustice.
Richard Plantagenet, Duke of *Yorke*, Father to King *Edward* the 4. had the Office of Lieutenant, by letters Patents from King *Henry* the sixt, for ten yeares. His Deputies (at sundry times) were the Baron of *Deluin*; *Richard Fitz-Eustace*, Knight; *Iames* Earle of *Ormond*; and *Thomas Fitz-Morris*, Earle of *Kildare*.
Thomas Fitz-Morris, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice in the dayes of King *Edward* the fourth, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After whom, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, brother to the King, had the Office of Lieutenant during his life, and made his Deputies (at sundry times) these men following:
Thomas, Earle of *Desmond.* } Deputies to the D. of *Clarence*
Iohn Tiptoft, Earle of *Worcester.* } 1470.
Thomas, Earle of *Kildare.* }
Henry, Lord *Grey* of *Ruthin.* }
Sir *Rowland Eustace*, Lord Depury.

Richard, Duke of *Yorke*, younger ſonne to King *Edward* the fourth, Lieutenant.

Edward, ſonne to King *Richard* the third, Lieutenant, his Deputy was *Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*.

1494. *Iaſper*, Duke of *Bedford*, and Earle of *Penbroke*, Lieutenant: his Deputy was *Walter*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.

1501. *Edward Poynings* Knight, Lord Deputy.

Henry, Duke of *Yorke*, afterward King, by the name of *Henry* the eight, Lieutenant: his Deputy was *Gerald*, Earle of *Kildare*.

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Deputy.

1520. *Thomas Howard*, Earle of *Surrey*, afterward Duke of *Norfolke*, Lieutenant.

Piers Butler, Earle of *Oſſorie*, L. Deputy.

1523. *Gerald Fitz-Gerald*, Earl of *Kildare*, again Lord Deputy.

The Baron of *Dublin*, Lord Deputy.

1529. *Piores Butler*, Earle of *Oſſory*, againe Lord Deputy.

William Skeffington Knight, Lord Deputy

Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of *Kildare*, the third time Lord Deputy.

William Skeffington, againe Lord Deputy.

Leonard Lord *Grey*, Lord Deputy.

1535. Sir *William Bereton*, Knight, Lord Iuſtice.

1540. Sir *Anthony Sentleger* Knight, L. Deputy.

1541.

¶ The Names of all the Lords, Deputies, and Iuſtices in *Ireland*, ſince the death of King *Henry* the eight, whō dyed in Ianuary, 1546.

1546. SIR *Anthony Sentleger* Knight, by Patent, dated 24. *Martij*. *Anno primo Edw.6.*

1546. Sir *Edward Bellingham*, Lord Deputy, 22. *Aprilis Anno eodem.*

1547. Sir *Francis Brian*, Lord Iuſtice.

1548. Sir *William Brabeſton*, Lord Iuſtice.

1549. Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, the third time lord Deputy, 4. Auguſt.

1550. Sir *Iames Croftes*, Lord Deputy, 29. *Aprilis.*

1551. Sir *Anthony Sentleger*, the fourth time Lord Deputy, September 1. *Anno primo Reg. Marie.*

1553. *Thomas* Lord *Fitz-Walter*, Lord Deputy, 27. *Aprilis.*

1555. Sir *Henry Sidney*. } Lords Iuſti-

1556. Doctor *Coren*, or *Corwen*. } ces.

Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Iuſtice alone, 18. *Ianuary.*

1556. *Thomas* Earle of *Suſſex*, Lord Lieutenant 19. *Martij.*

1557. Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Iuſtice.

1558. *Thomas* Earle of *Suſſex*, Lord Deputy, 6. *Maij Anno primo Reg. Elizab.*

1559. Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Lord Iuſtice.

1564. Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy the third time.

1565. Doctor *Weſton*, Lord Chancellor.

Sir *William Fitz Williams.*

1567. Sir *Henry Sidney*, lord Deputy the fourth time.

1568. Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy, 11. *Deeemb. Anno* 14. *Elizab.*

1570. Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy the fift time, *Auguſt* 3.

1571. Sir *William Drury*, Lord Iuſtice, 14. *September*, by Patent, 18. *May.*

1572. Sir *William Pelham*, Lord Iuſtice.

1579. The Lord *Arthur Grey.*

1580. *Adam*, Archbiſhop of *Dublin.* } Lords Iuſtices.

1580. Sir *Henry Wallop.* }

1582. Sir *Iohn Perot*, Lord Deputy.

1584. Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, Lord Deputy.

1588. Sir *William Ruſſell*, Lord Deputy.

1595. *Thomas*, Lord *Burrough*, Lord Deputy.

1597. *Robert* Earle of *Eſſex*, Lord Lieutenant.

1599. *Charles Blount*, Baron *Montioy*, Lord Deputy.

1600. Sir *George Carew*, Lord Deputy.

1602. Sir *Arthur Chicheſter*, Lord Deputy.

1604. Sir *Oliuer S. Iohn*, Lord Deputy, who yet to this day, continueth in that honourable Office.

1618.

CHAP. II.

A brieſe Diſcourſe, how thoſe parts and Countries, commonly called, The New World, were firſt found: Alſo, by whom, and what things were there found, and ſeene, and brought away thence.

The Windes and Weather will be Commanders at Sea.

A Caruell ſayling on the *Spaniſh* Seas, there fell a tempeſt, comming ſo impetuouſly from the Eaſt, the Windes growing ſtill ſo croſſe and contrary; that at length it was tranſpor-

transported into an vnknowne Country, which neuer was in any Carde for Nauigation. Staying there longer time, then was or could be allowed for returning; no more remayned liuing then the Pilote or Maister, and three or foure Mariners beside: who also falling sicke, by extreamitie of hunger and tedious labour, dyed also at a Port some few daies distance from thence.

In the house of Christopher Columbus died the Pilote Andaluzo.

But the Pilote, whose name was *Andaluzo*, dyed in the house of one *Christopher Columbus*, a natiue of *Cuguero*, or (as some others say) of *Albizolo*, a small village on the riuer of *Genes*, neare to *Sauona*. With this *Colombus* remayned all the Pilotes goods of the sayd Caruell, and especially the Papers and Memories of that whole voyage, reporting the height of the lands, which by them had beene discouerd, and found. Some say, that the sayd *Andaluzo* trafficked in *Canaria* and *Madera*, when this long and fatall nauigation happened. Others also tearme him a *Biscane*, which dealt with *England* and *France*: and some repute him a *Portuguize*, that went and came from *Myrrha* or *India*. Others agayne report, that the said Caruell went into *Portugall*, or to *Madera*, and other Ilands; but none doe assure any thing for certaine. It is no maruell then, if Authors do disagree in many points, concerning things happening, or found by graue Ancients, and that the Inuenters of them are not to be knowne; when our selues are ignorant of matters, within the compasse of so small time since, for finding the Occidentall or Westerne Isles (which we call the *New-found World*) and which was a matter so signall, nouell, and remarkable.

Variety of opinions concerning this Andaluzo.

Needs must many Antiquities be lost, when later times neglect all memorie.

But all agree together, that this *Andaluzo* dyed in the house of the sayd *Christopher Columbus*; who hauing (at the first) beene a Sayler or Mariner, had practised in diuers parts of the world. Afterward, hee learned diligently the measure of the two Tropickes, of the Equator, and of the Clymates, proouing an expert Maister, in making Cardes to sayle by. And to be informed concerning the Meridionall coasts of *Affrica*, and of other places where the *Portugalls* had sayled: he went into *Portugall*, to the end he might make his Cards the better, and there he married. Or, as some say, in the Isle of *Madera*: where it may be credited (as most likely)

What Christopher Columbus was at his beginning.

that he dwelt when the said Caruell coasted there; and the Patron or Pilote thereof lodged in his house, where he recounted to him the voyage he had made, and the new lands by him discouered: to the end that *Columbus* might set them downe in his Carde, wherein he was further enstructed by him.

Reasons of apparant likelihoode in the case of Columbus.

It is generally supposed, that *Columbus* was a learned man, a good Geographer, very singularly experienced in Astronomy and Cosmography; and that hee laboured to finde the land of the *Antipodes*, and *Il Rico Cipango de Marco Polo*. Moreouer, he was often heard to say, that (necessarily) by good coniectures, there was another world, which extended it selfe towards the West: whereof *Plato*, *Seneca*, and many other Authors, both Greek and Latin, did leaue to Cosmographers some good and considerable arguments. Also, that he had read many good ancient Authours, who, in the place where they discourse on the great *Athlanticke* Isle; make mention of a land vnknowne and concealed, more great then *Asia* or *Affrica*. And especially *Aristotle*, writing, that certaine Merchants of *Carthage*, sayling in those parts of *Gibralterre*, towards the West & South, after many dayes, found a great Iland inhabited, with Riuers nauigable.

Thegenerall opinion concerning Columbus, touching his sufficiency in learning and iugement.

But, after all this so diuersly deliuered, on the behalfe of *Columbus*, it is most certaine, that he was not learned, but of good iudgement and vnderstanding, and receiuing notice of these new Lands, by the meanes of *Andaluzo*; he conferred with diuers learnd and iudicious men, concerning what had aunciently beene written of other lands and worlds. And the sayd *Columbus*, wanting meanes to bring to passe what he so earnestly desired, because he was poore; stoode in neede of some farre greater fauour, whereby hee might discouer those lands.

The Authors further examination, and final conclusion as touching Columbus.

Perceiuing then, that the King of *Portugall* was hindered by his enterprize of *Africa*, & nauigation into the East, which he had then in readines, and that the king of *Castile* was busied about the warre of *Granada*: he sent his brother, named *Bartholomew*, to *Henry* the seauenth, king of *England*, a very rich and potent Prince, (who had at that present time no warres or troubles) to furnish him with fauour and shippes apt and fit for the enterprize,

Kings, whose help he intended to haue mooued.

promising to bring him home from those vnknowne Islands (and in small time) vnvaluable treasures. But *Bartholmew* returning thence without any resolution; he began to negotiate with *Alphonsus* the fift, King of *Portugall*: of whom he could neyther haue fauour nor money, to finde such wealth as he had promised; because the Bishop of *Viso*, and one Master *Roderick*, men greatly experienced in Cosmography, contraried him therein, confidently assuring; that there could not bee in the West, any such gold or treasure, as *Columbus* spake of.

Columbus hindered in dealing with the King of Portugall.

Beeing much dismayed and out of comfort (yet his heart encouraging him still, with hope of a happy and successefull aduenture) and being embarqued at *Lisborne*: hee set thence to *Paly de Moguera*, where he spake with *Alphonso Pinzono*, a Pylot well skild in the arte of Nauigation: there also he discouered his secret to to *Iohn Perez*, a Fryar Minor, in the Conuent of S. *Frances de la Rubida*, a most excellent Cosmographer. These men encouraged him to follow his enterprize, councelling him further, to impart the businesse to *Henry*, Duke *de Medina Sidonia*, and then to *Lodwick*, Duke *de Medina Cœlia*, who, in his Port of S. *Maria*, had good and commodious meanes to prouide Shipping, and people apt for such a businesse. But these two Dukes helde this Voyage and Nauigation, for no other then as a dreame or phantasma; euen as the Kings of *England* and *Portugall* did. In regard whereof, the poore grey Fryar aduised him to goe to the Court of the Catholique King, and (on his behalfe) wrote to Fryar *Ferdinando de Talaueia*, Confessour to the Queene.

Columbus though discouraged, will not yet be wholly disheartened.

Columbus followed this aduice of the Fryar, and came to the Court of *Castile*, in the yeare 1486. and (by written petition) presented both his sight and demand, to King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Elizabeth*, who made no great account thereof; as hauing their mindes troubled, for expelling the *Moores* out of *Granado*. He grew then to speake with some, that had neerer eare about the King, and were of most employment with his Maiesty, to negotiate in affaires of importance. But because he was a stranger, meanly habited, and without any other credit, then being commended by a poore Fryar Minor: he

The 2. Dukes of Medina acquainted with this great offer, & refused it also

His petition to the Catholique King Ferdinand & his Queene, & neglecting where he had greatest hope.

was no way beleeued, and much worse listened vnto; whereat *Columbus* grew very greatly displeased.

Alphonso Quinta-villa, Great Chamberlaine or Treasurer to the King, kept him in his house, and dietted him at his owne table, taking great delight to heare him talke of such things, as he made promise of in vnknowne Countries. By the helpe of this Great Treasurer, *Columbus* found the meanes, to haue accesse & audience with *Gonzales de Mendozza*, arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and Cardinall, who had great credit and authority with their Maiesties. This Lord brought him to the Kings presence, and, after the case was well examined and vnderstood (notwithstanding all was esteemed vaine and false, which *Columbus* had spoken off in the beginning) yet hope was giuen him of expedition, and imployment in his voyage of Nauigation, to those Islands vnknown; so soone as the King had taken order for the war of *Granado*, which then lay heauily on his hand.

Some meanes of entrance for Columbus to worke by.

Columbus, vpon this answere, began to mount his hopes farre higher then before, and was then graciously both heard and esteemed of all the Courtiers, who laughed and made a mockery of him at the first. After the surprizall of *Granado*, he preuailed so successefully, that the Catholique King consented vnto his request, for passage into those vnknowne parts: assigning vnto him in gift, the tenth part of the Rents and Royall tributes, in all the Lands found and conquered: but without preiudice (notwithstanding) to all rights belonging to the King of *Portugall*. And because the King was then vnfurnished of money for this expedition; *Lodouico*, Secretary for his accounts, lent him seuenteene thousand Ducats: by meanes whereof, *Columbus* armed & furnished * three Caruels at *Pally de Moguera*, and in them fitted 120. men, aswell Marriners as Soldiours.

Columbus was promised supply by the Catholique King.

Of one, hee made *Martino Alphonso Pinzono* the Guide and Conducter. Of the second, *Francesco* & *Vincentio Aeneio*, Brethren to the said *Martino*. And himselfe was Captaine and Commander of the greatest Caruell among them; taking also with him his Brother *Bartholmew*, who (in like manner) was very practicke and well experienced on the Seas. From

Christopher Columbus (by meanes of the Catholique King) armed three Caruels to goe finde out the New World

* Paulus Iouius saith fiue

His ordering of the Caruels, and setting foorth on his Voyage.

Paly

Paly he ſet forward on Friday, beeing the third day of Auguſt, and held on his voyage betweene the Weſt and South, paſſing by *Gomera*, one of the *Canary* Iſlands, where he ſtayed for a ſmall refreſhing; & thence onward, followed the directions giuen him in the papers and memories of deceaſed *Andaluzo*.

Hauing ſayled eight dayes, he eſpied ſo much graſſe or Herbage, as if it ſeemed to be a Meadow; whereof (at firſt) he & all grew doubtfull, although ther was no danger at all, and backe they would haue returned, but that they ſaw diuers Willow trees a farre off, which gaue an euident and moſt certaine ſigne, that ſome Land muſt needs be neere.

After 8. dayes ſayling, Roderick de Traiana was the firſt man that diſcouered Land.

On the morrowe following, which was the eleauenth day of Nouember, in the yeare 1492. *Rodericke de Traiana*, beganne to cry out alowd, Land, Land: at which words, all ran to ſee whether they were true or no; and hauing likewiſe diſcouered that it was firme Land, they beganne to praiſe GOD, and ſung *Te Deum Laudamus*, mourning euen vvith great exceſſe of ioy, and proud of a hopefull proceeding.

Their fyrſt landing at Guabanay, betwen Florida & Cuba.

The firſt land which they ſaw, was *Guabanay*, one of the Iſles *Lucages*, ſituated betweene *Florida* and *Cuba*; where ſodenly they went on ſhoare, and there tooke poſſeſſion of the *New world*. From *Guabanay* they went to *Barucon*, the Porte of *Cuba*, & there tooke ſome Indians, and returning backe to the Iſle of *Hayti*, caſt anchor in the Port, which *Columbus* called *Porte Royall*. There haſtily they were faine to land againe; becauſe the chief Caruell ſmote againſt a rocke, and began to rift; but yet no perſon was in perill. When the inhabitants of the Iſle ſaw the Spanyards come on ſhore ſo ſpeedily, and with their Armes: they fled from the ſea ſide vp to the Mountaines; imagining them to bee the *Carybes* or *Canibales*, that came to aſſaile them.

The Indians feareful of the Spaniardes at their landing.

After them ran the Spaniards, as haſtily as they might, and yet could take none but one woman, vnto whom they gaue Bread, Wine, and Comfittes, as alſo a ſmocke, and other Garments, becauſe ſhe was naked, and ſo ſent her away after the reſt. She went and told her country people, how kindly ſhee had bin vſed, ſhewing them the giftes beſtowed vppon her:

A woman Indian taken & cloathed, and let loſe againe.

which cauſed them preſently to come downe againe to the Sea ſide, to ſpeake with the Spaniards, without any vnderſtanding on either ſide, otherwiſe then by ſignes, euen as dumbe folke vſe to do. They brought Birds, Bread, Fruits, Gold, and other things, to giue in exchange for Ballads, Beads, Glaſſes, Needles, Sizers, Pinnes, and other ſuch like things, to the no little ioy and comfort of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, who ſaluted, embraced, & reuerendly entreated the Lord of that land, being of his people called *Cachico*, & gifts paſſed betweene one another, in ſigne of loue and amity.

Cachico the fyrſt Indian Prince ſeene by Columbus.

The Indians brought boats of theyr owne, wherein to beſtowe the goodes of the cheefe Caruell that was broken, and brought them on Land with the Spanyards, ſo louingly, euen as if they hadde dwelt all their life time among them: falling downe in reuerence to the Croſſe, and beating themſelues on the breſts, like vnto Chriſtians.

The kind offices of the Indians to the Spaniards.

Now *Columbus*, thinking no time ſoon enough for his returne to Spaine, with newes to the Catholike King, of what he had ſeene and done, preuailed ſo wel with the prompt and ſodaine conſent of *Cachico*, and the aſſiſtance of his ſubiects: as to build a Caſtle of Woode and Earth; wherein hee left eight and thirty Spanyards, vnder the charge of Captaine *Roderigo d'Arma*, of *Cordoua*: to the end, that during his voyage, they might learne the Language and ſecrets, both of the Nation and Countrey. And this was the firſt inhabiting of the Spanyardes in the *Indiaes*.

Columbus, by conſent of Cachico, & help of his people, builded a Caſtle of Wood and earth.

The Caſtle being finiſhed, *Columbus* tooke with him tenne Indian men, forty Parrats, many Tortoiſes, Conies, and other ſtrange thinges, farre differing from ours in forme and nature, as teſtimonies of the places where hee had found them. He brought aboord alſo into his ſhips, all the Golde which the people of the countrey had giuen him, in exchange of thoſe toyes and trifles which hee returned for them. And, after hee had taken leaue of his friendly Companions, appointed to remaine there in his abſence, as alſo of *Guacanari* (for ſo was the *Cachico* or king of that Countrey named) who was verie ſorry and loath, that hee ſhould depart thence, he ſent away with two Caruels,

Such things as Columbus caried aboord his Ships with in.

wherin

wherein were all the other Spaniardes of the voyage, except the eight and thirtie before remembred, and (hauing a succesfull winde) arriued at *Paly* within 50. daies or somewhat lesse.

Columbus goeth to Barcellona to the K. and Queen

The Catholike King and queene vvere then at *Barcellona*, whither *Columbus* went to see them; and although it was a long way, and he had many things to carry: yet notwithstanding, they were all conueyed with him by Land, and hee was welcommed vnto the Court with great Honour. Infinite people flocked about him, to see the things which hee brought from the New-found Worlde, which were of extraordinary wealth and riches, beside the strange men, of such colour and habit, as neuer hadde the like beene seene before. Some sayde, that hee had found the Nauigation, concealed from the *Carthagenians*. And others affirmed it, to be that which *Plato* had written of to bee lost by fortune, and by an ouer-great quantity of mudde or slime encreasing in the Sea. Some other helde another opinion, saying, That that which *Seneca* had foretold was now accomplished, speaking in his Tragedy of *Medea* after this manner. *The time vvill come, that (manie yeares hence) New Worldes shall bee found, and that their Thile could not bee the furthest part of the earth.*

The peoples variety in opinion concerning this voyage of Columbus.

Senec. in Traged. Medea.

Finally, *Columbus* entred the Court of Spaine, the third day of April, a yeare after he had departed thence, presenting to their Maiesties, the Golde and all thinges else which he had brought from the New World; vvhereat the King, Queene, and all then present, meruailed not a little, to see such rare things, all (but the gold) nouell and vnaccustomed vnto theyr sight. They highly commended the Parrats, being of so many goodly colours; some of an extraordinary shining green, others of a liuely red or Vermillion colour, intermixed vvith many other of choise splendour, little or nothing at all resembling them that vvere brought from other places. The Conies were small, hauing their eares and tayles like vnto Rats, and their colour grizeld. Also they greatly praised the Cockes of those Countreyes, beeing farre more beautifull then Pea-cockes, wondering besides, that those Countries yeelded no other Corne, and no other bread was yet fedde on there, but such as was made of rootes and the like thinges. But their cheefest meruaile was at the men, who had little circklets or Buckles of Gold hanging in their eares, and finely pierced through their nostrilles: theyr bodies being neither white nor black, or browne, but like vnto an Oliue colour, or boyled Quinces.

No mean admiration in the King Queene and Courtiers at the rare nouelties brought by Columbus.

The Indian men wer their greatest matter of maruell

Very attentiue was the King, to heare what a worthy Relation *Columbus* made, wondering greatly, that the people shold haue no Habite, Learning, Mony, Iron, Corne, Wine, neyther any Animall which was greater then a Dogge, nor Shippes or Boates of any bignesse. And much was his patience mooued, when he heard him tell, that they did eate one another, being all Idolaters. But hee promised, that if God pleased to blesse him with life and health: he would free them from that horrible inhumanity, and root Idolatrie out of those Lands, that could bee reduced vnder his dominion and power. In like manner, hee extended great fauour and courtesie to *Columbus*, commanding that he should sit down before him, because (according to the custome of Spaine) the Gentlemen and other attendants, stand alwayes in the Kings presence, for greater honour to the Royall authority.

The people did eate one another, and were Idolaters.

Obseruance in the Court of Spaine.

Moreouer, he confirmed his grant and priuiledge, concerning the tenth part of reuennewes in the saide Lands, giuing him the title and Office of Admirall of the *Indiaes*, and made his Brother *Barthol-mew* Lieutenant or vice-Admiral to him. All which beeing done, a Courrier or Poaste was dispatched vnto Rome, with letters concerning the New-found lands, to his Maiesties ambassadors, whom (but some few moneths before) he had sent to congratulate Pope *Alexander* the sixt, at his new creation, and (on his behalfe) to do him obeysance. Which letters of full and further information, they deliuered to his Holinesse; he not a little reioycing at these good newes, as the like did al the Roman Court. In regard wherof, the holy Father, with consent of the whole Colledge of Cardinals, made a new donation to the Kinges of *Castile* and *Leon*, of all the Isles and firme lands that should bee found in the West: with charge to send Preachers thither, for conuersion of the Infidels.

Columbus made Admirall of the Indiaes.

News of these Indian discoueries, sent to Rome to pope Alexander the sixt.

When

Columbus sent againe, with more power to the Indiaes.

When the Catholike King had receyued this ioyfull answer from the Pope, he sent *Christopher Columbus* againe, with more store of people, for further trafficking in this New-found World, and for vtter destruction of Idolatry, and adoration giuen to false Gods. For the better furtherance heerein, by *Iohn Fonsequeio*, Deane of *Siuell*, he sent eight Caruelles, making him President of those countries. He sent also twelue Priestes, of vertuous life, and good leatning, with Friar *Buileio Catellano*, of the order of S. *Benedict*, who went to be Vicar-Generall for the Pope: to the end, that those Ecclesiasticall persons might preach the word of God, conuerting the people to the Faith of Iesus Christ, and do all things appertaining to the conuersion of soules.

A Vicar Generall sent on the Popes behalfe.

Beside all this, many Knights & courtiers, moued by the fame and desire of riches in the same Countries, and earnest affection to see them; went along with them in company, hauing diuers Artezans among them, as Goldsmithes, Taylors, Masons, Carpenters, Laborers, Fishermen, and such like persons, fit for diuers imployments.

The King and Queene Catholike, sent preachers and handy-crafts men into the Indiaes.

The King caused also (at his own charge) to be bought some store of Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, and Asses, that breede might there ensue of them. Great store also was sent of Wheat, Barly, and Graine of all kindes to sowe; with Slips, Sprigs of Vines, Sugar Canes, and Plants of sweete fruites, as also Chalk and Lime to build withall. In breefe, they carried diuers other things for the like needefull vses; entertaining into this seruice 1500. Soldiers, which *Columbus* shipt at *Cadiz* the 25. day of September, 1493. and good prouision of Artillery.

His second setting to sea againe for the West Indiaes.

Proceeding on in his voyage, & much more neere to the Equinoctiall then hee did before in his first passage; he came to arriue and take landing in an Iland, which he tearmed by the name of *Desire*, and without any staying there, won the Port *D'Argent*, in the Isle called *Hispaniola*. Passing on thence to *Porte Royalle*, where he had left the eight and thirtie Spanyards, who were all slaine by the Indians, beecause they had lustfully forced their wiues and done them many outrages besides. *Columbus* being displeased hereat, yet shewing no outward discontentment, immediately commanded his Masons & other men to fall to worke, for the building of a Towne, which (in honor of the Queene) he named *Isabella*.

A Town builded by Columbus, and called Isabella in honour of the queene.

He builded also a Fort or castle among the Mines of *Cibao*, where he established as Gouernor, *Moyses Marguarito*, & sent twelue Caruels thence into Spain by *Antonio de Turco*, which carried many grains of Golde, one especially amongst them, weighing eight ounces, which was found by *Alphonso de Houieda*. Hee sent likewise many Parrats, very faire and goodly, and certaine Indian *Caribes*, being such as fed on the flesh of men, bred and born in the Island of *Acay*, which hee called *Santa Cruz*, and hee himselfe, went with three Caruels more, to finde out other Lands: where he found *Cubo* on the South-side, and *Ianianca*, with other small Isles in diuers parts.

Columbus findeth out diuers other small Islandes

At his teturne backe, he found many Spaniards dead and sicke, and some that hadde carried themselues scarsely honest with their companions: whereof he commanded some to bee hanged, and others to be well beaten, that had giuen forth euill speeches of him. By means whereof, he had some talke with the Vicare to the Pope, who had written to the King; accusing *Columbus* of cruelty and couetousnesse: which caused his Maiestie to send thither his Chamberlain *Iohn de Aguado*, who sent *Columbus* into Spaine prisoner, to render an account of his behauiour to the King.

Spaniards hanged for misdemeanor and Columbus accused to the king by the Popes Vicar.

Christopher Columbus obeying the kings command, went away to iustify himselfe. And arriuing at *Medina del Campo* (where as then the Court was) hee came before the King and Queene, presenting infinite graines of Gold to them; some whereof, weighed fifteene, and twenty Ounces a peece, with great lumps of Amber, goodly wilde Oliue trees, and wonderfull huge plumes of Parrats Feathers, vsed & worn by the Indians, beside many other strange things.

Columbus returned as a prisoner into Spaine.

He made report also vnto their Maiesties, concerning the Countries founde by him, greatly commending the Islands for their admirable riches; declaring beside, that in the moneth of December, which we hold to be the heauiest time of all Winter, that the Birds there, do then produce their yong ones on the trees; &

Columbus his appearing before the King and Queene.

in

The wonderfull plentie yielded by the earth.

in March, the wilde raiſins were ripe; and corne (ſowne in Ianuarie) yeelded graine within ſeauentie dayes, Lettice and all rootes grew to be very great. Afterward, he gaue a faithfull report to the king, concerning the behauiour of the Spaniards, how he had puniſhed ſome; and inflicted death vppon other, to the end, that his iuſtification might the more plainely appeare.

Greatly did the King both commend and thanke him for his good ſeruice, and knowing, that hee had doone no more then Iuſtice; declared him to be abſolued of all imputations layed vnto his charge, furniſhing him with eight ſhippes, for the finding out of other Countries: two whereof *Columbus* ſent before with victualles and munition, and with the other ſixe ſhippes, himſelfe ſet away from Saint *Luca de Barrameda*, about the end of the month of Maie, in the yeare of our Lord God, one thouſand foure hundred ninetie and ſeauen. And becauſe fame and rumour of *Indian* treaſure did ſpread it ſelfe, enciting diuers Pirates of *Frauuce* to make voyages ebroade: hee went to *Madera*, and from thence hee ſent three ſhippes, by the right way, for the Iſland called *Hiſpaniola*, with three hundred baniſhed men; and with the other three ſhippes, he went vnto the Iſle of *Cape de Verd*, to make his voyage very neare to the Æquinoctiall, arriuing at the laſt in a great Countrey of firme land. On hee went coaſting three hundred leagues, beyond the Cape with full ſayle, and thwarting the Sea, came to Saint *Dominico*, a towne belonging to his brother *Bartholomew*, and builded on the Riuer *Ozama*, where hee was receiued to be gouernor, as was contained in his Letters of priuiledge and grant, which the King Catholique had made vnto him, and which hee brought thither with him. Albeit ſome were much diſpleaſed thereat, and his brother *Bartholomew* did not greatly like it: becauſe (in his abſence) till now, he had the care and managing of all affaires.

Columbus returneth honorably to the Indiaes.

His voyage very neare to the Equinoctiall.

Columbus hauing taken on him the gouernement, and made many enterpriſes againſt them of the Countrey, finding out many other Iſlands beſide; grew to be enuied by the Spaniards, and in ſuch ſort, that a man named *Roldan Simenes* (a great Poteſtate or Iudge) mutined againſt him,

Enuy againſt Columbus by Roldan Simenes and his aſſociates, and great complaints written againſt him to the King.

and three-ſcore and ten men more, all leagued and coniured againſt him, who forſaking *Columbus*, went to *Siragua*, and wrote infinite euilles of him and his brethren to the King. His Maieſtie, beeing not a little mooued, that matters ſhould be thus combuſtuous in the *Indiaes*, and the Queene taking it very heauily: ſuddenly ſent *Franceſco de Bouadello*, a knight of good repute, to be gouernour in thoſe parts, and giuing him authoritie, eyther to puniſh or impriſon the faultie.

This man came to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and foure Caruells with him, in the yeare, one thouſand foure hundred ninetie and nine; and after hee had made inquiſition in the Citie of *Dominico*; he ſent *Chriſtopher Columbus*, with *Bartholomew* and *Diego* his brethren, all priſoners to *Spaine*, with yron fetters on their feete. Being landed at *Cadez*, they were deliuered, by Commiſſion ſent from the King, and commanded to appeare at the court. *Columbus* readily obeyed thereto, and could ſo well ſhape his excuſes (mingled with teares and ſighes very paſſionately) that the King hauing heard him, and knowing his fidelitie, ſent him againe (three yeares after) with foure Caruells, to diſcouer more new Countries, and this was in the yeare of our Lord God, 1502. or thereabouts.

Columbusand his two brethren Bartholomew and Diego ſent priſoners into Spaine fetterd in yrons.

Columbus againe ſent to the Indiaes with foure Caruells.

Columbus being come to the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and arriuing neare to the riuer *Ozama*, *Nicholas de Ouanda* Gouernour of the Iſle, would not ſuffer his entrance into the Cittie of Saint *Dominico*, whereat *Columbus* being much diſtaſted, ſent in to tell him: That if he might not come into the citty, which he himſelfe had cauſed to be builded; he would goe finde out an other Port, where he might be in better aſſurance. So parting thence, and coueting to ſearch the Straits, for paſſing beyond the Æquinoctiall, which he had promiſed the King to doe: hee drew directly towards the Weſt, withall, turning to the Cape of *Niguerra*, following ſtill the Meridionall coaſt, returning then to *Cuba*, and after to *Ianianca*, where hee loſt two Gallies, and with two other he went to diſcouer new lands. But not without great harmes and perills endured before, for ſome of his followers grew ſicke, and certaine other Spaniards made warre vpon him.

Columbus denied entrance into Saint Dominico, goeth on to ſeek his further fortune.

Franceſ-

Franceſco de Porras, Captaine of one Galley, and *Diego*, brother to *Columbus*, hauing taken certayne ſmall Barkes, went towards the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*: where the Natiues and Inhabitants ſeeing them; would admit them to haue no Victualls, but laide trappes and traines to kill them. Whereuppon, *Chriſtopher Columbus* calling ſome of them to him, reproued their lacke of kindneſſe and charity, entreating them to ſell him ſome victuals; aduiſing them further, that except they did ſuccor them, all they in the Iſland ſhould dye of the plague. And to giue them a ſigne as witneſſe of his words, he tolde them, that ſuch a day it would ſo come to paſſe; as they ſhould ſee the Moone whollie as red as bloode, and quite contrarie to her former condition.

The ingratitude of the people to Columbus in denying him vittailes, and conſpiring againſt his life.

Afterwardes, when they behelde the Moone Ecclipſed, at the ſame houre of the day, as *Columbus* had foretolde (not knowing any rules of Aſtrologie) they verily beleeued his words. And, crauing pardon of him, deſired him not to be offended with them; & brought him what victuals he could deſire. By this meanes, *Columbus* hauing gotten the victorie againſt thoſe Spaniards, gaue a name vnto the Port, calling it *Porta S. Gloria*.

The death of Chriſtopher Columbus at Valydolid in Spaine.

Returning home afterward into Spain, to yeelde an account of all that hee had done, being arriued at *Valyllolid*; a ſickeneſſe ſeized on him, whereof hee dyed in May, in the yeare 1586. and was enterred at *Siuill*, in the Monaſtery of the Charter-houſe Monkes. During his life time, he was a man very patient in all his Trauailes, and in foure voyages which hee made into the *Indiaes*, both founde and conquered many Countries, vtterly vnknowne before: beſide, he builded a great part of the Towns and Caſtles in the Iſle of *Hiſpaniola*, purchaſing great renowne, by bringing to end many actions, ſo well deſeruing glory and fame; that his name can neuer be forgotten, or Spaine ceaſe to ſpeake, in giuing him ſuch true honour as he worthily merited.

The two worthy ſonnes to Chriſtopher Columbus.

He had two Sonnes, *Don Diego*, who was married to Madam *Maria* of *Tolledo*, daughter to *Don Ferdinando*, great Commandadore of *Leon*; and *Don Ferdinando*, who was neuer married, but hee had a Library, conſiſting of more then twelue thouſand Volumes, and which (at this preſent) is in the Conuent of Saint *Dominico* at *Seuill*, a worthy deede of the ſon to ſo famous a Father. As for King *Ferdinand*, he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred and ſixteene, hauing reigned fortie and two yeares, in the two kingdomes of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*: Queene *Elizabeth* his wife dyed before him, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1604.

The Library of Don Ferdinando, ſon to Chriſtofer Columbus.

Before wee cloſe vp this Diſcourſe of the *New-found World*, it ſhall not varie much from the matter, to ſpeake of a ſtrange opinion, among the people there naturally liuing; concerning the firſt men that euer were in the world, and likewiſe of the generall Floud or Deluge, as I doe finde it ſet downe by the worthy Gentleman of *Fraunce*, *Anthony du Verdier*, lord of *Vaaprinaz*, in this manner.

The peoples opiniõ of the firſt men in the world, & of the deluge

Among the Inhabitants of the Weaſt *Indiaes*, or *New world*, a common and generall receiued opinion was embraced with them, that (at the beginning of the world) from the Septentrionall or Northerne partes, there came a man called *Con*, or *Conon*, who had no bones in his whole body, and therefore went verie quicke and lightly, much ſhortening the wayes, abaſing the hills and mountaines, and raiſing the lowe-layd vallies, onelie with his word and will, and named himſelfe to be the ſonne of the Sunne.

Con, or Conon, a man without bones in his fleſh.

This man filled the earth with men and women, which he produced, giuing vnto them diuers fruites, and other things neceſſary for humane life. But by a diſpleaſure he receiued from them, hee conuerted the earth (which hee before had freely giuen them) into a drie and barren ſand, and tooke away the raine alſo, that it ſhould neuer more ſhowre downe, nor moiſture any place. Yet, as pittying their miſery, he left them riuers onely, to the end, that they might conſerue themſelues, in watering the grounds by theyr owne paine and labour.

A heauie diſpleaſure conceiued by Conon againſt men.

At length came one *Pachamo*, who was like-wiſe ſonne both to the Sunne and Moone, and (hauing expelled or baniſhed *Conon*) conuerted thoſe men into Cattes, and afterward created other men. The people tooke this man to be a God, and ſo he was generally reputed: vntill the Chriſtians came into thoſe countries, hauing erected a very good Temple vnto him,

Pachamo came and expulſed Conõ.

Oracles and Anſwers of diuells in their Temple by Lima.

him, neare to *Lima*, it beeing the moſt renowned in all thoſe lands: becauſe of extraordinary deuotion there vſed, in regard of Oracles and Anſweres, which diuells gaue to Prieſts and Sacrificers there dwelling in diuers places. The Spaniards carried away all the golde and ſiluer (in wonderfull heapes) out of this Temple, and all the Oracles and Viſions ceaſed, diuine prayers hauing beene ſayd there, the Sacraments adminiſtred, and the Croſſe placed where the Idolles ſtoode, which cauſed no mean maruell and feare among the *Indians*.

Their opiniõ concerning a generall Deluge or drowning of the world.

Moreouer they ſayd, that at a certaine time it rained ſo extreamely, that all the lowe grounds and lands were drowned, and all the world likewiſe; except ſuch as could hide themſelues within ſome caues, which were among the high mountaines, hauing little doores or mouthes of entrance, and cloſed ſo faſt to them, as no water could gaine the leaſt paſſage in, and therein alſo they had ſtore of foode and beaſts. Afterwards, when they felt the raine and water to be ſomewhat paſſed ouer, they ſent foorth two dogges, which returned all wet and beſmeared: whereby they iudged that the waters were not (as yet) wholly ſhrunke and gone away.

By what meanes they gathered the ceſſation of the waters.

Within ſome while after, they put foorth many dogges together, which returned in againe, drie and ſleeke as when they went abroade. And by this meanes they conceiued, that the waters were quite ſpent; and ſo came foorth agayne to dwell vppon the earth: where theyr greateſt paine and trauell was to kill infinite Serpents, which the mightie extreamitie of mudde and ſlime had engendred euery where.

Their acknolegement of the worlds ending.

They beleeue an end of the world; but that a great drought ſhall goe before it, and that the Sunne and Moone (which they all adore and reuerence) ſhall looſe themſelues. And, vppon this occaſion, they make cries and lamentations whenſoeuer the Ecclypſes happen: but eſpecially them of the Sunne, as fearing then, that the Sunne, they, and all the whole World, ſhall be quite conſumed and deſtroyed together.

CHAP. III.

¶ *Of the Excellencie and Dignitie of Marriage: with many ſingular and worthy examples, tending to that purpoſe.*

CONcerning our preſent argument, wee haue had a chapter alreadie in our former Volume, declaring verie much good matter to that effect, but yet iuſtly deſeruing this addition or ſupplement; in regard, that nothing can be ſayd too much in the honour of Marriage. This holy inſtitution of Marriage, was made in the earthly Paradiſe before ſinne, in the time of Innocencie, when as God ſaid to our firſt Parents. *Bring foorth fruit, and multiplie, and fill the earth*. But it was not brought to effect, vntill the offence by them committed, and for which, they were expulſed out of the terreſtriall Paradiſe: as Saint *Ierome* hath obſerued in his Booke againſt *Iouinian*.

The Lord Verdiers addition to the former Chapter of Pedro Mexia.

Gene.1.28.

Hierom.in libr. contr a Iouin.

After the vniuerſall Deluge, God gaue command to the good Patriarch *Noah* againe; *To encreaſe and multiplie*, which is the principall occaſion, wherefore Marriage was ordayned, and hath euer ſince beene ſo generally recommended: that it hath beene, and is permitted to aged and decrepite people (free from all power of encreaſing, and out of hope of any linage) to marry: which yet is expedient for them (if I might ſay ſo) to the end, that they may paſſe theyr age the more ioyouſly, as in the kinde company of husband and wife, receiuing pleaſure, ſolace, conſolation, and comfortable ſeruices each to other. Euen as heereof we haue an example by *Dauid*, who (in his very olde age) tooke a yong maiden to wife, as namely, *Abiſhag* the Shunamite, with whom hee ordinarily lay, and ſhee ſlept in the boſome of the King, warming and comforting him, and yet the King knew her not carnally.

Geneſ.8.17

The oldeſt aged people not prohibited to marry.

King Dauids marriage in his olde age. 3 Kings 1.4.

What more holy, chaſte, aſſured, and acceptable ſocietie can be amongſt men, then that of the husband and wife? Oh, how heauenly an harmony, when the one is

The iuſt and worthy commendations of Marriage, according to the diuine & originall inſtitution.

is as the other, two bodies, one ſoule, one ſpirit, one will, and one mutuall conſent ſympathizing in two bodies? The ſole marryed man and his wife, enuy not one another, but loue infinitely together, each depending vpon the other, ſhee repoſing in him, and he in her: euen as one ſelfe-ſame fleſh, one and the ſame concord, alike equally in all things, and all but one: One ioy, one ſorrow, one wealth, one pouerty, one gaine, one loſſe, and one ſelfe ſame dignitie. They are alwayes companions of one ſelfe ſame bed, one and the ſame table. *Therefore they ſhall be two in one fleſh* (ſaid God) *and not three, or many.*

Gods owne appointment in the Arke of Noah.

God would by no meanes haue in the Ark of *Noah*, to be any more women then men, to the end that they ſhould all be as one ſole woman. In briefe, the loue of the husband to the wife, and of the wife to her husband, ſurpaſſeth that of father and mother to their children, of children vnto the father; and that which brothers and ſiſters ought to haue together. And like as the Ring which the husband (euen as God) puts on the finger of his Spouſe or wife (as the ſoule to the Church) ought to be of golde, and round, as gold, being the moſt excellent of all mettalles: euen ſo this coniugal loue exceedeth all other, and ought to continue perpetually. And as *Propertius* ſaith: *Omnis amor magno, ſed aperto in coniuge maior. Euery loue is great, but in wedlocke it appeareth to be much greater.* For, Father, Mother, Children, Brethren, Siſters, Couſins and Friends, all theſe are the workes of Fortune: but the Husband and the Wife are Myſteries of Almightie GOD: And man had his Wife, and Wife had her Husband, before there was eyther Father, Mother, or Children.

The incomparable loue of man and wife.

Compariſon of the Ring giuen by the husband to his wife.

Propertius of coniugal loue.

Husband and wife before father, mother, or children.

The fruits of Marriage are of Almightie GOD, and not of Nature, from whence it enſueth, that children borne out of Marriage, that is to ſay, Baſtards, are called Naturall onely, but they which proceede of loyall Marriage, are ſayd to be Legitimate. And therefore, the opinion of Lawyers, is, *That a childe borne out of marriage, hath no certaine father, but we may well ſay, a bad or lewd mother. He* (ſay they) *is the Sonne of the people, or elſe the Sonne of no body, that is the Sonne of an vnmarried woman.* Onely marriage then (which *Baldus* calleth, *The principle, originall and foundation of Mankinde*) maketh Children and Heires certayne, augmenteth kindred, engendereth amitie among Allies, reuerenceth and pleaſeth God.

Baſtards haue no certain father, but are naturall children onely.

Baldus in C. Nonnulli col. 2. de reſc.

Holy Marriage was ſo pleaſing to the Authour thereof, that he would haue his onely Sonne, to bee borne of a married woman, and although it was his will, to be borne of a Virgine, without the ſeede of a man; yet was it not without the honour of Marriage. For it pleaſed him, to proceed from a Mother married; yet pure neuertheleſſe, exempt from any carnall ſoyling: elected to be the Arke of the Teſtament, the Buſh not burning, and the Violl of golde to contayne the celeſtiall Manna; as well to declare the wonders of his infinite power, as to make that ſacred eſtate ſo much the more honorable. Witnes the preſence of the ſame ſon of God himſelfe, at the mariage of *Cana* in *Galile*, where expreſſing his gracious loue & furtherance, he conuerted water into wine, by an eſpecial and extraordinary miracle.

The great glorie done by God to the honorable eſtate of Marriage, as alſo at the wedding in Cana in Galilee.

Moreouer, there is not the name of any houſe or ſtocke, but (without a woman) it would be quite extinct; neither kinred perpetuated, family increaſed, or a Common wealth continue in intire condition, or any Empire hold, without ſuch help: which the firſt founders of the *Romaine* Empire approued; for, they hauing no wiues, deſired the Daughters of the *Sabines*, theyr neighbors, but they would not grant thē. Whereuppon, there followed a rape or ſtealth of 683. of them, which procured a mighty & mortall warre, betwixt the *Romans* and the ſaid *Sabines*: albeit *Romulus* well foreſawe, that his Empire could not laſt, without women. For, the Citty being compoſed of houſes, and the Common-wealth of choſen Princes, both domeſtickes and familiers, how ſhall he gouerne a Citty, that hath not learned what it is to gouerne a priuate houſe? The Philoſopher *Socrates* teſtifieth, to haue learned more morall Philoſophie of women, then euer he could naturall, of *Anaxagoras* and *Archelaus*.

The manifold great bleſſings that enſue to the world by women in marriage.

Dionyſ. Halicar. in libr. 2.

Socrates learned Morall Philoſophy of women.

Aſſuredly, Mariage giues exercitation to morall Philoſophie; there is a domeſticall Common-wealth conioyned therewith, and in it ſelfe. For the gouernement whereof, a man may eaſily experiment the power of wiſedome, temperance, pietie, & al other vertues; whereby louing his

Marriage occaſions great exerciſe to morall Philoſophie.

wife, enstructing his children, ruling his family, protecting his goodes, ordering his house, and encreasing his race; the yeares of his life, will pace on the more happily. Whereas on the contrary, hee that seeketh to spend his life time without being married; is miserable, and worthie to be abandoned of all men.

The Lawe of Lycurgus made for the vnmarried yong men of Lacedemon.

For this cause, *Lycurgus* made a Lawe to the *Lacedemonians*, that all such as had attained vnto the age of eight and thirty yeares, without enioying women in marriage; should be banished in somer time, from all publique playes, spectacles and pastimes, iudging them as vnworthie, to be seene there amongst other in an open assembly. And in winter, they were led out naked, in the common view of the people, because they should be outraged and abused by words and exclamations of euery one, detested as vnwoorthie the name of men. And themselues enioyned to confesse, that they suffered these afflictions iustly, as hauing scorned and despised that religion: whereof they were preuaricators, and disobedient to the ordinance of Nature.

The Romans Law for men vnmarried til their age.

As concerning the Romans, they were not altogether so strict and seuere, & yet ordained, that such as had liued without marriage till their olde age: should bee condemned in paiment of a great summe of money to the publike Treasury, according to their quality and facultie. *Plato* appointed in his lawes, that such men as were not married, should enioy no honor estate, or publike dignity: but to be more charged with fines and mulcts, then any of the other Citizens.

A yong man of *Lacedemon*, would not arise out of his place in the publike Theater, to giue way and honour to a valiant ancient Captaine (neuer married) named *Callidus*, who was come thither to see the pastimes. And the Captaine growing offended at the arrogancy of the yong man because he disdained him in that manner; gaue him some words of heat and choler, whereto the yong man returned him this answer. *O Callidus, thou hast not (as yet) begotten, neither occasioned the birth of any one that being now at mine age, and vnmaried as thou art, may arise hereafter to giue me place, and therefore no other esteeme is to bee made of thee.* The Romaines in the time of *Q. Metellus* Consull, established many famous and worthy priuiledges for newe married persons; and for such as had three sons, as may be seen in the *Digest*, of such as had ten. And our greatest Diuines, set downe twelue causes, the which hinder a man from marriage, and doe yet disanull marriage, although it be consummated & children procreated. As namely errour, con ition, vow, parentage, sin, to wit, of adultery or murther, diuersity & diffrence in religion, violence, prophanes in Priesthood, or profession of a false religiõ, bond and promise of contrary marriage, as being otherwise contracted, honesty, affinity, and inhability. Al these twelue, are bars and hinderances to marriage, according as Cardinall *Caietane* hath comprehended them in these verses.

Twelue especiall occasions that impeach and hinder marriage.

Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen,
Cultus disparitas, vis, ordo, ligamen, honestas
Si sis affinis, si forte coire nequibis:
Hæc socianda vetant connubia, facta retractant.

Cærd. Caietan in Sum. Dist. 19

I haue a great desire to discourse particularly on euery one of these causes, if I had not such a multitude of other matters to speake of: let therefore (for this time) suffice that which hath bin said. And for such as are louers of Poesie, I referre them to the renowned Poet *Scæuola de S. Martha*, partly turned and imitated out of the fifte booke of *Marcellus Palingenius*, a Latine Poet, in his Zodiack of Life, where he singeth elegantly in the praise of Marriage.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Partharites, King of the Lombards, who being pursued by Grimoald, fledde first to Cacanus, King of the Auarians or Huns, afterward into France. And in the end after many heauy and troublesom Trauayls; was (with great honor and renowne, seated in his owne kingdome.

Et in institut. de excus. tut. vel curat.



Partharites was sonne to *Albert* King of the Lombards, who (after the death of his father) reigned at *Myllaine*; and *Gondebert* his brother, at *Pauia*. A strife and quarrell, growing betweene the two Bretheren, *Gondebert* sent

Paulus Diaconus sets down this historie more at large.

sent *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, towardes *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, a verie generous Captaine and Commaunder, requiring his assistance against *Partharites*, with solemne promise, of giuing him his Sister in marriage. But *Garibald* intending treason to his Lord and Master; perswaded *Grimoald*, to come and possesse the kiugdome to his owne vse, which (thorow discord betweene the two brethren) was growne to weake estate, and verie neare vpon vpon vtter ruine.

Grimoald gaue ouer his Dukedome to his Sonne, in hope of a Kingdome.

When *Grimoald* vnderstood this, hee gaue ouer his Dukedome of *Beneuentum* to his sonne, creating him there as absolute Duke, and, with the greatest forces he could get together, prepared his iourney for *Pauia*: and in all citties and towns as he passed along, begot himselfe store of friends, for his better helpe in obtayning the kingdome. Being come to *Pauia*, and entring into priuate conference with *Gondebert*: by close practise and intelligence with *Garibald*, *Gondebert* was slaine at a Banquet, and he made possessour of the kingdome. No sooner did *Partharites* heare these sad tydings, but, leauing faire *Rhodalinda* his wife and Queene, and a yoong sonne of his (both confined by *Grimoald* to *Beneuentum* for close custody) fled secretly away, making his recourse to *Cacanus*, king of the *Auarians* or *Hunnes*.

Partharites fled and left his kingdome.

Grimoald hauing made sure his Kingdome at *Pauia*, and vnderstanding, that *Partharites* secured his safetie with *Cacanus*: sent Ambassadours to him, to let him know, that if hee kept *Partharites* in his kingdome, no long peace should continue betweene him and the *Lombardes*, but he must expect a King as his enemie. According to this Ambassage, the King of the *Auarians* called *Partharites* to him in secret, desiring him, that he would wander whither himselfe pleased: because (thorow his meanes) the *Auarians* might not fall into the hatred of the *Lombardes*. And so, vpon a royall, sad and mutuall interchange of wofull lamentations on eyther side; the two kings parted, as might haue moued pitty in Marble to behold it.

Grimoald suffered not Partharites to abide with Cacanus.

A hard case, when a King is constrained to trust to his enemy for mercie.

Partharites, frustrated now of all helpe and comfort, returning into *Italie* againe: purposed his repaire to his enemie *Grimoald*, confiding on his kingly clemencie, bicause he weas left destitute of any other succour. And beeing come neare to the City of *Lody*, he called to a Gentleman of his, named *Vnulphus*, in whom his intimate trust wholly consisted, sending him before, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his coming, and to deale iustly for his safetie. *Vnulphus* presented himselfe before the new-made King, vsing such wise and honourable language to him, concerning *Partharites* his King and Maister, making recourse to his royall mercie, and trusting onely in his goodnesse; that he would freely submit himselfe to him, if he (with the like benignitie) would vouchsafe to embrace him.

Voulphus a loiall seruant to Partharites

So effectually did *Vnulphus* deliuer his message, and *Grimoald* (eyther in pride or pleasure) accept it: that hee promised and sware vpon his faith, no displesure should any way be done to the King his maister, he might come when he would, & builde securely vpon his faith. *Vnulphus*, hauing brought backe this aunswere to *Partharites*, hee went and presented himselfe before *Grimoald*, meerely prostrate at his feete, who took him vp graciously, & in most friendly manner kissed him: whereupon, *Partharites* beganne thus: Sith I am your humble vassaile and seruant, and knowing you to be most Christian, and a faithfull louer of pietie: though I might liue safe among Pagans, yet, building vpon your mildnesse and mercy, I am come, and heere yeeld my selfe at your feete.

Partharites presenteth himselfe before Grimoald.

Grimoald vsing his accustomed oathes, promised him, saying; *By him that made me to be borne, seeing you haue put your selfe into my power, you shall suffer no harme anie way whatsoeuer; but I will take such order, that you shall liue well and honorably.* So he commanded him a conuenient lodging, with entertainement aunswerable to his qualitie, and all things affoorded to him in plentifull maner. *Partharites* being departed from the King, to such place as was appoynted for him; it came to passe, that the people flocked and resorted daily thither (hauing formerly knowne & honoured him) earnestly desiring to see and salute him.

Conference between Grimoald and Partharites.

Grimoald his protestations to Partharites and the honorable intertainment he gaue him.

But see how ready euill tongues are to commit mischiefe, diuers flatterers and audacious Informers, obseruing the peoples kind greetings to *Partharites*: reported it in such maner to *Grimoald*, that they incensed him very strangely, perswading him, that if he did not the sooner procure

Sycophants and flatterers are alwayes too neare about kings and princes.

the death of *Partharites*, hee would bee ſhaken out of his kingdom, yea, and loſe his life likewiſe; for *Partharites* lodging ſeemed now, rather to be a Court then his. *Grimoald* beeing a man ouer-eaſie in beleefe, and led away with the leaſt perſwaſions; became ſo confounded vvith iealouſie and diſtruſt, that (neuer remembring his ſolemne oathes and promiſes) he fell into an extraordinary rage, and in extremity of heate and choller, ſwore the death of innocent *Partharites*, wanting nothing but aduice and meanes, how it might both ſafely and ſodainely bee effected.

The death of Partharites is vowed by Grimoald.

Now, becauſe it grew ſomewhat late, and on the morrow the deed muſt needes be done; he cauſed (that Euening) great ſtore of delicate meates and wines to bee ſent to *Partharites*, purpoſely to make him drunke: that being ouercome with eating and drinking, and all his ſenſes poſſeſſed with drowſineſſe, hee might haue the leſſe care of his health, and ſo his life be the ſooner betrayed. But a Gentleman who before had ſerued the father of *Partharites*, and brought him theſe Iunkets from the King: ſtouping his head lowe beneath the table, as doing him reuerẽce and embracing his knee, ſecretly reuealed to him, how *Grimoald* had concluded his death, and that this nightes iouiall drinking ſupper, muſt be a ſolemne induction thereto.

One of Grimoalds owne Gentlemen bewrayed the treaſon.

Heereupon, *Partharites* immediately, (but very couertly) gaue order vnto his Cup bearer and Taſter, to fill and bring him no other drinke all ſupper while, but ſome ſmall quantities of water onely, and in his priuate ſiluer Bowle. So that the Courtiers (who were ſent to keepe him company) quaffing and carowſing many healths of the King to *Partharites*, deſiring him ſtill to pledge them in like manner, as thereby expreſſing his loue to the King: *Partharites* accepted all their ſeuerall charges, proteſting all honor and reuerence to *Grimoald*, rowſſing vp cup after cup as readily as they, ſeeming as merrie as any of them all, and yet drank nothing elſe but water. Supper being ended, and the Courtiers returning back to the king, reported the iocond behauior of *Partharites*, and how forward ſtill he was in turning off his owne Bolle, as readily as they did theirs, and neuer refuſed to pledge his Highneſſe health, thinking him to be very farre ſpent with wine. Whereat *Grimoald* heartily reioycing, merrily ſaide; *Alas poore ſilly Drunkard, little thinkes hee, that the Wine and his blood wil lye mingled on the earth to morrow together, in deſpight of all the friends he hath.*

The beſt and quickeſt witted drinkers, may ſomtime be deceyued.

The ſame night, he ſent ſtrong guards to watch about the houſe where *Partharites* was lodged, becauſe he ſhould haue no meanes to eſcape, nor any frends com to giue him aſſiſtance. But the poor harmleſſe Prince, when ſupper was paſt, and al the Courtiers departed thence (remayning alone in his Chamber, & none with him but *Vnulphus*, and a Page that vſed to waite neereſt about, to helpe his Garments both off and on, they beeing both his faithfull ſeruants, and in whom he repoſed moſt confidence :) he diſcouered plainely to them, how peremptorily his death was concluded on by *Grimoald*, and what a ſtrong watch was ſet round about his lodging, ſo that now their poor Lord and Maiſters life muſt needs periſh by his treachery.

Partharites diſcouereth his danger to Vnulphus and his Page.

Vnulphus hauing a prompt and readie witte, louing his Lord deerely, & caring for no danger to himſelfe, ſo hee might ſet him free from perill: by means of certaine Blankets belonging to a bedde, and a Beares skinne which he found there in his chamber by chaunce, ſo ſubſtantially he diſguiſed *Partharites*, that it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh him from a meere Country Boore or Pezant, and his counterfeiting drunkenneſſe, made the matter to ſeeme the more likely. *Vnulphus* had gotten a good Faggot-ſtick, and pretending ſweating, with beating that drunken Raſcall (for ſo, and ſomtimes worſe he commonly called him) tumbled him firſt downe the ſtaires, and laſtly out of doores, labouring ſtill as if he had giuen many ſore blowes. Which when the Guardes there attending perceyued, they demaunded of *Vnulphus*, what was the matter? Hee anſwered, ſaying: Here lis a drunken ſlaue, who while the Lordes were heere at Supper with *Partharites*, hath ſecretly gotten in, and ſtolne himſelfe ſtarke drunke; keeping ſuch a terrible noiſe, that my Lord (who is as drunk as hee) I feare can take no reſt, and by no meanes would I haue him to bee diſturbed.

The cleanely ſhift of Vnulphus to ſaue the life of his kingly maſter

The wiſedom of Parthatites in preuenting the Treaſon prepared for him.

Vnulphus cunningly beguileth the Guard, and gaineth the eſcape of Partharites.

No

No doubt at all made the Guardes of *Vnulphus* his words, but laughing, to see the sloue belabored so lustily; suffered him to driue him on before him, bidding him beate still, and spare him not. While the Guards stood laughing at this merry iest, no man needed to bid them make hast, & *Partharites* being quickly got out of sight, *Vnulphus* returned to the lodging, which made the Guards the more confidently perswaded, and secured the King from all pursuite. Moreouer, after the Kings departure in that manner, the faithfull Page kept the doors lockt vp fast, till *Vnulphus* was returned againe: where they two only remained in the chamber, praying for their Kings prosperous successe; who arriued that night at the Towne of *Aste*, and from thence (passing the mountaines) went into *Fraunce*.

Fuery thing suted well for the Kings safe deliuering from his enemie.

On the morrow morning, messengers came from the King, to bring *Partharites* to the Pallace, and beating at the doore, the Page spake out at the windowe, saying: Good Gentlemen forbeare, his Maiestie hath drunke somewhat hard, is very sleepy, and therfore I pray ye trouble not his rest. Whereto they in modesty yeelding, went and reported the same to *Grimoald*, who well liked that he should sleep so long: yet sent them againe in all haste, and howsoeuer (awake or asleep) to bring him away with them. The Souldiers fearing to displease the king, came and knockt earnestly at the doore; but being intreated by the Page, as aforesaid, they boldely broke the doore open, & seeking for *Partharites* in his bed, found him not, which made them to demaund, what was becom of him; & the Page said, he was fled.

Grimoald sends for Partharites to the Palace, in hope to execute his will vpon him.

Presently were *Vnulphus* and the Page seized on, and haled furiously to the Pallace, where being broght before the king; with vnappalled countenance, they tolde, that the King had escaped with life, discouering the maner truely how, and dreading no infliction for the fact. When *Grimoald* had aduisedly considered on theyr faith and loyalty, he called them seuerally againe before him; wishing he had such an other faithfull Page, exhorting him earnestly, to keepe his loyalty to his Lord *Partharites*, promising to recompēce him worthily for it. *Vnulphus* afterwards was brought againe before him, and the king greatly commending both his wisedome & honesty; demanded, whether he would chuse to liue with him in good grace and acceptance, or follow *Partherites* in the extremity of his fortunes? whereto *Vnulphus* said, with an oath, That he would rather chuse to die with *Partharites*, in al tor ments whatsoeuer; then liue any where else, with all the pleasures and delights that the world could giue him.

Vnulphus and the Page violētly haled to Court, & the whole matter confessed.

The worthy answer of a loyall and constant seruant.

The same demand was also made to the Page, & his answer was the like in effect: whereon the King highly extolling theyr vnparaleld loyaltie; prayed them both, to commaund whatsoeuer his Court affoorded, & go in all safety to seek their master. Prouided of all things they could desire or carry with them, and securitie granted for their safe passage; they set onward to *France*, in a longing desire to meete with *Partharites*; as soone after they did, to great ioy and comfort on euery side. But first, newes being abroade, that *Grimoald* had vnited peace with *Dagobert* King of *France*: it made *Partharites* fearful of some close ambushes to be layed for him, & so he might be sent backe to *Grimoald* again: which made him forsake *France*, & to ship himselfe for *England*: all which calamities happened to him, before his two faithfull seruants could any where finde him.

The honorable dealing of *Grimoald* with Vnulphus and the Page, sending them after their royal Maister.

Being on the Sea all together, and (in hope of good successe) boūd for *England*, they had not past a full league from land: But *Partharites* heard a voyce, seeming to come directly from the shoare where hee took shipping, demanding in this maner: *Speake there, is Partharites in the ship, or no?* *Partharites* replyed without pausing: *Who is it that calleth Partharites? I am that most vnhappy man, and (blessed be heauen) heere I am. Tell him then* (answered the voyce) *his natiue Country calles him home, and further he may not goe; for, within three dayes, Grimoald is dead.* *Partharites* amased at this strange accident, required fauor to be landed with his seruants again; but could neuer know him that tolde those tidings of *Grimoalds* death, which made him verily persuaded, that it was no mortal man, but his owne good Angell, that thus enstructed him, after his passing thorow so many miseries.

A strange and myraculous accident happening to Partharites, sayling towards England.

Partharites returning home againe, towardes his owne natiue Countrey, hee was no sooner arriued at the limites of *Italie*; but he met there with a goodly com-

pany of *Lombards*, with Laurell wreathes on their heads, and Palme branches in their hands, who purposely attended there for his comming, and so conducted him ioyfully to *Pauia*; from whence, the Sonne of *Grimoald* being expelled, he was there (by generall consent) created absolute King of the *Lombards*, within three moneths after the death of *Grimoald*. He dispatched Poasts to *Beneuentum*, in quest of *Rodesinda* his Queene and Wife, as also his sonne *Cunibert*. And being a man pious, Catholique, a great obseruer of Iustice, and charitable to the poore; so soon as he was quietly seated in his kingdome, he builded a goodly Monastery, neere vnto the Riuer *Thesina*, in which sometime he had concealed himselfe, when he was enforced from place to place; dedicating the Temple to Gods seruice, and in honour of S. *Agatha* the Virgin & Martyr, planting therein many religious virgins, and endowing it with great liberality of rents and reuennues. His Queene also, after her many troubles, and long separation frō her husband, erected the Church of our Lady without the walles, bestowing infinite rich and precious ornaments thereon. And at length, *Partharites* (hauing reigned eighteene yeares) changed this mortall life for a better, to the great greefe of his louing Subiects the *Lombards*.

A goodly Monastery builded by Partharites, neere to the Riuer Thesina in Italy.

Nor may we heere omit to say somewhat of *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, the beginner of this poore Princes calamities. He hauing instigated (as hath bin related) *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneucntum*, to murder *Gondebert*, King of the *Lombards*, treacherously: within no long while after, a certaine meane man, of little or no respect at all, comming to the Citty of *Thurine*, and vnderstanding, that *Garibald* would be in the cheefe Church on Easter day neere ensuing; stood on the steps of the Font for baptisme, leaning carelessely on his left arme, by a collome of the Tabernacle, being at the very entrance into the Church, hauing a weapon ready drawne vnder his Cloake. So soone as *Garibald* came to bee neere him; he (not fearing all the traine about him) suddenly ran the Rapier quite through his body, that instantly he fell downe dead. Such as attended *Garibald*, being somewhat amazed at so vnexpected an accident, pursuing the murderer, could fasten no hold on him, vntill they had slaine him, with many weapons being in his body at once. So, although he lost his life; yet couragiously he reuenged the iniurious act, committed on *Gondebert* his Lord & Master.

A further prosecution of the History, concerning Garibald, the Duke of Thurine.

Garibald slain in the cheefe Church vpon Easter day, by a poore silly fellow.

CHAP. V.

What manner of men those were and are, that be called Doctors of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnists.

I Am sure there are many, that neuer saw the goodly, rich, populous, commodious, and well gouerned City and Vniuersity of *Paris*; and yet diuers that haue seene it, or read the Antiquities thereof, may perhaps be ignorant, what kinde of men they are, that beare the title or name of Doctors of *Sorbonne*. For all other Doctors are honoured by those Citties names, wherein they receiued their degrees: As Doctours of *Louuaine*, of *Poictiers*, of *Doway*, of *Tholossa*, of *Montpelier*, of *Pauia*, of *Bologna*, of *Tubinge*, of *Fribourge*, and so of diuers other. But the Doctours in diuinity of *Sorbonne*, beare their name, not of the City where they receiued their licences and degrees Doctorall; but of the place peculiarly. A matter which hath much amazed many, & raised doubt in diuers other, that neuer had the happinesse to visit *Paris*; in which respect, I purpose to set down the true originall thereof, how, and vpon what occasion it came so to passe.

All Doctors, except they of Sorbonne, are instituted by names of the Cities & Vniuersities where they were gradued

It is to be vnderstood, as I haue elsewhere saide, that the course of nature will sooner faile; then people be any other but as their Princes are, as *Cassiodorus* saieth. King *Lewis*, ninth of that name, reigning King in *France*, whereas other Princes deuised (euen as to this day many do) how to build Palaces & vnprofitable houses, for pride, luxury and prodigality: this holy & religious King caused Churches to be erected, Hospitals, Abbayes, Colledges, & other places of piety; in imitation of whom, many of his Subiects, & other

The holy life of Lewis the ninth, commonly called Saint Lewis.

other ſtrangers did the like.

Amongſt other, there was a Diuine of the Kings houſe, his Almoner, and one of his Preachers, who was thought to bee prouided of ſome good Benefice; yet neyther enriched his kinred, or ſpent his reuenues in vanities, as too many churchmen now-adayes vſe to doe. This good man was called Maſter *Robert de Sorbonne*: but to relate further, of what Nation hee was, or of what Family, hath ſcarcely (as yet) beene diſcouered by any. In briefe, mooued in great pietie, and by the example of his King; hee bought a place, which vſually was called in Latine, *Locum Termarum Cæſaris*, that is to ſay, *The place of Cæſars Bathes*. And it is ſayd, that *Iulian*, Nephew to the Emperour *Conſtantine*, Gouernour of the *Gaules*, cauſed thoſe Bathes to be builded, and the Lodgings of *Cluny*, which then were without the Citty of *Paris*, and as places of pleaſure: according as we reade in ſome Epiſtles, which *Iulian* wrote to them of *Antioche*. The ſaide *Iulian* was afterwardes Emperour, ſirnamed the Apoſtata by the Chriſtians. And then, ſuch as pretended to the Imperiall Crowne, termed themſelues *Cæſars*: as now at this day, ſuch as are deſigned Emperours after him liuing, are called Kings of the *Romaines*.

The place that at this day is called Sorbonne, how, and by whom it was bought.

In this place there is apparance, that there the *Cæſars* Bathes were, as euidently may be diſcerned, by the channells of hewne ſtone, which were found in the yeare of our Lord God, one thouſand fiue hundred forty and foure, at the gate of Saint *Iames*, when Baſtions and Rampires were then made, to reſiſt the forces of *Charles* the fift, Emperour, who was entred into *Fraunce* with a mighty army. Which gutters or cõducts of water, were continued from the village of *Arcueill* (ſo named, in regarde of Arches builded of Bricke, as yet to this preſent are to bee ſeene; or of the Latine compounded word *Aquæ ductio*) and reaching into *Paris*. Thoſe conducts of water ſerued well for thoſe Bathes, and were needfull now to be renewed, to water the higher parts of the Vniuerſitie of *Paris* (which haue great neede thereof) if my maiſters the *Eſcheuins*, would therein employ theyr paines.

Aquæducts or Gutters for conueying of water from Arcueill to Paris.

As already hath beene ſayd, this place was builded to bathe or waſh the Romain Emperours, Conſulls, Proconſulls, and ſuch like, and was bought by the ſaid Maſter *Robert Sorbonne*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thouſand two hundred threeſcore and foure. If you deſire to know, to whom (as then) that place appertayned; I muſt therein confeſſe mine ignorance, although I haue made good ſearch in the euidences, belonging to that place of *Sorbonne*, & elſewhere (ſpecifying large rents & reuenews thereto belonging, yet much enlarged by the bounty of K. *Lewis* 9. king of *France*, and others, calling it only *Sorbonne*) and finding it appoynted, to maintaine a certayne number of Doctors, who ſhould reade publiquely in Diuinitie; and and alſo of Batchellers to ſtudy, there to be lodged and maintained. Whereuppon, from that time to this preſent, the Profeſſors, Batchellers, and other Students in this Colledge, did endeuoure themſelues ſo induſtriouſly, and became ſo capable; as there is hardly any other Colledge throughout all Chriſtendome, wherein may be found men ſo ready and exact in Diuinitie, as they are that belong to this *Sorbonne* Colledge.

Vpon what occaſion, and to what end the Colledge of Sorbonne was erected.

The Students in this Houſe, are not (as commonly elſe-where) young men, but wel ſtept in yeares; becauſe they haue read publiquely, enſtructing the courſe of Philoſophie, which is perfourmed in three yeares, in regard there are as many parts, which are *Logicke*, *Phyſicke* and *Metaphyſicke*. And many times ſome ſuch are there, that haue made three courſes, which are nine yeares, and employed by them in publique Lectures; before they will aduenture to ſtudy or reade publikely in Diuinitie; and therefore it is no matter of maruell, that there ſhould continually be ſuch ſingulerly learned men in that Colledge.

The Doctours and Batchellers, ouer & beſide their being great Philoſophers, are likewiſe very skilfull in humane learning, and vnderſtand the tongues, *Greeke*, *Latine* and *Hebrew*, ſpeaking them (for the moſt part) eloquently. They are held in ſuch reputation, that (commonly) they deale in the greateſt difficulties, and in all Eccleſiaſticall occaſions, their aduice is wholly vſed; the Colledge being reputed as one of the beſt Bulwarks to the *Romain* Catholique Church, and ſo accounted through Chriſtendome.

The Batchellers of Sorbonne, how they become ſo learned.

Very

Admirable disputations of the Doctors of Sorbonne,& how their order began at the first.

Very laborious are they in their disputations of the sacred Scriptures, resolute, and of great vnderstanding,and the generall disputes vsed in this Colledge, are on euery Friday after the Feasts of S.*Peter* & S.*Paul*, in the Moneth of Iune, vntill the solemnity of the Feast of *All Saints*, the answerer standing there from morning till euening,and bound to answere all the Batchellors Questions, which commonly are aboue two hundred in number,euery one keeping his ranke and place: nor is there any President, to support him that answereth, whereas all other faculties do not obserue any such order. It is reported,that this custome was introduced by a religious man, of the order of S. *Frances*,who(to make proofe of his knoledge) kept open the Schoole all the whole day: and his fellowes, coueting after as much honour as hee had; continued the same course,so that whatsoeuer consisted in the will of the arguers and answerers,became conuerted into an inuiolable loue.

Doctours of Paris are vsually tearmed Doctours of worth and esteeme.

Learned Doctours are as Assistants there, to the end they may iudge on the merit of men, and vnderstand withall, to whom the prime places for Licences are to be giuen. And thus you see, why all Doctors in the facultie of diuinity,which receiue their degrees in that place of *Sorbonne*; are stiled by an Emphasis,Doctors of *Sorbonne*, or *Sorbonnists*, because that there are principall acts obserued, to approue the learning of any, that would aspire to haue the degree of a Doctor. And this place is perticularly noted, as well for antiquity (hauing bene one of the appurtenances to the Pallace Imperiall, at such time as the *Romanes* were Lords of *Gaule*, as I declared in the beginning of this Chapter,) As also in regard of the famous men,renowned for their learning and knowledge, that liue (ordinarily) in a sacred society in that Colledge. In which respect, the most part of the best Citties in *France*, Bishoppricks and Collegiate Churches,resort thither, to make choyse of their Diuines,to prouide them of Prebends, and other reuennues meete for such men.

CHAP. VI.

That the Law of the Emperour Seuerus, and that of Solon, for promoting any one to Office and Authority in the Common-wealth (being first informed, of a mans life & good manners) was much better then those of the Venetians, Florentines, Genewayes and Lucanes; examining after the time of their Iurisdiction is past.

Lampridius in the life of the said Alexander Seuerus.

THe Emperour *Seuerus*, the eighteenth, reigning in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 196. albeit that he was no Christian; yet (after the example of Christianity) wold ordinarily say: *That it was great shame, to bee lesse carefull of the life of a Gouernor, or one that exerciseth the place of iudgement; then the Christians were, in the quality of their Shepheards and Watchmen ouer their Flocks. For they obserued a kinde of Siquis, or a Bill fixed vpon Poasts, wherein were set downe the names, of such as aspired to any Ecclesiasticall dignity, and examined their liues and behauiour with strictest seuerity.* In the very same manner,this good Emperor, when hee intended to prouide any man for the gouernment of a Prouince, or place where iudgment was to be vsed, or whatsoeuer else appeared requisite:would first set vp publike Placards, or Bils of inscription, in diuers places about the Citty, to the ende, that if any notorious vice were knowne, or criminall cause deseruing open detection, in such as were named in those publike Placards: it was lawfull for all men, to accuse or set downe their blemishes & incapacities, that no wicked or vnworthy person,might be aduanced to such degree of eminency. Thus euery one, and all in generall were permitted to accuse; but yet on penalty of life,if it should be proued to be scandall or calumniation, and thereupon,an especiall Law was ordained and enrouled expressely.

Placards Bils of Siquis,or publike inscription fixed vpon Poasts, and to what end they were ordained.

In my poore opinion, this Law seemeth much more honest and equall, then those

The Authors comparison of precedency with present ordenations.

thoſe now adayes in vſe, with the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, *Genewaies*, and *Lucanes*, who after the time of a mans Office is expired, or, that the limitation of his gouernment ceaſſeth: do then make enquiry, to cauſe him render an account of his adminiſtration, and then proceed againſt him according to his demerits. A wicked Magiſtrate, and publike Concuſſionary or extortioner, by giuing a piece of bread to dogs barking at him, ſo to ſtop their mouths: may thus ſalue his thefts, and other depredations of his vile life.

A good aduice againſt vnlawful euaſions.

It is much more expedient, to preuent a diſeaſe, then to tarry till it come, & then to expulſe it: notwithſtanding, it is better late, then neuer, to the ende (at the leaſt) that feare of ſearch and ſyndication, may retaine Officers within compaſſe of their duty.

It is better to chaſtiſe ſinne late, then neuer.

And yet the ordination of *Solon* (methinks) was farre better, whereby the liues of Officers was to be examined, both before and after their authority, as we reade in the lawes ſet downe by *Demoſthenes*. For by examining the life and manners of ſuch, as couet or ſeeke after degrees of Offices, Benefices, Knighthood, exemptions, immunities, gifts and rewards, if they appeare to bee foule or deformed: not onely they may be reiected, but alſo directly (in iuſtice) puniſhed, & rewards diſtributed to honeſt perſons, according to the merit of euery man. And by an hermonious proportion, the purſſe ſhold be giuen to the moſt faithfull; Armes to the moſt valiant; Iuſtice-degree to the vprighteſt; cenſure to the entireſt; painfull trauaile to the ſtrongeſt and beſt able; Prelacy to the moſt learned and deuouteſt. And yet neuertheleſſe, carrying reſpect to Nobility, wealth, age, and the power of euery one, as alſo the quality of their charges and offices: for it were very ridiculous, to make a Iudge a Warriour, a Prelate a common Lawyer, or a Soldiour to manage caſes of conſcience.

What kinde of men are in equity to be aduanced to places of authority.

Reſpect is the beſt rule to be ordered by.

Now for the better comprehenſion of our purpoſe in this Chapter, it is to be obſerued, that *Alexander Seuerus* neuer was a Chriſtian: but a worthy man otherwiſe, and when he made that Edict. As being deſirous to place good Magiſtrats, to gouerne in the Romaine Commonweaith vnder his Empire (finding it full of exacting Officers) in imitation of the Chriſtians; euen (as it is ſaide) in the ſecond time of the Primitiue Church. And when (for any perticular Church) any need appeared of a Biſhoppe, a Prieſt, a Deacon, or ſome other Officer; the Chriſtians (in thoſe times) fixed vp their Placards, ſetting downe the name of him or them, that ſought to haue ſuch office and dignity: they did it to ſuch ende, that if any vice were knowne in him or them; obiection might bee made againſt the pretendant, ſo to debout him of his requiſition and ſute.

Alexander Seuerus was no Chriſtian, yet imitated the Chriſtians in making this Edict.

And queſtionleſſe, great need there was, that this pollicy ſhould bee obſerued among the Chriſtians; for the Pagans & Idolaters then (being their capitall enemies) ſought nothing more, then ſome ſubiect or argument, whereby to iniurie and calumniate the Paſtors and Prelates among the Chriſtians, onely to make thē odious to the people. And they that were promoted vnto Eccleſiaſticall Offices in thoſe dayes, had no other ſtipend or reward, but only ſome collection of Corne and other matters, among the Chriſtians of the Churches then, to make them garments, and maintaine them poorely enough, being prouided of thoſe places, & oftentimes their beſt aſſurance was moſt cruell martyrdome. And that which made men then deſirous of Eccleſiaſticall aduancements, was not (as now adayes) to deriue thence large benefits & reuennues: for then, there were not any foundations ordained, neyther were any tenths leuied for or from them. But the Paſtours then, in a moſt ſacred kinde of charity, coueted to enſtruct the ignorant, and confirme in faith, intimidate, affrighted and diſperſed Chriſtians, perſecuted by the Romanes and other Princes, onely for the Chriſtian faith, and to encourage them for ſuffering martyrdome, according as *Euſebius* (who liued in thoſe times) hath written at large.

The Paſtours and Preachers among the Chriſtians were very poore in the beginning of vndertaking their charges

The deſire of Paſtors in the Primitiue Church.

As for the eſtates of the *Venetians*, *Genewayes*, *Lucanes*, and others now exerciſed in *Italy*, they are not during life, as it is in *France*: wherein yet it is not much amiſſe, to haue information of them, vpon the expiration of their charges, to cauſe terror in their offices ſucceſſors, for beſt carriage and behauior in their dutie, leaſt a further inquiſition come vpon them. In *France*, eſtates and offices are exerciſed, during

The eſtates & offices in Italy differing frō thē in France.

during life of the party in poſſeſſion: but yet with caution, that if he commit any vnbeſeeming acte, to bee inſtantly diſmiſſed, and (oftentimes) death enſueth thervpon. But before any man may bee ſo aduanced, the Statutes of *France* haue enioyned, that good information muſt be made, concerning the life and manners of the party to enioy it; before ſuch perſons as his Maieſty, or other ſoueraigne Iudges ſhall appoint.

Prouiſion made by the Statutes of of France.

The Kings of *Spaine*, cauſe information of life and behauiour, of any that aime at degrees and offices, before they are admitted to them. And moreouer, at euery fiue yeares end, ſometime in more, and in leſſe compaſſe of yeares very often; ſecret enquiries & informations are made, of all Officers in euery Seigneury: as in all the *Spaines*, the Kingdomes of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Millaine*, the lower Countries of *Germany*, the County of *Bourgongne*, the Dutchy of *Luxembourg*, and other, & namely of the places where they exerciſe their Offices. And if the King do finde, that they miſ-behaued themſelues; his Councell depoſeth them, appointing other in their places, of whom (likewiſe) the life and conuerſation is well queſtioned. Sometimes they are put to death, but very rarely, and many times depoſed, yet without note of infamy: only giuing them to vnderſtand, that the King is not well contented with their ſeruice. Heere is alſo to be vnderſtood, that information commeth not onely againſt Officers of Iuſtice, as Aduocates, Procurators, Pregnotaries, Iudges ſoueraigne and ſubalternate: but likewiſe againſt Eccleſiaſticks, and men of warre. By which means, euery one is compelled to containe himſelfe within compaſſe of duty; and beſide, the eſtates & offices are not vendible.

The obſeruation of Spaine in the admiſsion of their Officers.

How the kings of *Spain* carry themſelues to their ſubſtitutes.

CHAP. VII.

Of the reaſon and cauſe, why both ſome Princes, and alſo ſome Common-wealths, haue alwaies proſperouſly flouriſhed in the times of warre; and in peacefull dayes haue runne to decay and ruine.

ALthough I diſcourſe in this Chapter, that ſome Princes and Common-wealths haue bin very happy and ſucceſſfull, in times of wars and moleſtations; and contrariwiſe, in times of peace haue become vicious, running on to ruine and deſolation: yet I neyther will, or do therby inferre, that warre is to bee eſteemed more neceſſary then peace. But I will ſhew the cauſes whereby (not all Common-wealths, nor all Princes in generall) yet many liued more vertuouſly & happily in the times of war, then in their eaſier dayes of peace. And that ſo ſoone as they came to enioy peace; they fell into ruine, vtterly loſing all their greatneſſe & ſplendour. Euen like vnto Iron, which not being vſed or handled, or whereof no frequent employment is made; ruſteth and conſumeth of it ſelfe. And this enſued by no other occaſion, but only through negligence and want of reſpect, that when they enioyed the Sunny daies of peace; no diſcreete order was taken, for inſtitution of good life and pollicie, and how to make vſe (as men ought to doe) of ſuch ſweet tranquility.

Peace is alwayes to be preferred before war in any Kingdome.

In Sunſhine dayes men haue greateſt need to feare ſtormes.

Before I come to approoue my ſayings by examples, I would firſt make a briefe relation, concerning the actions of men of warre; to demonſtrate, that it is (almoſt) vtterly incredible, that any goodneſſe can deriue it ſelfe from war. For, who is a greater enemy to the peacefull man, then the furious Soldior? To the milde, meeke countriman, then the bloody Warriour? To the Philoſopher, then the fierce Captaine? To the wiſe, then fooles? Becauſe the greateſt delight and felicity of warriors, is, to forradge Countries, rob the husbandmen, burne Towns and Villages, to maſſacre good men, to giue all licence to the wicked, to beſiege, batter, force and ranſacke houſes, to kill olde and young, to ſpare no age or ſexe, to rauiſh Wiues and Virgins, to bathe their hands brutiſhly in innocent blood, to make a ſpoile of ſacred things, to ruinate Temples, to blaſpheme the Name of God, to trample (vnder their foule feete) all right both diuine and humane. Theſe are the fruites of warre, highly acceptable and pleaſing to fiery-eyde Soldiors, abhominable to good men, & deteſtable before God. Needleſſe is it to amplifie with words, that which hath bin too well ſeene and felt in ouer-many places, whoſe very memory hath ſtartled the ſoules

The fruits are but bad that proceed from war, be it neuer ſo iuſtly followed.

Where warre keepes his reuels, all goes to wracke and ruine, without any pitty or remorſe.

foules of them in beſt ſafety, and made their haire ſtand on ende, that thought themſelues of boldeſt reſolution.

If then the caſe ſtand thus, and that war hath ſo many diſcommodities and miſchiefes waiting vppon it: how can any good enſue from it?

Vertue is many times victorious without any blowes giuen.

Further wee are to vnderſtand, that when Soldiours are guided by Captaines voide of iudgement, vnderſtanding and vertue: all the forenamed euils and miſchiefes are ordinarily committed. But if they haue a vertuous Commander, hee will carry himſelfe ſo much the more modeſtly. And like as greatneſſe of courage & magnanimity, is a bright flaming Beacon, leading the way to all other vertues, and exalteth Princes vnto the very higheſt point of honor: euen ſo it is vertue (onely) likewiſe, that moſt diſcourageth the hearts of enemies, be they neuer ſo potent or powerfull warriours, and (oftentimes) gaineth the victory, without a blow deliuered on either ſide.

The Romanes had more vertuous men in warre then in peace.

Heereof I intend to ſet downe ſome examples, that in the Roman Commonwealth, and in the times of their war; there was greater ſtore of vertuous minded men, then when they liued in peace and quietneſſe. Firſt let vs remember *Furius Camillus*, who hauing ſent backe the children, which the Schoole-Maſter had brought into his Campe, to make them bondſlaues to the Romanes; conquered the Citty without one blow ſmitten, which neuertheleſſe was very ſtrong, and well furniſhed with al warlike munition.

Furius Camillus.

Fabritius.

And *Fabritius*, hauing ſent the Phyſition to king *Pyrrhus*, that had promiſed to poiſon him, and refuſed the moity of his Kingdomes: although he was one of the very pooreſt Romane Gentlemen, and cauſed the priſoners ranſome to be paide, which *Pyrrhus* had freely deliuered, not ſuffering the meaneſt of them to ſtand beholding to ſo great a King. And *Scipio*, who (without any paine) conquered a great part of both the *Spaines*: by ſending a lady of rare beauty to her husband, the Prince of *Celtiberia*, according to the example of *Cyrus*. Theſe ſo generous and vertuous actions, tooke away all courage from enemies, to make war any longer againſt ſuch magnanimous people; who neither could conquer, nor yet be conquered, by baſe or vnbeſeeming behauiour.

Scipio.

Vertue can neuer conquer by cowardiſe.

And yet this was much better made knowne, after the great day at *Cannas*, when *Hannibal* had put eight thouſand priſoners to their ranſome, at an hundred Crownes each man, and one bearing credite for another: hoping vndoubtedly, that the Romanes hauing loſt ſo many men, would not be ſlacke in paying their ranſome. But it was flatly forbidden (by the Senates eſpeciall decree) that not one priſoner of them al ſhould be redeemed. Whereat *Hannibal* (ſaith *Polybius*) was ſo amazed, as all his courage quite forſooke him. Whereas on the contrary, the Romanes ſecured their ſtate the better, which was ſhrewdly ſhaken, and vtterly abandoned (as it were) of all friends and confederates. For the iudgement of the Senate was wiſe and honourable, becauſe *Hannibal*, hauing ſo much Romane blood to ſpil at his pleaſure, thoght to empty their Treaſury of money, and draw eight hundred thouſand Crownes from them, which they rather choſe to ſpare, then to redeeme the very ſcum and cowards of all the Roman Army. Whervpon, and thence forward, euery one took a reſolution to conquer or dye, & ſo became dreadfull and inuincible. And like as their hearts neuer failed them in their greateſt loſſes; ſo were they neuer conquered by arrogancy in their victories. And therefore, in the time of war, the Romanes more expreſſed their greatneſſe in courage, then in peace they could do.

Hanniball & his 8000 Romane priſoners.

The generous and vnconquerable courage of the Romanes, and grounded on good reaſon.

Charles the eight of that name, King of *France*, in the voyage which hee made into *Italy*, to conquer the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*, they belonging to him, as he pretended: at the ſurprizall of a Citty, a very goodly Lady was brought vnto him, whom he would not touch; but ſent her away (and great gifts with her) to her husband. By this acte of chaſtity he ſped ſo well, that moſt part of the Townes and Cities as he paſſed along, brought their keyes vnto him, and conquered (the more eaſily) the Kingdomes hee laide clayme to. And yet neuertheleſſe, this King had Ladies (ſometimes) at commaund in his owne Court, albeit very ſecretly.

The honourable action of Charles the 8. King of France.

So long as *Caius Marius* followed war, he performed many braue and vertuous exploits therein, largely encreaſing (with great

The fame & reputation of Marius, ſo long as he continued a Warriour.

great Prouinces) his Country and Common-wealth of *Rome*. As hauing conquered *Iugurthe*, King of the *Numidians*, and made an absolute surrender of his Kingdome to *Rome*: hee likewise vanquished the *Cymbrians* in *Gaule*, and the *Germanes* that were entred into *Italy*, and seauen times was he made Consull, euen in iust regard of his great deseruings. But when he ceassed from being a Warriour, addicting himselfe to idlenesse, and desiring to liue in peace: aspiring by his ambition to tyranny, he caused aboue tenne thousand Cittizens to dye wretchedly, & ended his owne life in miserable exile. And the very same did *Sylla*, who was esteemed one of the most fortunate men in his time; who in a ranged battaile, ouerthrew *Mithridates* neere to *Charonea*; and his Lieutenant at another time after, not farre from *Athens*. He vanquished also the *Medes*, and the *Dardanians* or *Troyans*; he put *Carbo* to flight, & droue him quite out of *Italy*; winning the battaile likewise against *Marius*; and so long as he followed the warres, liued most nobly and vertuously. But being returned home to his house, and liuing there in peace; hee became a tyrant and butcher of the Cittizens; so that (in one day) he commanded nine thousand of them to be slaine, promising a certaine stipend or wages, to any one that brought him a Romane Cittizens head.

The misfortune that idlenesse & negligence broght to Marius and Sylla.

Easе hath bin reputed the Nurse of tyrranny.

The renowne of Pompey so long as he followed Armes.

While *Pombey* managed Armes, and was a braue Commander in Armies; hee was esteemed the most vertuous man thē liuing. For he restored the Kingdome of *Numidia* to *Massinissa*, which *Hiarbas* had vsurped from him. He vanquished *Sertorius*, King of *Portugall*, ending also the most dangerous warre of the Pyrats, and ouercame *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, constraining him to slay himselfe. He warred in the Northerne parts, conquered *Albania*, *Morea*, the *Heuioches*, *Caspia*, *Hiberia*, and afterwards (in the East) surmounted the *Parthians*, *Arabians*, and subiected *Iudea* beside. But afterward, the *Romane* people hauing no longer warre, and he returning home to his abiding; grew enuious against his kinesman *Cæsar*, and as by the precedent warres, the Romane Empire had attained vnto vnspeakable greatnesse: so by peace it impayred too much, onely through ciuill warre, engendred among themselues. In which respect, many people and Kings shooke off the yoke, wherein they stood tributaries to the Romanes, and so their Empire (by little and little came to decadence.

By peace the Romane Empire vtterly lost it selfe.

Great *Alexander*, so long as hee continued warre in the East, hee was accounted most valiant and temperate. And hauing vanquished *Darius*, finding none other to resist against him, he grew to such insolence; that he would be often drunk, & made himselfe so contemptible, as he became despised of his owne people, his friends and kindred, who caused him to dye by poison, hauing scarsely attained to the age of thirty yeares.

Idlenesse and negligence was the ruine of Great Alexander.

So long as the *Lacedemonians* had braue warlike Kings and Captaines, and found them imployment in warres, eyther, whether it were for defence of their owne Country, or for conquering others, such men as were *Agesilaus*, *Agis*, *Archidamus*, *Brasidas*, *Damonidas*, *Euricratidas*, *Temistæas*, *Callicratides*, and more such like beside; they daily prospered in all attempts they vndertooke. But so soone as they had conquered the *Athenians*, & pilled and polled their City vnder *Lysander*, and had filled their purses with money, making no more account ot care of war: the sweet ease and goodnesse of the time then seized on them, & contemning both exercise and military discipline, they became quickly ruined. For, from all former times of antiquity, they commonly imployed painfull diligence, rather by stratagems and pollicies of warre to conquer their enemies, then by power: which was more commended in * *Archidamus*, then any other vertue else. They alwayes shunned peace, not as disallowing it to be good; but becausе it continually enticed them to too many vices. For the *Lacedemonian* Lawes ordained, that men might walke through the City in the night time without light; becausе a Soldiour, most often being in war, might (by all meanes) march against his enemy, and at al houres as occasion presented it selfe, eyther by day or night. Patient also they were in all externall iniuries, as raines, windes, heats, frosts, mysts, and in greatest hungers; being euermore constantly resolued, eyther to conquer, or dye in the field. Which extremities, could not bee exercised by slothfull people, or liuing in peace.

Throgh sloth and idlenesse, the Lacedemonians vtterly ouerthrew themselues.

* A Noblemā of Sparta, son to Telis, that would aduenture any danger whatsoeuer for his Countries safety.

The

he put to death king *Attabaliba*: whereof all the people were very ioyfull, to see him dye, that had slaine his elder brother, to make himselfe King, contrary to the custome of the Country, & conforme to the testament of the Father, who hauing two sonnes, willed, that *Gasca* the eldest, should succeede him in the Kingdome, without any diuision.

Concerning two Twins.

There might also arise a doubt, to wit, if two infants be twins, which of them both should bee reputed the eldest; that must needs bee the eldest, which came foorth first to the worlds light. Another doubt also may bee moued in this case, that if any man (not being a king) hauing a sonne, shall afterward conquer a Kingdome, or some other such like dignity, be it eyther by Armes, or by donation. It falleth out in following dayes or yeares, that he hath another sonne; to which of these shall belong the kingdome or other honor? It is held for certain, that he who was or shal be borne, after that the Father became a king, in right ought to succeed: for the eldest son was not of royal blood, but holds of his fathers first conditiõ, who was not then royall by nature. But the other yonger-borne sonne, though comming long after the first, is truely & really a Prince by blood. Like as he is not to be accounted for infamous, and out of hope for being legitimate, who was begot by a man neuer made Priest: but afterward, when he commeth to vndergo the order of Priesthood, he begetteth then another Sonne; that Son is to remaine impeached, and can neuer come to such legittimacy, as the first borne.

Tit. Liuius in lib. 8. Bello Punici.

Another difficulty there remaineth yet vndecided, to wit, whether the sonne of the eldest ought to succeed his grand-father, or else the Crown appertaine to the yonger brother (as it should seeme) because he is the neerest to the King, & the yonger standeth withdrawne in degree. It was the opinion of some, and this difficulty hapned for the Kingdome of *Numidia*, where the younger son would succeed next after his elder brother, without any respect to the children of the eldest. Heereupon, *Scipio* the *Affricane* being arbitratour, not knowing what to answere in this case, betweene the Vnckle and the Nephew: gaue order, that the Kingdome should be enioyed, by a combate fought betweene them, as it hath often hapned in *Germany*.

A pretext of inheritance decided by combate.

Concerning the Kingdome of Moscouia.

Now at this instant, the Kingdome of *Moscouia* is deferred vnto the younger sonne, after the death of the grandfather, without any regard of the sonne to him that was eldest. Nay, which is more, the elder brother succeedeth to the yonger in the Kingdome, although hee haue sonnes: As great *Basilius*, King of *Moscouia*, succeeded in the Kingdome after his elder Brother, who had sonnes. And this was vsuall, not onely among the *Vandales*; but also in all the Northerne countries, according to the affirmation of *Procopius*, as also in England. And for this cause, *Richard*, sonne to the heire & eldest, was defeated of the Crowne, which was adiudged by the States to *Henry* of *Lancaster*, younger brother to the Father of *Richard*, in the yeare 1399. And in the like case, *Robert* of *Naples*, the younger sonne, enioyed the kingdome of *Naples*, by sentence of the Pope, and the sonne to the elder brother, King of *Hungary*, was dispossessed. But now adayes, this rule holdeth not in the countries hitherward, neyther doth it carrie any practise in the Crowne of *France*, since then when it so happened: the sonnes of the eldest are alwaies preferd before the yonger brother, and the *English* obserue the same course.

An vnfitting law deserueth to be abolished.

Some kings haue bin so superstitiously affected, and (beside) very ill aduised, that they would needs make search for the natiuities of their childrẽ, to giue to him the Crowne, whose Stars appeard most to fauor him. In the number of whom, was *Alphonsus*, king of *Castile*, who by this means would needs preferre the yoonger son before the elder; but he slew the yonger, and causd his father to die in prison: by which I find, that he was but a poore Prognosticator. Wherefore, to auoyde ciuile war, which is the ruine of kingdoms and common-weales, the law of nature, (or rather the Lawe of God) ought to be followed, which commaundeth, to conferre kingdomes vpon the eldest, as alwayes it was practised among the Hebrues: and as we further finde, that the kingdome of *Iuda* was conferred vpon *Iehoram*, because he was the eldest, as the Scripture affirmeth. Which also the wise *Lycurgus* imitated; for, although the *Lacedemonians* had created him King, after the death of *Charilaus*:

Kings becomming superstitious Astrologers.

Alphonsus, K. of Castile.

Paralip. lib. 2. cap. 21. 3.

The honest conscience of Licurgus.

yet notwithstanding, hee would not accept the crowne; but kept it, and rendred it to the sonne of the others brother, whē he was come to competent age.

CHAP. XII.

The Monarchy of the Cæsars, or Romanes.

3918. *Iulius Cæsar*, a verye gracious Prince, and one of the Worldes cheefest Captaines; reigned 5. yeares. He vanquished *Pompey* & his confederats: *Ptolomy* he slew, & restored *Cleopatra* his friend (sister to *Ptolomy*) to the Kingdome of *Egipt*. Returning home to *Rome*, hee was slaine in the Senate house, by *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and other Conspirators. *Dioscorides* then liued: but if you would haue more of *Cæsars* life, reade *Suetonius* and *Florus*, in the life of *Cæsar*.

3923. *Octauius Augustus*, the last Nephew of *Iulius*, by the sisters side, and his adopted Sonne, reigned 56. yeares: he was happy in warre, moderate in peace, and liberall to euery one. Then liued *Virgill*, *Horace*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Vitruuius*, *Mecenas*: And then died *Cleopatra*, and her husband *Marke Anthony*, *Egipt* beeing then reduced into a Prouince. *Herod* a stranger (fauoured by *Augustus*) was then King of *Iudea*. So the Scepter being wholly taken from *Iuda*; Iesus Christ, God and man, the Sauiour of the world, was then borne of a Virgin in *Bethlehem*, according to the Propheſies of *Iacob*, *Genes.* 49. *Esay* 7. *Micheas* 5.

3963. Iesus Christ came in the yeare of *Augustus*, 42. and of the world, 3963. *Ouid* was then in exile: the City of *Lyons* foūded: and then liued *Titus Liuius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Strabo*: and *Francus*, King of the *Sicambrians*, in the lower *Allemaigne*: *Aquila*, *Tuberus*, *Galba*, *Labeus* and *Caius*, were then Law-giuers, or Law-makers. *Herod* the great murderer of Innocents; and there were numbred then at *Rome*, foure hundred, sixty foure thousand men.

The yeares of Christ. *Claudius Tiberius*, the sonne of *Liuia*, afterward Wife to *Augustus*, reigned 23. yeares, beginning very well, but prouing afterward to bee most wicked. Iesus Christ (for our saluation) was then crucified in *Hierusalem*, vnder *Pilate* the Prouost of *Iudea*: he saide, that *A good Shepheard should clip his Sheepe, and not deuoure them.*

17. *C. Caligula*, Sonne of *Germanus*, a most wicked mā, reigned 13. yeares. This beast, the ruine of men, made himselfe to be adored as God: hee poysoned his Vnckle *Tiberius*, and deflowred all his Sisters, leauing them then vnto others like abusing.

39. *T. Claudius*, Vnckle of *Caligula*, and monster of men, reigned fourteene years. He preferred *Nero* before his owne Son, by the treason of whom, he was poysoned with a Mushrome. *Messalina*, his first Wife, peereless in all lubricity and wickednesse, then flourished: And Saint *Peter* the Apostle liued (reported to bee first Bishop of *Rome*:) Then liued likewise *Philo* the Iew, *Perseus*, *Mela*, *Pliny* the elder, and *Columella*. Saint *Paul* the Apostle went then through the World, proclaiming Iesus Christ, accompanied with Saint *Luke*. Then liued *Dyonisius Areopagita*: And then was the first councell of *Ierusalem*.

43. *Nero*, the sonne of *Agripina*, afterward the Wife of *Claudius*, reigned thirteene yeares. He was the first Persecutor of the Church, and did put Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* to death: he slew likewise his Master *Seneca*, also his owne Mother, and *Lucan* the Poet. Then liued *Simon Magus*, and *Appolonius*. *Nero* being expulsed from *Rome*, slew himselfe; after he had set *Rome* on fire, to make himselfe pastime of a Bon-fire.

57. *Sergius Galba*, in the seuenth Month of his Empire, was slaine by *Otho*. *Suetonius*, *Egesius*, *lib.* 4. *cap.* 21.

70. *M. Siluius Otho*, hee also most wickedly slew himselfe, in the third Moneth of his Empire: confessing, that hee had cruelly tormented the spirit of *Galba*. According to *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus*, *lib.* 7.

Aulus

71. *Aulus Vitellius*, brought vp at *Bourdeaus de Caprea*, being a vicious man and a glutton, was hewed in peeces, and cast into *Tyber*, hauing reigned eight Moneths. He causeth himselfe to be serued at his table, with two thousand seuerall kindes of Fishes, and seauen thousand of Fowles, all at one supper. *Suetonius, lib.9. Iosephus, lib.5. de Bel. Iudai.*

71. *Vespasian*, a modest & gracious Prince, a louer of skilfull men, and good Artizans, reigned tenne yeares, accompanied with his sonne *Titus*, who ruinated *Ierusalem: Iosephus, Proclus, Epictetus.* This ruine was the most lamentable that euer happened, for therein dyed eleuen hundred thousand men: Reade *Iosephus*, in his sixe and seauen Bookes of the Iewish wars, and *Egesippus.*

81. *Titus*, the delight and solace of mankinde, reigned two yeares. He vsed to say, *That no man ought to depart from a Prince, with a sad countenance: Cassius, Neracius, Proculius* & *Pegasus* were then Lawyers, and Saint *Bartholmew* was then martyred in *India*: Saint *Matthias* in *Iudea*: Saint *Andrew* in *Scythia*: Saint *Mathew* in *Ethyopia*: Saint *Thomas* in *Bragmania. Hierusalem* was then taken; the famine beeing so extreame, as Mothers were compelled to eate their owne children.

83. *Domitian*, brother to *Titus*, was a most wicked man, and persecutor of the Christians: he reigned fifteene yeares: then liued *Martiall, Iuuenall, Statius, Trogus*: and Saint *Iohn* wrote the Gospell, as also *Iosephus* did the warres of the *Iewes. Domitian* would needs afterward bee called God and Lord of his people, wherefore (being greatly hated of all men) hee was slaine.

97. *Nerua*, a good Prince, and the adopted Father of *Traian*, reigned one yeare: he gaue more then an hundred thousand Crownes, to releeue poore Cittizens. He tooke away extreame taxations, & (wanting money) he sold his garments, plate and Pallace, esteeming his owne Parents and Kindred much lesse, then hee did the publike benefit. The Christians were in great quiet vnder him, and the banished repealed, among whom was Saint *Iohn.*

99. *Traian*, a good Emperour, but that hee persecuted the Church; reigned nineteene yeares. Being admonished, that he was ouer-gracious to all men, hee answered; *That he was such to his Subiects, as hee could wish others should bee to him, if he were a Subiect.* Then liued *S. Ignatius, S. Eustachius, Pliny* the younger, *Plutarch, Aulus Gellius, Suetonius, Tacitus, Solinus.*

118. *Aelius Adrianus*, a man studious and skilfull in all Sciences, and the first Emperour that suffered a Beard on his Face, reigned 21. yeares: *Iulius Celsus, Iulian*; and *Neracius Priscus*, were Lawyers and Councellors to the Emperour. Then were liuing *Ptolomy* the great Astrologer, *Phauorinus, Dyonisius* the *Milesian*, and *Heliodorus. Hierusalem* was repaired by *Adrian*, who therfore had his name changed, and was called *Helias.*

139. *Antoninus Pius*, reigned twenty three yeares. He was a Prince of such esteeme, as strange Nations wold resort vnto him, and make him Iudge of their differences; for he had alway this saying ready: *I had rather saue one Cittizen, then kill a thousand Enemies.* In this time were *Polycarpus; Ireneus, Iustine Martire, Egesippus, Appian, Florus, Macrobius, Iustine, Galen*, and *Palladius: Lucian* the Atheist, also was then torne with Dogs. This Emperor tooke away the wages or hyre of Strumpets, punished idle Magistrates, and was called, *Father of his Country.* Reade *Eutropius, lib.8. Thelesphorus* the ninth Pope (as some report) did then institute, or rather restore the time of Lent.

A diuine saying of a Paga.

162. *M. Antoninus* the Philosopher (called *Aurelius*, borne in *Gaul*, with *L. Commodus Verus*, and called Brethren in the Bookes of the *Pandectes*) reigned nineteen years. This yong Prince being vnwilling to oppresse his subiects, made sale of all his fairest and richest Iewels, Plate, and wearing garments belongimg vnto him and his Wife. *Eutrop. lib.8.*

Lucius Aurelius Verus, gouerned the Empire with his brother *Marcus Antoninus*, the space of eleuen yeares: By some Authors, he is set downe in order before his brother, and by others after him.

181. *L. Commodus*, the most wicked sonne of good *Antoninus*, reigned 13. yeares. He was strangled by his Concubine, & other Conspirators. *Eutrop. lib.8. Orosius lib.8. cap.18. Lampridius* doth most amply describe his life at large.

194. *Aelius Pertinax* reigned sixe Moneths.

He had refuſed the Empire, and beeing deſirous to reforme the gouernment, hee was ſlaine by *Iulian* his Succeſſor; who bought the name of *Cæſar* of the Warriours. The people much bemoaned this Prince, crying out aloud: *O Father of goodneſſe; Father of the Senate; Father of all bounty: Farewell.*

194. *V. Iulian*, reigned ſeuen Moneths, and being hated of al men, for ſleying his predeceſſour, himſelfe was alſo ſlaine by appointment of the Senate. Diſſention grew amongſt the Chriſtians, for the celebration of Eaſter; And the ſecond Councell appointed the day of Sunday, and fiue other after, *Euſeb. lib. 5. cap. 24. Metianus*, *Sceuola*, *Martianus* and *Caſsius*, were now Iuriſ-conſults: *Aphrodiſeus* and *Aphronius* Sophiſters.

195. *Preſcennius Niger*, or *Nigerius*, the ſonne of *Annius Fuſcus*, indifferently learned, fierce, proud, and inclined to all vice; was ſaluted as Emperor, by the Soldiors of *Syria*, where he commanded, and was ſlaine by *Seuerus*.

L. *Septimius Seuerus*, reigned 18. years. He was a perſecuter of the Church, but otherwiſe a valiant Prince, addicted both to good Letters and Armes. He was ſo wel beloued, and gouerned ſo nobly, that the Senate ſaid of him: *Eyther hee ſhould neuer haue beene borne, or elſe hee deſerued neuer to dye.* Reade *Spart.* and *Vict.* Then liued *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Philoſtratus* the Sophiſter, and *Apuleyus*.

Cl. Albinus, iſſued of the Romane Families, of the *Poſthumians* and *Albines*, made himſelfe Emperor in *France*. He was ſurprized by the Soldiors, & brought halfe aliue to *Seuerus*: where hauing his head ſmitten off, he was hanged on a gibbet, and being torne with dogs, he was throwne into the Riuer.

213. *A. B. Caracalla*, the ſonne of *Seuerus*, and husband to his ſtepmother, reigned ſeauen yeares. He ſlew *Geta* his brother, and *Papinian* the great and famous Lawyer, with diuers other. At laſt, himſelfe was ſlaine by a Soldiour of his Guard. *Herod. lib. 4.*

Antoninus Geta, the ſonne of *Seuerus* and *Iulia*, borne at *Milain*; After the *Parthian* warre, wherein hee wonne great fauour, was called *Cæſar Antoninus*, in the life of his Father.

220. *Op. Macrinus*, with his ſonne *Diadumenus*, reigned one yeare. Both the one and other had their heads ſmitten off, by their men of warre. *Macrinus* was learned and ſeuere, but (withall) deteſtable and crafty, cauſing his Predeceſſour to bee murdered.

221. *Marcus Aurelius Antonnus Heliogabalus*, the baſtard of *Caracalla*, who was a diſhoneſt whore-hunter, and moſt abhominable in life beſide; gaue great eſtates to wicked Bawds, Panders, Ieſters, &c. And beeing generally deſpiſed, hee was ſlaine by his Soldiors, in the fourth yeare of his Reigne: both his owne body and his Mothers beeing dragged along the Streetes, and caſt into the common layſtall.

225. *Alexander Seuerus*, reigned peaceably without effuſion of blood, 13. yeares. He was a good Prince, & did vtterly forbid the ſelling of Offices. *Vlpianus*, *Paulus*, *Pomponius*, *Alphencus*, *Affricanus*, *Callistratus*, and other excellent Ciuil Lawyers (the Schollers of *Papinian*) then liued, with *Dion* the Hiſtorian, and *Philoſtratus*. The Kingdome of the *Perſians* was then founded by *Atarxerxes*, and after tranſported to the *Sarrazins*, and now commanded by the *Sophi*.

The kingdom of Perſia.

238. *Maximinus*, a perſecutor of the Chriſtians, reigned three yeares. Being at firſt but a ſilly Shepheard; he was made Emperour by the Souldiors (without authority of the Senate) and then by them was ſlaine.

241. *Gordianus*, a Prince of a Noble ſpirit, with his Son named *Gordianus* the yonger, a good Prince, reigned ſixe yeares, and was ſlaine by *Phillip* his ſucceſſour. In his time was a wonderfull Eccliſpe of the Sunne. Reade *I. Capitolinus*, who placeth alſo *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* (created by the Senate) with *Gordianus* the elder.

Pupienus Maximus, a new man, and ſonne to a Smith, gaue himſelfe alwayes to vertue and Military ſeruices, prooving fortunate againſt the *Polonians* and *Germanes*.

M. Cælius Babynus, and *Pupienus*, after they had bin Conſuls, and that the *Gordians* were ſlaine in *Affrica*; were created Emperours, by appointment of the Senate, againſt *Maximinus*, and both of thē were vndeſeruedly ſlaine.

Gordianus the ſecond, yongeſt ſon of *Gordianus* by his Daughter, borne at *Rome*; was

was slaine in a sedition of Soldiours, by *Phillip*, *Prefect* of the *Pretorians*.

C. Valens Hostilianus, is not placed in this ranke by some Historians, because immediately hee dyed, smitten with the pestilence, so that scarsely there remaineth any memory of him.

247. *Phillip*, an *Arabian* by Nation, was the first Christian of the *Cæsars*, and reigned fiue yeares. He gaue (by his Testament) all his rights and treasures to Pope *Fabian*; and heere began the riches of the Romane Church. He was likewise slaine by his successor, as he had kild his Predecessour.

252. *Decius Traian*, a persecuter of the Christians, reigned two years. *S. Saturnine* the Bishop was martired at *Tholouse*. *S. Laurence*, *Hippolita*, *Cecily*, *Agatha*, and *Appollina*.

Q. Herennius Hetruscus, is not by any Historian placed among the Emperours. Neuertheless, in this ranke is his picture found in the Booke of *Hubert Goltzius*, and there it is recorded of him, that hee was the sonne of *Decius*, and that he was slaine in *Hungaria*, in a battell against the *Gothes*.

254. *Vibius Gallus*, with his soune *Volusianus*, reigned two yeares: Being persecutors of the Church, were both slaine by the Soldiours. At this time there was such a contagious pestilence, and almost so generally dispersed, that in many places ther was left no creature liuing. This pestilence continued fifteene yeares, and seemed to be partly occasioned through the wicked gouernment of this Emperor.

256. *Aemilianus Lybienus*, borne in *Mauritania*, in his young yeares followed armes, and soone after he was made Emperour. He was slaine at *Spoleta*, being aged forty yeares.

271. *Licinius Valerianus*, with his Son *Galien*, persecuting the Church, reigned fifteene yeares. He was Captiue to *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, who vsed him as a footstoole when he mounted on horse-backe. S. *Cyprian* & S, *Cornelia*, were then martyred. *Porphirius* wrote against the christians: The thirtie Tyrants vsurped the Empire. Reade *Trebellius Pollio*, *&c.* S. *Paul* the first Hermite began the solitary life.

Galien the son of *Valerian*, suffered the Christians to liue in quiet, and reigned 9. yeares alone, after that his Father was led captiue into *Persia* by *Sapor*. He was exceeding wise, but addicted to Lust.

Saloninus Valerianus, the sonne of *Galien*, was slaine with his Father, being retired to *Millaine*, and was but tenne yeares olde.

Cassius Labienus Posthumus, from being a simple Souldior, attained to great dignities: and being in *France*, was made Emperor in the time of *Galien*, where he was slaine.

Flauius Claudius (of whom issued the family of the *Constantines*) a good Prince, of Noble Linnage, and highly esteemed, reigned two yeares. *Dyonisius* being then Pope, diuided the Dioceses and Parishes of the Christians. *Tom. 1. de Concil. Iamblicus*, *Plotinus*. and *Iauencus* Priest, reduced the foure Gospels into *Hexameter* Verses.

Aurelius Quintillius, brother to *Claudius*, after the death of his brother, was saluted as Emperour by the Senate, and slaine 17. dayes after.

273. *Valerius Aurelianus*, a cruell man, reigned sixe yeares. He tormented the Christians, and repulsed the *Franconians*, entring out of *Germany* into *Gaul*. He was the first that wore an Emperiall Crowne: a louer of Military discipline, and one that rigorously punnished the vices of his Soldiors. He vanquished *Zenobia*, a very Warlike Lady, holding the Empire of the East.

279. *Tacitus* was slaine the sixt Moneth of his Empire. This good Prince caused the Bookes of *Cornelius Tacitus* to bee receiued into all Libraries. The *Manicheans* began (from the time of *Aurelianus*) to infect the Church.

Annius Florianus, brother to *Tacitus*, being desirous to reigne, vsurped the Empire as by inheritance: but in a short time he was slaine at *Tharsus*, by his Soldiors.

279. *Probus*, a good Prince, the Authour of peace in the high and lower *Germany* or *Almaine*, reigned sixe yeares and foure Moneths. He said, *That he had no neede of Warriors, hauing no enemies; and that the Souldior (not doing any thing) ought not to eate vp publike prouision.*

286. *Carus*, a good and wise Prince, reigned two yeares, with his sonnes *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, two Brethren of very different nature. The first, was most wicked, and full of cruelty: The other was full of

goodneſſe, valour and knowledge. Then liued *Volcatius*, *Herodian*, *Lampridius*, *Spartianus*, *Pollio*, *Vopiſcus* and *Capitolinus* Hiſtorians.

288. *Dioclesian* with *Maximianus Herculius*, reigned 20. yeares: hee was a moſt cruell perſecutor of the Chriſtians, and would haue himſelfe to be worſhipped. *Katharine*, *Lucy*, *Agnes*, *Barbus*, *Sebastian*, *Vincent*, *Cosmo* and *Damian*, and innumerable other Martyrs through the world (in his Reign, to the number of 17. thouſand) were put to death in thirty dayes.

Valerius Maximus, ſir-named *Herculius*, a man of fierce and cruell nature, was very out-ragious in luſt, eſpecially with his owne ſiſters: blockiſh in giuing councell, without ciuillity and gouernment, & therefore had *Dioclesian* to aſſiſt him in the Empire.

308. *Constantius Chlorus*, father of *Conſtanſtine* and *Galerius*, the one gouerned in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt, 4. yeares together. *Constantine* commaunded in *Gaul*, *Spaine*, *Affrica*, and *Italy*: The other in *Greece*. *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Dorotheus*, Biſhop of *Tyre*, *Euſebius* and other learned perſonages liued at this time.

Galerius Maximianus, tearmed *Armentarius*, becauſe he was a Neat-heards ſon, was made Emperor, being a goodly perſon, and a fortunate warrior. *Maximinus*, Nephew to *Armentarius* by his ſiſter, was Emperor, and perſecuted the Chriſtians in the Eaſt. *Seuerus*, *Prefect* of *Italy* and *Affricke*, was publiſhed Emperor by *Galerius*, and fighting with *Maxentius*, was taken at *Rauenna*, and ſlaine.

Maxentius, elected Emperour by his Soldiors, reigned a Tyrant, and was like vnto his Father *Maximinus*. Being vanquiſhed by *Constantine*, neere to *Pont-Miluius*, he was drowned in a Gulfe, and his body neuer after found.

Licinius Licinianus, borne of Country Parents, was fortunate in the wars which he had againſt *Maximinus*. Afterward, he became a mocker of Chriſt, and perſecuted ſuch as beleeued in him; and becauſe he was ignorant, he was a great enemy to all that were learned.

Martinianus, was created *Cæſar* by *Licinius* againſt *Constantine*; hee was in his Camp at night, but fled before next morning.

310. *Constantine* the Great, ſonne of *Helena* an holy woman, with *Maxentius* and *Licinius*, reigned 31. yeares. He was religious and affable, and tranſported the Bible into diuers Countries. He aſſembled the Councell of *Nice*, againſt *Arrius* the Hereticke. He builded the Citty of *Conſtantinople*, calling it after his owne Name: whither the Imperiall ſeate was tranſlated, and changed from *Rome* into *Greece*, after he had granted *Silueſter* to be Pope. *Euſeb. lib.* 10. *Niceph. lib.* 8. The Councel of Nice.

Criſpus was made *Cæſar* by his Father *Conſtantine*, but beeing afterward falſely accuſed to his Father, he was put to deth; for that hee would not conſent to the inordinate appetite of *Fauſtine* his ſtepmothe.

341. *Conſtantine* the ſecond, with his Brethren reigned 17. yeares, ioyning thereto the three yeares reigne of *Maxnentius*. *Themiſtius*, *Donatus*, and *Libanius* the Sophiſter then liued: and Saint *Anthony* the Hermite was knowne in *Egipt*, by many miracles.

358. *Iulian* the Apoſtata, held the true Religion ten yeares, and was named Emperor by the men of warre in *Paris*, againſt his will. Hee forbad the Chriſtians the ſtudy of letters: and beeing wounded to death, he cryed out: *At length thou haſt vanquiſhed, O Galilean. S. Cyrill, Optatus, Baſile, Nazianzene, Epiphanius, Hillary, Didimus, Exuperus* (all learned Diuines) then flouriſhed.

368. *Iouianus*, a kind and learned man, reigned eight Moneths, and made confeſſion to his Warriours, of the name of Ieſus Chriſt. Now was the firſt order of Monks inſtituted by S. *Baſile*, vnder certaine rules of liuing.

368. *Valentinian*, a good and Catholique Prince, and *Valens* his brother, reigned 15. yeare. This man held the error of the *Arrians*, and conſtrained the Monkes to vndertake Armes in warre: he dyed vnhappily.

381. *Gratian*, the ſonne of *Valentinian*, during whoſe life time, he was an aſſociate in the Empire. He reigned afterward with *Valentinian* the ſecond, his younger Brother, and *Theodoſius* ſixe yeares.

387. *Maximus*, tearmed Emperour by his Soldiors, ſlew *Gratian*, and held the Empire foure yeares: after which time, *Valentinian* returned to the Empire againe fiue yeares.

Theodoſius,

395. *Theodosius*, after that *Gratian* was slaine by *Maximus*, reigned three yeares with his brother *Valentinian*: the death of whō was bemoned by S. *Ambrose*, for the great zeale hee had to Christian Religion. S. *Hierome*, S. *Augustine*, and *P. Orosius* then liued.

399. *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, the sonnes of *Theodosius*, reigned twenty nine yeares, as well in the East as in the West. About this time, the great empire of *Rome* began to decline (by the infidelity of *Ruffinus* & *Stilico* their Tutors.) The very greatest part thereof was vsed by the *Scythians*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Hūgarians*, *French*, *Goths*, and *Vandales*: And *Rome* was four times taken by the *Gothes* and *Vandals*, within one hundred thirty nine yeares. Then liued S. *Chrysostome* and *Claudian*.

Rome foure times surprized.

411. *Honorius* reigned with *Theodosius*, Son to his Brother, sixteene yeares.

427. *Theodosius* the second, youngest sonne of *Arcadius*, reigned at *Constantinople* 27. yeares, after the death of *Honorius*; hauing assisted *Valentinian* the third, the son of *Constantius*, and *Placida*, daughter to *Theodosius*, who reigned fiue yeares in the West. At this time, the *Frenchmen* leauing *Franconia*, began to enter vpon the *Gaules*, vnder *Clodion* their second King.

453. *F. Valerius Martianus*, reigned in the East, seauen yeares, and *Valentinian* the third (at the same time) in the West: during their Reigne, the *Burgundians* and other Westerne Nations, were conuerted to the Faith. The *Vandals* came out of *Spaine* into *Affrica*, and afterward they tooke *Rome*, vnder the conduct of theyr King *Genserichus*. *Attila*, King of the *Hunnes*, entered into *Gaul* with fiue hundred thousand men: deliuered battaile to *Meroüeus* their second King, who had ioyned with *Actius*, Lieutenant vnto the Emperor. There he lost an hundred and fourescore thousand men, and fled into *Hungaria*, not any man beeing wounded behinde. About this time was great *Arthur* King of *Britaine*.

460. *Leo* the first, reigned 17. yeares, associated by *Leo* the Sonne of his Daughter; who after he had reigned one year alone, gaue vp the Empire to *Zeno* his Grandsire, who reigned tyrannically 17. yeares. The estate of the Church was then very greatly troubled, as also that of the Westerne Empire. *Italy* had then nine Emperors in twenty yeares, who all slew one another.

476. *Anastasius* reigned twenty fiue years: he was an *Eutichian* Heretiqne, was smitten with lightning, and dyed (as a iust punishment) for his heresie. *Fulgentius*.

493. *Iustine* reigned nine yeares: hee was first a Swine-heard, afterward a Cow-heard, next a Carpenter, a Souldior, a Captaine, and last of all Emperour, gouerning very well and godly, and expelling the *Arrian* Heretiques. Then liued *Boetius*; and S. *Bennet* or *Benedict* began this Order.

519. *Iustinian* reigned thirty eight yeares. All his care and study, was to repaire the decayed Empire, and re-establish ciuill right; in the execution whereof, hee was seconded by excellent personages, especially by *Belisarius*, *Narses*, and *Tribonianus*. They first chased the *Vandals* out of *Affrica*, which they had held 95. yeares: and deliuered *Rome* from the *Gothes*, who had conquered it, & yet were once more expulsed thence by *Narses*.

528. *Iustine* the second, reigned ten yeares, beloued of all men for his liberality. *Sophia* his wife mocked him with *Narses*, the Gouernour of *Italy*, whereat he being offended, called the *Lombardes*, by whose helpe he reuenged himselfe. Now was the Kingdome of the *Lombards* founded by *Clebus*, wher reigned thirty two kings, vntill the time of *Charles* the Great.

566. *Tiberius* the second, reigned 7. yeares: he was a very charitable man, one that loued God and his Saints, and therefore (no doubt) was beloued of him againe.

The kingdom of the Lombards.

577. *Mauritius* reigned twenty yeares: he was descended of very meane Parentage, and (in the end) was murdered for his couetousnesse: a vice as much discommendable in a Prince, as liberality is beseeming, and maketh him renowned.

584. *Phocas* reigned eight yeares: and being the murderer of his Predecessor, himselfe was likewise murdered, with all his Race. Now was the contention for the Primacy of the Church, betweene *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and now was S. *Gregory*.

604. *Heraclius* reigned thirty yeares, who was the murderer of *Phocas*. The fifteenth yeare of his reigne, began the rule of *Mahomet*, the false Prophet of *Arabia*, where were the *Agarens* & *Sarrazins*: to whom the

Contention for Primacy of the church.

612.

the Egyptian and Arabian princes (called *Soldanes*) next succeeded. After them came the Turkes, about the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand and three hundred, *Mahomets* false doctrine (through the negligence of the Emperors & Christian princes) grewe to such an head; that it not onely poysoned *Asia* and *Affrica*, but also a very great part of *Europe*.

640 *Constantine* the third, reigned foure moneths, being a good prince, and verie young: He was poysoned by his stepmother, that her sonne might reigne.

641 *Heraclion*, who hauing his nose and tongue cut out, was banished two yeares after.

643 *Constans*, the sonne of *Constantine*, reigned twenty and seauen yeares: And beeing very couetous, hee was slayne by his owne followers, in the Bathes of *Syracusa*.

670 *Constantine* the fourth, reigned seauenteene yeares. Hee ouercame in one battell, thirty thousand *Syracusans*, and afterward fell to great wickednesse. The learned and venerable *Beda* liued in this time.

687 *Iustinian* the second, a wicked man, reigned sixteene yeares, but not without interruption, being deiected by *Leontius*, and *Leontius* by *Tyberius Absimaris*, who reigned other three yeares; therefore these three are sayde to reigne sixeteene yeares. Now was the beginning of the Dukes of *Venice*, which had beene gouerned before (for the space of two hundred and thirty yeares) by Tribunes. The State of the Venetiãs.

713 *Phillip Bardasanes*, reigned two yeres. Hee was cast out of his Empire by his Lieutenant: and after that, they plucked foorth his eyes. Hee had much talke and little wisedome, disposing badly of the Empire, he became after a schismaticall Monke.

715 *Anthemius*, called also *Athanasius* the second, reigned three yeares: He was deiected from his Empire by *Theodosius* chiefe of his Armie, and turned into a Monastery. He had taken away the Empire, and then pluckt out the eyes of his predecessour.

718 *Theodosius* the third, reigned one yeare. He left the Empire, seeing himselfe to be assayled by *Leo* his successor, and became a Monke.

719 *Leo* the third, a wicked man, reigned fiue and twenty yeares. Hee was called *Iconomachus*, a Defacer of Images, and would not suffer the Christians to haue any in their Temples. He was excommunicated by *Gregorie*, and by authoritie of a Councell held at *Rome*, against his owne of *Constantinople*. *Blond.* in his tenth book. The *Sarazins* besiegd *Constantinople* three yeares together, in which time died three hundred thousand of the pestilence and famine.

742 *Constantine*, the fift of that name, the sonne of *Leo* the *Isaurian*, succeeded his father in the Empire of *Constantinople*, in the yeare of our Saluation, seauen hundred fortie and two. Hee was sirnamed *Copronymus*, because he would discharge his belly in the Fonts, appoynted for Christian Baptisme. Hee was an vtter enemy, not onely to the Images of Saints, but also to theyr Reliques, causing them to be burned. Hee did put to death many of the best and most respected persons, and (amongst others) two Patriarchs of *Constantinople*. He made warre against the *Bulgarians*, both by Land and Sea, Fortune smiling vpon him, other-whiles lowring. In his absence, one *Artabasdus* was made Emperour at *Constantinople*. But he receiuing news thereof, returned, and either put out, or rent foorth the new Emperours eyes, and caused his children to be slaine. In his time, there was so cold a Winter, that the Sea of *Constantinople* was frozen. After many cruelties, this Emperour dyed a Leaper.

743 *Artabasdus*, albeit he was descended of meane birth; yet notwithstanding, for the faithfulnesse, good vertues, and commendable qualities which were in him, he was liked of the Senate and Souldiers, & afterward was elected Emporour by the zealous Christians, for the hatred that euery one bare to *Constantine* the fift. Hee became a better louer of the Saints, and fortified the City of *Constantinople* against *Constantine*, who had beene expulsed from thence. Neuertheless, both hee and it were besieged; and the Citty beeing surprized, his eyes were pluckt out, and his children put to death.

745 *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father *Constantine* the fift. He was not only heyre to the Empire, but also to his fathers vices: And his mother, who was deuout, and one that loued God, would giue

giue no consent, that he should be Emperour. Hee made some attempts vpon the *Sarazins* that dwelt in *Syria*. Hee tooke the Crowne, which *Mauritius* had dedicated vnto Almighty God, and set it on his owne head, it being very richly beautified with rich pretious stones: But soon after, hee had an Impostume in his head, with a fiery Ague, whereof he dyed.

780 *Constantine*, the sixt of that name, and sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father: Hee reigned nine yeares (very young) with his mother, who with his consent also, was perswaded by *Therasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to call a general Councell of three hundred and fifty Bishops. In a short while after, *Constantine* excluded his Mother from the Empires gouernement. Hee caused the eyes and tongue of *Nicephorus* to be pulld and cut out, hearing of a secret intention, to make him Emperour. Also he did shut vp in a Monastery, his wife *Marie*, who was the daughter of King *Charlemaine*, and then tooke a Concubine, by the councell of his Mother, who pretended that her sonne was hated of the people. Heereupon not long after, shee caused him to be taken, and plucking foorth his eyes, shut him vp in prison, where hee dyed, in the yeare 798, and then she reigned alone, about the space of fiue yeares.

798 *Irene*, issued from *Attica*, was Wife to the Emperour *Leo* the fourth, by whome he had *Constantine* the sixt before mentioned, and reigned with him nine yeares, & afterward (alone by herselfe) fiue yeres, or little more, as hath already beene sayd. She was thence expelled by *Nicephorus*, and sent into exile to the Isle of *Lesbos*, which at this instant is called *Mitiline*. At the time when this Lady gouerned the Empire of *Constantinople*, *Charlemaine* was sacred and crowned Emperour of *Rome*, (or of the West) for his vertues.

CHAP. XIII

¶ The ancient and honourable Historie of the life, fortunes and admired vertues, of faire Landgartha, the royall Queene of Norway.

IT is a case most certayne and assured, that a generous spirit, a gentle soule, and an vnderstanding filld with cheareful delicacie; is much sooner seized with amorous apprehensions; then that which is farre off from this queint temper, and which subtillizeth the same perfection of the soule. Considering that loue, pure and perfectly naturall, being a vertue, and vertue euermore biding in such subiects; where the hearts are best and most sanctimoniously nourished, and gentle spirits hauing (I know not how) a rellish more diuine then vulgare, or apted for grosse popularitie: It followeth, without anie question to the contrary, that men, the more remarkable they are for greatnesse, gentlnes, good spirit, & illustrious blood; doe also best discourse on louely occasions, and effect them with clearer iudgement, then such as fayle in the accomplishments of the soule.

The reason why good spirits are much more amorous then dull and leaden capacities.

And, to sift this poynt the more seriously; Is it for a Clowne or peazant, to iudge on the raritie of vertues, on the singular giftes of the Spirit, of that which is beloued, and what offices and duties are in the partie affectionate? Effectes doe plainely approoue the contrary; for Poets, who are the very subtillest Painters of humane affections, that I know, and which trace Trueth vnder the distemperd colours of wittie Fables, can not better let vs beholde the picture of such an impression; then by the iudgement (so often sung) and performed by the *Troyan*, on the beautie of the three Goddesses. For, the rudenesse of the Shepheard, hauing extincted the bright beams of bloud fro his Parents, among the base and grosse thoughts fit for flock-keepers, not knowing the spirites forces, the beautie of the soule, the gentlenesse of vnderstanding, and the galliardise of the bodie it selfe, in being gouerned by interiour reason; gaue the prize (he knew not how) of beauty, by appearing in the exteriour shape of a lasciuious Lady.

It is not for the Buzzards eies to gaze on the Sunnes radiant splendour.

Beholde how farre Poeticall Philosophy extendeth it selfe, and iudge, if the sottish Shepheard degenerated not from his Parents, who should more haue cherished vertue, which liueth and continueth for euer; then that which withereth, and looseth it selfe by the steppes of age. And if that indiscreet Iudge pronounced the Sentence, in fauour of the most vnwoorthie, and lent his affections to the onlie

The interpretation of the Fable, concerning the iudgement of Paris.

The extẽdure of poeticall Philosophy in the Fable.

onely tickling of desire, full of wretched folly: so was he as well recompenced according to his merit, and felt in the ende, that a manly *Hectors* desseignes, sauouring of that which is proper to the vertue of a man; was much rather to be chosen, then the light promise of a hurtful thing, how pleasant soeuer in wish, and alluring the sensuall part of a man.

Corporeall beauty & feature in a woman, is no matter of any great moment

Also, to speake truely, so many famous women, as haue honoured all the Ages past and ours, by effect and memory of their commendable vertues; if they had had no other rarities to renowne them, but onely beauty of the body: questionlesse, their names had long since bin buried in a more obscure graue, then euer time ordained for things to be forgotten. No, no, it was vertue, generosity, height of courage, and great enterprizes; which made them immortall, and equalled their glory with the renowne of men, yea, of the most signall and illustrious.

Semyramis the Assyrian Queene.

The Amozones women warriors.

Queene Zenobia that made warre vpon the Romanes.

Against the venemous tongues of such, as neuer ceasse to taxe the reputation of so honourable a sexe; no boast need to be made, either of search into the valiancies of *Semyramis*, whose memorie is somewhat too farre off; neyther the incredible forces of the *Amazones*, the History being (I know not how) doubtfull in the occurrences. Nor will I induce *Zenobia* the *Asian* Queene, the dreadfull astonishment (sometime) of the Romane Empire: whose wisedome also was as much to bee commended, as any of the very chiefest Generals, her direction, policy and good carriage, all making her reputed (long time) for one of the Worlds Monarchs. Nor am I willing (fearing to make men blush, by reading how many women haue managed Armes, and with no meane felicity) to insert *Cinana*, Daughter to *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, who made head against the ingratefull successours of her Brother *Alexander*, pursuing the vtter ruine of his bloode that had aduanced them. After many foughten Battailes, hauing carried herselfe beyond the compasse of man-like valiancy; in the ende, she affected rather to dye, then to see the vtter ruine of the famous House of her Ancestors, beeing vnable any way to helpe it. I will be silent also, in speaking of the braue *Valasca*, a young Lady of *Bohemia*, who arming the Ladyes of her Country against their Husbands; made a happy course of long warre against the men: vntill such time, as (being betrayed) shee crowded into the throngs of her enemies, of whom (before she could be slaine) she slew a great number.

Cinana daughter to Philip King of Macedon.

Valasca a yong Lady, entred into Armes in Bohemia, gainst the men of the Counrry.

I will not (I say) discourse so many examples, beeing satisfied with a History most true and memorable, collected frō famous Antiquity, and from among the Ladyes of a people, heeretofore accounted very barbarous: wherein (by my slender opinion) honest Gentlewomen shall receiue some taste of vertue, without lerning the fierce obstinacy of any; and Gētlemen, may haue meanes to see and consider, how to make choyse of vertue in louing; and faire minded Maidens, obserue a rule, how to contain their thoghts in loyall affection, to them whom they haue dedicated their desires.

The Author referreth his Readers to this History onely.

In the time when *Dagobert*, sonne to *Charles* the Great, reigned in *France*, and ouer the Empire, there was a King in *Swetia*, named *Froll*, or *Frollo*, a cruell man, a tyrant, and insupportable to euery one. This King, being neuer contented with his owne Royalties, began to insult obstinately on his neighbours Lands: but especially to flesh on the king of *Norway*, vpon whose Countries entring without challenge or defiance, he made such great spoyle; that hauing pilled, sacked, and well-neere ruined the whole Country, he vanquished and and slew the King, with all his Family. Nor did it suffice this rauenous Wolfe, to haue shed so much innocent blood, for the glutting of his greedy desire: but hee must needs also soyle his name with all kindes of cruelty and villany, insomuch, that hee left neyther Lady of the House Royall, nor any other that he could lay hold on; but he abused them as villanously, as wickedly hee had robbed other of their inheritable rights. They that were not (as yet) fallen into the gripes of this abhominable Goate, and not knowing how to shunne falling into his cunning and treacherous snares, made such a priuate consultation among themselues by secret intelligence; that at length, they mette together in a corner of the desert belonging vnto the Kingdome, to haue a more free vnderstanding of particular grieuances, and how

King Frollo the cruell tyrant of Swetia

A bloody tyrant makes no spare of any thing, so he may compasse his own vile desires.

how they might beſt defend theyr honor and innocencie.

The noble mē of Norway ſolicite Reyner king of Denmarke to redreſſe their woful miſerie.

Newes likewiſe ran curſorily among them, that the Nobilitie of the Country (who had withdrawne themſelues into *Denmarke*) ſolicited King *Reyner*, to bring thither his forces, in reuenge of a diſhonourable iniury done to his owne bloud (for his mother was iſſued from *Norway*) and the *Dane* being eaſily ſpurred on to warre, in regarde he was very youthfull, his bloud chearefully boyling, and deſirous to atchieue honour by Armes; gaue the eaſier eare to the motion. Beſide, deſire of reuenge, to ſee his reputation ſo much intereſſed, by the tyrannies of *Swetia*, with pretending a right and title vnto the kingdome of *Norway*: Theſe were no meane motiues to incite him on the ſooner. And theſe conſiderations, gaue hart alſo to the diſtreſſed Ladies, for hope of good ſucceſſe thereby: but fearing, that matter and meanes (in this caſe) were not as yet ſufficiently ready; this intimated perſwaſion vaniſhed into ſmoake, euen (well-neare) as ſodainely as it was conceiued, being no way able to reſolue on anie thing.

Diſtreſſed honor, eſpecially in Ladies, is earneſtly deſirous of redreſſe.

At length, one in their goodly troupe, and (almoſt) one of the youngeſt, faireſt and gentleſt Virgines, and ſuch a one as had propounded to herſelfe, neuer to ſubmit vnder any Lawe, that gaue a man power ouer his wife: She, beholding the ſad aſtoniſhment of the whole company, and what iuſt reaſon they had to be ſo dreadfully diſmayed; making a reuerent obeyſance vnto them all, deliuered her minde in this manner.

A Councell called among the Ladies of Norway.

The Oration of Landgartha, to the whole Company of Ladyes.

CAn it be (faire Ladies of Norway) that illuſtrous blood, appeareth onely in the ſtrength and dexteritie, which fondly wee preſume proper and peculiar to men: and we that haue hearts, ſpirits, bodies and members like vnto theirs, muſt make them reuengers, and defenders of our continence & chaſtity? If Fate be ſo maleuolently affected, that our fathers, brothers and husbands, can obtayne no ſuccour, to recouer their lands, and expulſe the Tyrant out of theyr territories: ſhall it therefore be ſayd, that we muſt needs ſerue the inordinate appetits of a villaine, & Frollo muſt abuſe thoſe remayning Ladies, that neuer taſted his abhominable embracements. Let Landgartha liue no longer, if ſhe be voyde of all other dueties and deuotion, then to attend the pleaſures of a Tyrant, and (without reſiſtance) ſuffer violence to be done to her honour and modeſtie.

In extreamities all meanes conuenient are to beſoght and vſed.

Why Ladies, the Lyoneſſe and Tygreſſe whet their clawes and ſharpen theyr teeth, to defend theyr yoong ones, and preſerue theyr liues from the Hunts mens hands. The verie ſmalleſt Bird will vſe both the Beake and Wing, to reuenge the wrong offered by rape of her brood. And we, that ſurmount the one, in ſence and reaſon, the other in ſtrength, & all in wiſedome and councell for bolde attempts; ſhall we ſuffer that a Stranger (not one iote ſtronger then our owne Countries ſtrength) ſhall make a mockery and abuſiue paſtime, of the moſt honourable Matrones & Gentlewomen in our Land? No, no, it is not for Landgartha to endure ſuch indignitie, or that (without effuſion of her blood) can yeeld to the beaſt-like Prince of Swetia.

Vnreaſonable creaturs arme themſelues in their owne defence & theirs

Are we inferiour in courage and generoſitie of ſpirit, to braue Aluilda, who ſo long time fought on the Seas, and amazed the very boldeſt warriours of the world? Are wee defectiue in any thing ſhe had? We are healthfull, young, gallant, ſtrong and rich enough, to winne whatſoeuer is needefull for vs, by ſeruice eyther on Sea or Land. And if Aluilda (moued by vniuſt means) proſperd in her actions, and had Fortune fauorable to all her attempts: can you imagine, that Heauen hath not farre fayrer ſucceſſe in ſtore for vs, hauing Reaſon and Vertue on our ſide, and vpright iuſtice to ſupport our cauſe? were our iourney to death onely, and that the ending of this wretched life, could appeaſe the Tyrants cruelty, without proceeding any further: I would be the foremoſt, freely offering my ſelfe as a Sacrifice, to ſatiate the furie of his raging luſt. If he coueted, and would haue nothing elſe but our wealth and treaſure; I would aduiſe you to deliuer all, and rather then ſpare aught, let vs goe ſeeke future fortune, and beg our bread through all ſtrange countries in the world.

Aluilda was daughter to Siward king of the Gothes, & ranged on the ſeas as a Pirat

Ah, no, no, (ſweete Ladies) hee likes our liues too well, and by taking pleaſure in them, deſireth our euerlaſting diſpleaſure. He will ſuffer

Shame and infamy waite continually at the heeles of vnbridled luſt.

ſuffer vs to enioy our wealth, for his freer wallowing in wicked dalliances, which prey is the maine purchaſe whereat hee moſt aymeth : for hee more delighteth in our Honours violation, then, by maſſacring our bodies, to become Lord of all our Iewells, lands, and inheritances . What remayneth then for our deliuerance? Shall we tarry for them that are in Denmarke, expecting when they will come to ſuccour vs? No, rather let Ladies armie themſelues, and appearing in open field; fight valiantly againſt the villaine, that ſeeketh to rob vs of our true repute . Let vs giue him plainely to vnderſtand, that effeminate perſons are more ſoft, and leſſe valiant then we are; that chaſte and vertuous Ladies are of other temper, then Souldiers mollified by baſe paillardiſe : yea, that they are more truely conſtant then the Tyrant, whoſe conſcious guiltineſſe in foule offences, is his owne continuall torturing hangman. On then (valiant Princeſſes, and Ladies of no meane luſtre;) away with our wanton tires, paintings, periwigs, and ydle deckings : Let vs change our Spindles, Needles and Samplers, into Horſes, Launces, Swords and Armour, and trie, if Frollo be as furious in warre, as hee is fierie wanton in his laſcinious Pallace . Let vs reuenge the wrongs our Parents and Kindred haue receiued; or die moſt gloriouſly, in the purſuite of ſo holy, iuſt and commendable a reuenge.

A famous and worthy reſolution in a chaſte, vertuous & ſprightfull minded Virgin.

This couragious remonſtrance of the braue ſpirited Virgine, gaue ſuch bolde animation vnto the reſt of the Ladies, as (with one conſent) they made a league, vowing louing alliance, and (ſollemnly ſwearing faith, loyaltie, mutuall ſuccour, and aſſiſtance among themſelues;) *Landgartha* was elected chiefe commandreſſe, or Lady Generall of the Army, and well deſeruing that, or any other higher dignitie, being the motiue to ſuch a maine and important buſineſſe.

A League ſworne, amõg the Ladies, & Landgartha made the Lady Generall.

It is no common matter, that mooueth women to march in arms

Now beganne a muſter of all the Women and Maidens, of the moſt noble and famous houſes throughout the whole Countrey : but not without much amazment in *Frollo*, wondering whereto tended ſuch an aſſembly . Hee, perſwading himſelfe, that they intended flight to their friends and kinred in *Denmarke*; ſent commaund vnto them, that (on perill of their liues) they ſhould returne home to their houſes, for enioying the benefite of their libertie; which he was content to graunt them, in regard of their beauties and gentle behauiour.

The Heraulds & Meſſengers of Frollo are ſent back with iuſt payment by the Ladies.

But *Landgartha*, the man-like woman champion, hearing the peremptory commaund deliuered by the Tyrants Heralds; ſent them backe with blows and iniurious ſpeeches, telling them; that they would not take their liues, in regarde of any reſpect they had to their Lord : but onely, becauſe they ſhould let him vnderſtand, in what deuotion and readineſſe they found them, & or ſeeking ſome conuenient means and way, whereby to make him render an account for his tyrannie and cruelties.

When *Frollo* heard theſe tidings, at the firſt he made but a ſcorne thereof, laughing extreamely, at this womaniſh enterpriſe and Armie of Ladies, ſaying : They did well, to make a preſent of themſelues, becauſe he ſhould haue the eaſier way to find them, and if they came into the field; the bootie would ſuffice for his Souldiers pay, and likewiſe for their pleaſure beſide, in regarde he would beſtow wiues vppon them all, and ſaue them a labour from any further fighting. But this pleaſant humour ſoone forſooke him, and conuerted into fury, when he was aduertiſed of their being in the field, & making ſuch a ſtrange maſſacre of his men, as the like was ſeldome ſeene or heard of. Nor ſpared they the liues of any, that durſt reclaime himſelfe from following his ſeruice, which made him curſſe and ſweare, threatning them with a thouſand kinde of torments and afflictions, going now (in good earneſt) to arme himſelfe; as being perſwaded, that this feminine furie had extended ſo farre, that it was no light matter that could allay it. Hee grew alſo into ſuch ſuſpition of himſelfe, that he kept a ſtrong Guard about him : as holding but ſmall aſſurance of his life, amongeſt the armed troupes of his owne Souldiers : yet hee made many large promiſes vnto them, of the very faireſt and richeſt amongſt them, with all their lands and treaſure, to ſhew themſelues valiant and coragious, againſt this giddy headed army of women; which encreaſed daily more and more, both in number, victuals and munitions, brought continually to them from euery part.

The Tyrant made a mockerie of the Ladies preparation in arms meaning to marry them to his Souldiers

Frollo prepareth himſelfe to Armes againſt the Ladies.

But howſoeuer (one way) the bad affection of the *Norwegians* gaue affliction

to

to his ſpirits, and the fauour which his owne ſubiects affoorded to this womanish Army, tormented his ſoule as violently on the other ſide: yet he ſeemed to ſet a good countenance on his feares, declaring no outward doubt of preuayling againſt them, though (inwardly) his cogitations tolde him dreadfull tydings. Neuertheleſſe, being already in the field; and preparing his equipage, to get the beſt aduantage he could, of the place where the Ladies were encamped: a Courtier came galloping in poaſt to him, bringing newes of the king of *Denmarks* deſcent into *Norway*, with a very potent Armie. What aſtoniſhment ſoeuer ſeized on his ſoule, to ſee himſelfe incloſed (as it were) with two puiſſant enemies, and knowing how highly he was hated, by them whom hee had ouercome and ſubiected: yet notwithſtanding, perceiuing that flight was preiudiciall to his honour; and (moreouer) almoſt impoſsible, in regard that the ways whereby he ſhould paſſe into *Suetia*, as alſo euery port and paſſage were in the enemies power; he reſolued, firſt to runne his fortune on the men, who being defeated, the fight would be farre eaſier againſt the women; and thereupon, in the forme of an Oration, thus he ſpake to his Army.

Tyranny is alwayes ſubiect to tormenting paſſions.

The arriuall of Reyner, K. of Denmarke in Norway with a mighty Armie.

¶ *The Oration of Frollo, King of Swetia, to his Soldiers.*

When men be in bad actions (eſpecially in Armes vniuſtly) they ſtand in neede of good incouraging.

IF you were not thoſe valiant *Gothes* and *Swetians*, that haue tamed and beaten this kennell broode of *Norwegians*, and now conquered their land: If it were not your valiancie, that hath often made pillage and ſpoile of the *Danes*; If your inuincible force were not well knowne to the world: I ſhould then haue now entreated you, to remēber your Anceſtors, and the glorious conqueſts of your predeceſſors: I ſhould alſo ſet before your eies, how many Kings, People and Nations were vnder-yoaked, by the greatneſſe and deedes of your famous fore-goers. But, ſeeing that your proper vertue ſufficiently ſheweth it ſelfe, and auoucheth you to be the worthy ſonnes and ſucceſſours, to ſo many valiant and famous Fathers, and that your deedes are no way indebted to the glorie of their greatneſſe: Let vs goe then, gentle and worthy warriours: Let vs pace on, and giue *Reyner* to know, that this is no Countrey for him to reigne in, nor to deale in actions of Armes, with the moſt furious and braueſt Nation of *Europe*. Let vs on (bold ſpirites) to chaſe them againe, which haue ſo many times fled before vs; and let vs chaſtice the rebellion of the *Norwegians*, who falſifying their faith ſworne vnto vs: haue called in our enemy to their ſuccor, to quarrell with me for that, which is yours by right of Conqueſt.

The noble diligence of Lād gartha, ioyning her forces with King Reiners Campe.

In the meane ſpace, while *Frollo* marched on to meete the *Danes*, obſerue the wiſedome and diligence of *Landgartha*, and her Ladies, who ſtepped before him with ſuch poaſting ſpeede; that ere the time, as any intelligence could be obtayned of her departure: tydings were ſuddenly brought him, that both the Camps were ioyned together, and came mainly marching onward to bidde him battaile. Now, although this did not alittle ſtartle his minde, and intimated a ſuſpitious kind of feare, leſt Fortune ſhould turne her backe on him, hauing formerly fauored him in all his proceedings: yet being a man of high heart, valiant, and borne for Armes: he ſhewed no ſemblance of dread or diſtruſt, but rather ſtill ſollicited his men, to ſhew themſelues ſuch as alwayes they were knowne to be; and to account the ennemy no ſtronger by the womens combination; but rather to hope, that fortune had conducted them purpoſely thither, for the larger encreaſing of their benefit, and to heighten their corage againſt any, that durſt preſume to depriue them of ſo faire a booty.

Neceſſity and enforcement makes a cruenly coward valiant.

On the other ſide, King *Reyner*, beeing come within the view of the enemie, rode among the ranks, encoraging his people, propoſing to them his right, and the inuaſion made by the *Swetian*. He required them, to reuenge the wrong doone to ſo many honourable houſes, vtterly ouerthrowne by the Tyrant, and to ſuſtain the cauſe of womens modeſties, for whome, and in whoſe defence, long agone theyr Auncеſtours had attempted rare actions of Armes, and ſpent their blood in many parts of the world. He alſo ſet before their eies, the courage and animoſitie of the Ladies, who marcht orderly vnder the

The effect of an Oration made by king Reiner of Denmarke to his folowers, in ſight of the enemies camp

Enſignes of valiant *Landgartha*, and to imitate by theyr force, that which weake women had vndertaken, to free themſelues from the violence of a Tyrant. Alſo, that they might aſſuredly bee perſwaded, beſide the gaine and bootie, in getting the bagge and baggage of the *Swetians*: himſelfe would (moreouer) vſe ſuch rewarde and courteſie to well deſeruers; that they ſhould for euer haue iuſt cauſe to commend his munificence. He declared to the *Norwegians*, that (for the loue to them) hee would aduenture to fight againſt *Frollo*, whom if he conquered, hee would ſpare him no more, then the reſt of his race formerly had doone. And therefore, to ſhew themſelues valiant, and now to bee fully reuenged on the *Swetians* tyrannies; ſeeing Fortune had almoſt (with great aduantage) deliuered him into their hands.

Fighting in a good cauſe is an eſpeciall encoragemẽt.

Landgartha, beholding how euery one encouraged other to the fight, and obſeruing ſome rare galliardiſe, euen in the gracefull lookes of her female followers; in ſteade of further animating, thus ſhe ſpake vnto them.

Another Oration of Landgartha, made to the Armie of Ladies.

Her action, geſture and behauiour inflamed the deſires of all her faire folowers

IT is for vs (fayre Ladies) that the glorie of this battaile is reſerued, and to none elſe is due the reuenge, for our parents, kinred, friends and familiars. Men may fight (if they will) in their owne quarrell, and deale with whom themſelues thinke beſt: but the valorous Ladies of Norway, will purſue none other then the very ſquadron of the Tyrant, and there will wee die in the middeſt of our endeuour, or make this the laſt day of his miſerable life. Let our horſes ſeeme to flie among the rankes, that we may be obſerued to ſurmount the proweſſe of men, and that wee can quickely re-vnite our ſtrength againe, if any diſorder ſhould chaunce to diuide vs. Fair Fortune be our guide, and fauour vs to die glorioufly, or vanquiſh (with hearts beſeeming our Sex) the onely infamous Prince in the world. In a ſpirit gentle and generous, ſee (I beſeech you) what power Diſdayne hath, to behold it ſelfe offended, and of what woorth illuſtrous blood is, (touched with wrong) receiued by women and maydens, tender, ſoft, and delicately borne and bred, not inured to the trauaile of Armes, but driuen by deſire of reuenge onely. For, the rapes made on theyr violated kindred and friends: muſt needes bee now acknowledged, by the ornament which fayreſt embelliſheth our faces, and expoſeth vs to all manner of hazards, amongeſt the gallanteſt troupes of men.

The valiancie and carriage of Landgartha greatly admired by the K. of Denmarke.

King *Reyner*, hauing giuen the aſſaults ſignall, aduiſedly obſerued the behauiour and warelike order of the women, ſeeing *Landgartha* perfourme both the actions and diſcreete conduct of a good Souldier, making way through the throngs, and entring (euen in meere deſpite of the enemie) with her faire-locked troups of Ladies, into the Tyrant of *Swetiaes* ſquadron. Hee ſtoode as aſtonied at ſo braue hardiment, and (in this aſtoniſhment) he felt a kind of ſoftning in his manly ſoule, rauiſhing both his eyes and thoughts, with admiration & contemplation of this chaſte Damoſell: he foorthwith followed her ſighing, yet knew he not the cauſe of ſo ſodayne an alteration, and beholding her woonderfull carriage in the fight, ſaw no ſtroke returned againſt her, but it ſeemed to cleaue his heart in ſunder. Hee wiſhed himſelfe neere her, to free her from all perill and daunger; yet he tooke great delight to beholde her braue behauiour.

Keyner becommeth ſuddenly amorous of fayre Landgartha.

So long his eyes were led by this amorous contemplation, that (very ſoone after) he ſaw the Ladies preſſe on with ſuch impetuous furie, into the maine body of the battaile; and where the king of *Swetia* was in perſon: that (in a ſhort while) it became ſo ſhrewdly ſhaken, as, both the vanquiſhers, and the vanquiſht confeſſed, that the victory was more to be atributed to the wiſe leading of *Landgartha*, and valiant following of her Ladies, then to the long breathing and looſe courage, either in the Souldiers of *Denmarke* or *Norway*: for they neuer ceaſed to purſue the point, till *Frollo* was hewne in peeces amongeſt them; as the corrupter of blooming youth, and violater of their chaſtities, whom he ought (in honour and duty) to defend. Thus in an inſtant, *Frollo* payed the crueltie due vnto his diſgracefull life, & was puniſhed by celeſtiall Iudgement; for inuading the land and inheritance belonging

The orethrow of the Swetians, and death of their King by the braue valour of the women.

longing to another, and abusing the honor of so many chaste Ladies.

King Reyner attributes the victory to the valiant Landgartha, & her Ladies.

The victory won by the Dane, he freely confessed, that he enioyed it by the valiancy of the Ladies, and aboue al the rest by the wise and hardy conduct of hir, who commanded ouer the female troops. But concealing (as yet) the fire crept into his heart, and which stole on still to the verie depth of his soule; he cunningly enquired (as one rapt with amazement, among the rest, at the dexterity of this woman Warriour) what she was, of what house, and in what country she receiued her Originall? Answer was returned to him, that she was a Maiden to be married, so chast as possibly might be, as vertuous as any that liued in *Norway*, in blood Noble, of a famous house, and inferiour to no Ladie in wisedome. The vertue and wise carriage of *Landgartha* in war, hauing won the heart of this youthfull King; gaue yet a far larger entrance to loue, that left no part of his soule vnbesieged: when he heard say, that she was a Virgin Lady, and of great birth.

The kings passion encreases the more, by her commendable reports.

But because he could rather haue wisht her to be his louely friend, then wedded wife; he saw how short hee came of any such hope, being truely informed of her virgin modesty, standing cleere from all possibility of corruption: neither might he dare to attẽpt it, seeing how respectiuely she was esteemed, affected, and reuerenced, & hardy enough to suppresse all such sinister enterprises. Moreouer, as elswhere we haue declared, though rapes had bene too common in that *Scandian* countrey; yet it was no easy offer to her, that knew wel how to reuenge such wrong, and had made good proofe therof so lately, in the iust infliction on a lustfull tyrant. In which respect, hauing a faire and gentle spirit; he resolued, to cloath with grace and good acceptance, whatsoeuer might appear vnequall in her, to sute with the greatnes of a King, and to satisfie his owne desires, by contracting honourable Marriage with her. And because common fame had noised of her, that she had concluded to keep her virginity for euer, without admitting any man to triumph ouer her chaste honor: he laboured the more to win her, & to break this vncharitable purpose in her; affecting her as dearely as his owne life; accounting her the most compleate creature in the world, & such a Iewel, as none could be more precious.

Dishoneſt desires in a king, are no meane scandall to his best deseruings other wise.

If this opinion, concerning the rare vertues of *Landgartha*, had alwayes continued carractered in the soule of this prince; and if he had respected her as well after the enioying her, as before hee had the happinesse to be possessed of her: she should haue receyued no occasion to complaine of him, and he neuer had stood accused of such infidelity and ingratitude to her. But (the more the pitty) there is not any thing so precious, rare, or of greatest consequence; but if a man bee possessed of it, and hath it freely at his owne command: he groweth distaste full of it; accounting his appetite loathingly glutted therewith, and nothing can seeme more contemptible to him.

What mẽ most couet to inioy they growe careleſſe of afterwatd.

Reyner, how great a King soeuer hee thought himselfe to bee, and how powerfull in his cheefest commands: yet, he felt himself a slaue to Loue, not daring to discouer his thoughts: he was become (contrary to precedent custom) a friend to solitude, full of passions, compassed with feares, troubled in spirit, martired in his senses, scarse sustaining any hope, but very coldly, and breathing forth sighs incessantly; so that all were amazed at this so strange behauiour in him. Notwithstanding, no one durst enter into such boldenesse, as to demand of him, whence came the causes of such comfortlesse sollitude. At length, hauing considered sufficiently on what he had to do, and finding the power of loue so potent, that it exceeded all possibility of resistance, as hauing a priuiledge aboue nature, and *Landgartha* no way to be enioyed, but by the chaste embraces of a marriage bed: he sent for the Lady and her friends, imparting his mind to her in this manner.

The perplexity of k. Reiner in his loue, & endeuor how to compasse it

I Know well (gentle Damosel) that it may moue some admiration in you, vppon what occasion I haue thus sent for you: albeit, the obligation wherein I stande bound to your high deseruings, might haue commanded me to do it much sooner, & yet a matter no more then reasonable. But to hold you in no longer suspense the hope I haue, ỳ you wil continue heere in court; was the motiue to my mission, & the power I might pretend ouer your parents and frends, shold wish their willing

The speech of king Reyner, deliuered to Landgartha, in the presẽce of hir parents and friends.

aduice to you, and enioyne you to grace vs with your company. I know what you are, and am informed of your houſe and breeding; but much more am I aſſured of your valor and other vertuous merits, by the commendable partes and ſingular rarieties, whereof mine owne eies haue bin a witneſſe. You alſo are not ignorant who I am, what my power is, and the meanes to make my ſelfe ſenſible, either of fauors or iniures, from whom ſoeuer I happen to receiue them. I confeſſe, that if there be any thing extrauagant in Loue, or ſurpaſſeth the greateſt power in man; it hath taken foundation in my ſoule, enflaming my beſt deſires to wiſh you wel: but I am vncertaine, whether you be ſo courteous or no, to take a liking or acceptable allowance of this affection, and ſo much the rather, becauſe you appear aboue the reach of other Ladies. Neuertheleſſe, if you meaſure the greatneſſe of a King, and of him that is your Soueraigne, with the luſter of your choiſe perfections: you ſhal ſee, that both theſe rarieties paired together, do make but one vnion, & the moſt excellent that any man can imagine. In breefe, all my wiſh, intent, and affection conſiſteth in this, that if you thinke good, or I may ſeeme worthy in your eye, to be a fit husband for *Landgartha*; I wold take you to Wife, and make you Queene of *Denmarke* and *Norway*. You may thinke heereon, it is in you to conclude all, and to whom I referre my ſelfe: for, of this my ſubmiſſion, I make your parents and friends witneſſes, calling for them purpoſely hither, to heare my motion, and your anſwer.

Woers are commonly more ſolemne in their proteſtations, then afterwardes they prooue ſound in their performances

Landgartha, who was as apprehenſiue, courteous and modeſt, as high in corage, and ſtrict in opinion: conſidering who it was that made the motion, and how much he imbaſed himſelf in the demand, returned this anſwer.

The generous and modeſt anſwer of Landgartha: to the former ſpeech of king Reyner.

SIR, although my deliberation from mine infancie, and continuing to this flouring condition of mine age, hath alwaies beene, neuer to ſubiect my ſelfe to the lawes ordained for marriage, becauſe freedom euer ſeemed more conforme to the diſpoſition of my ſpirit, then ſuch obedience as a wife owes to her husband, not that I haue vowed or ſworne to any eſtate whatſoeuer: yet notwithſtanding, hauing regard vnto the duty I owe my Prince, and ſeeing how iuſtly I may deſerue blame and puniſhment, in refuſing him that hath ſoueraigntie ouer mee and mine; I beſeech you to thinke, that your thoughts being ſo direct as they pretend declaration, and reſpecting one of ſo meane merite as my ſelfe: I am alſo the onely Maiden of the World, ready to do you moſt humble ſeruice. Thanking the great God, that ſeeing I owe dutie to the fancy of a man (albeit againſt my former reſolue) it falleth ſo ſucceſſefully, as in ſeruice to the moſt wiſe and valiant Prince, that of long time hath reigned in theſe countries. Neuertheleſſe Sir, thinke it not ſtrange, I humbly beſeech you, if I ſpeake (perhaps) more boldly then becommeth me, to vſe a ſilly virgins aduice, to take lõger and more deliberate conſideration, in a caſe ſo ſeriouſly important as this is: humane affections being ſo light in caſes of theſe and the like impreſſions; that (many times) they as ſodainely wipe themſelues out of the ſoule, as at the firſt they came to be carractered there. Not that I wil accuſe ſo great a King of leuity, nor ſuſpect his faith any way infirme: but to this end, that hauing made a neer view of my complexions, and more exactly enquired the liſt of my life; you may the better cenſure my merit, meaſuring for hereafter, what you may now moſt valew in my meannes and inſufficiency: ſo ſhall you be ſure, neuer to vnſay your owne words, or be ſory then for that, which you make ſo great account of now. For know Sir, that the honor which you pleaſe to do me at this preſent, is nothing in reſpect of the great infamy, redounding then both vppon you and me, & thoſe that gaue you no better counſell in this caſe, whom it may as neerly concerne. This would be a worthy recompence, for the intire affection you beare me now, and I ſhould dedicate my life to you in deeper deuotion, remaining for euer your moſt loyal & dutiful ſeruãt.

Verie worthie aduice ſauouring of a diſcreet and wel ſetled iudgement.

Conſideration before mariage is verie neceſſary, becauſe repentance afterward cometh too late.

With ſuch a graue and ſeuere countenance ſhe vttered theſe ſpeeches, that the king, amazed at her wiſedome, but more at the Maieſticall deliuery of her wordes, and freedome of ſo faire and compleate a ſpirit: ſwore inſtantly ſuch loyalty to hir, as fitted with a king and faithful husband; wherein he plainly forſwore himſelfe, as you ſhall hear in this diſcourſe following.

At

At this time the Maiden was not married to the youthfull king (who longed after nothing so much, as to croppe the fayre flower of her chastity) but shee returned home with her parents and frends again; hoping, that the heate of this royall fire, would be quailed in time, and her absence would be the meanes to effect it. But *Reyner*, who could not forget her that had so worthily assisted him, and whose figure was liuely imprinted in his soule: followed her to her Fathers dwelling; and, scorning to be delayd by many daies accesse, espoused her, to the vnspeakable comfort of her parents and frends, but som dread and great distrust in her self, as fearing the continnance of this feruent affection, and hauing won the heart of a King, doubted to be dispossessed thereof. Neuertheless, such was her wise and commendable carriage, as to conceale her fears with maiesticke modesty: submitting her self to the Kings delightful pleasures, and the yoake of marriage, which formerly she had contemned.

King Reyner espousd Landgartha, to the ioy of her parents, but aprant feare in her of his affections continuance.

But, as no ioyes are durable, being perpetually followed by worldly occurrences; so *Reyner* (being a yong, wanton, and lasciuious king) after hee had bene Father to three children by his Queene, two daughters, and a hopefull yong Prince, filled, or rather ouer-satisfied with the embraces of this poore Lady (who brought him no other dowry but bright beautie, and vertue vnmatchable in all the countrey) coueting after matter of greater moment; withdrew thence into *Denmarke*, leauing his truely elected spouse in *Norway*, not with any purpose of sending for her, or returning to her againe, but vtterly to abandon & forsake her. Being in *Denmark*, he heard report of the K. of *Swetias* daughter, whom he desired to inioy, accusing his indiscretion, that he had embased the greatnes of a king, and much blemished his royall title, by marrying with a sillie damosell: and sending a solemne Ambassage into *Swetia*, he obtaind (without war or any other great difficulty) her whome he coueted to enioy in marriage.

The perfidious and vnfaithfull dealing of Reiner with his fayre wife Landgartha.

Heere behold, how constant the Kings affection stoode to vertue, and howe the maske of fained loue discouered it self. He had sworne fidelity vnto his best beloued *Landgartha* (notwithstanding her wise & worthie aduice of inconueniences to follow) with no meane admiration of her vertues and perfections: but Vertue was then bound to the Idea of pleasure, and therefore of as little lasting, as ease hath continuance in occasions of the flesh. Beside, no sooner had he receiued answer to his minde, from the king of *Swetia*; but forthwith, he aduertised *Landgartha* of a second intended marriage, although vnlawfully; yet praying her patiently to endure a diuorce.

Landgartha was to bee diuorced from the King her husband, without any cause of offence giuen.

The poore Lady hearing this determination (althogh long time before, she had both diuined and feared such disaster) was ready to dy with conceit of greefe, to see her selfe despised, without the least occasion of offence giuen, or why he shold so vnkindly refuse her. At length, considering that the king had some reason for this repudiatiõ, by seeking better aliance, which might succour him in his serious affayres; because he had an enemy that contended with him for the Crowne of *Denmark*, & incited the Emperor to lend him ayd, vnder colour of becomming a Christian, if he would help him to compasse the kingdome: she began somwhat to asswage her minds perturbations, answering thẽ that brought her these bad tydings, thus.

The King (my friends) should not thus abuse *Landgartha*, because he needs not to seek any further, for strẽgthning his house by stronger alliance: and well may I accuse him of lightnes, whereof I aduertised him in the beginning; and which (to my greefe) I finde now by ouer-deare experience. But if I were as reuengefull for the shame I suffer, as hee is vniust on my behalfe: I could (perhaps) finde him as busy and troublesome imployment, as shee can yeeld him pleasure, succour, or defence, with whom he hath such hast to mary. He knowes what means I haue to disease him seeing he felt part of my power in fauouring him, and should perswade himselfe, that *Landgartha* was neuer somuch offended by the tyrant of *Swetia*, as by him, who vnder the flattring name of mariage, hath wronged the modesty of her, that discerneth now, how men the greater they are, so much they think themselues dispensed withall, in breaking those Lawes, whereto they binde other in obedience.

Kings breake those Lawes, whereto they strictly binde their subiects.

Yet one thing causeth me somwhat to pardon his fault, and also to accuse mine owne indiscretion, that he being blinded

by loue, and I, by ſole reuerence vnto the name Royall: we haue both fayled in one kinde, but not equally puniſhable, his ſhame being not ſo great as mine, becauſe (being free, & without paſſions) I would ſubmit my ſelfe to the will of him, who durſt not vſe any violence towards mee; whereas he was a ſlaue to his owne cogitations, and tranſported with deſire, which maketh fooles of the very wiſeſt in the world. Let him enioy the embracings of his new elected Lady, at his own pleaſure and contentment; but I pray, (in regard of the faithfull loue I beare him, and ſo ſhall doe for euer, being ſuch as I am) that heereafter, he may neuer be ſo light & changeable in affection, leſt ſome one (of far leſſe cunning then himſelfe) make him not doe penance for wrong to all the reſt. And aſſure him, that although hee hath wounded the heart of *Landgartha* to death, by preferring another of much leſſe merit, and forgetting the debt, which maketh him mine by bond: yet notwithſtanding, the Image of King *Reyner* ſhall remaine perpetually engrauen in my heart, and no accidents of the greateſt diſaſter, can euer deface the ſacred and ſincere affection, which his plighted faith ſo lately imprinted in my ſoule.

Men may run on in vnconſtant courſes til at length they chance to be ouermatched.

Meſſages ſent by Lādgartha to him that had forſaken her.

Goe and report vnto him, the offer of my ſeruice, and the deſire I haue to pleaſe him, inſtead of ſeeking any reuenge. Set before his eyes, not any deſpayring cogitations in mee, but vnconquerable patience. Tell him, I am not a little ioyful, to ſee my ſelfe free from ſubiection to a huſband: but yet ſo ſorie as poſsibly can be, to looſe him whom I loue more then my ſelfe, and without whom, my dayes for euer are dedicated to mourning. Report vnto him, that *Landgartha* will liue, not to be reuenged vpon the diſloyaltie of King *Reyner*; but to the end, that by the effuſion of her owne bloud, ſhe may yet make him once more to know, that ſhe is more his friend, and more carefull of his States conſeruation, then himſelfe is. Tell him alſo, that ſuch Ladies as reſemble me, haue their hearts more generouſly diſpoſed, and farre more fairely furniſhed with vertue: then baſe minded men, that alwais carry gentlenes in their looks, but vllanie truly ſtamped in their hearts. For a finall concluſion, I pray God giue more eaſe to my vnfaithfull husband, then (through his diſloyalty) he leaues ſorrow and affliction in the ſoule of his loyall wife: and that ſhe who vſurpeth my place (in regard the fault is not hers) may long enioy peace in that bed, which vertue and merite once made me Miſtreſſe of, and the King taketh from me, I know not by what diſaſter, but in meere malice and hatred to mee and my fortune.

Her vertuous and charitable concluſions at parting with the Ambaſſadours.

What greater conſtancy could be wiſhed, in the heart of the very wiſeſt Philoſopher, that euer *Greece* or *Aſia* yielded, then appeared in the inuincible ſoule of this *Norwegian* Lady? What deeper deſpight could be done to a worthy womā; then to reiect and throw her off, as if ſhe had beene wicked and immodeſt? Or what greater occaſion may bee giuen, for betraying a husband; then cauſeleſſe ſuſpition, and diuorce or refuſall, where reaſon and iuſtice can ſhew no cauſe why? Poets haue liuely depicted in their Verſes, the deſperate tranſports of *Medea*, forſaken by *Iaſon*, and the fearefull cruelties vſed by her, to bee reuenged on ſuch an iniury. *Marke Anthony*, by refuſing and forſaking the faire ſiſter to *Auguſtus*, attracted by fooliſh affection to blacke *Cleopatra*; both *Europe*, *Affricke* & *Aſia*, were inhumanely bathed with the blood of men, the brother endeuouring to reuenge the iniury, which was offered vnto his ſiſter and the whole Family. And tell me (I pray yee) what a wound in *France* was ſometime made, by the diuorce of *Elianor*, Counteſſe of *Poictiers*, and Dutcheſſe of *Guienne*; the meanes whereof gaue way to the *Engliſh*, & that they made themſelues ſo ſtrong in *Fraunce*?

Medea diſtracted to ſee hir ſelfe forſaken by Iaſon.

Ciuile wars at Rome about an vniuſt diuorce.

The repudiation of Elianor, cauſed the long war betweene the Engliſh and French.

Notwithſtanding all theſe, and many more that I could ſpeake of, we ſee *Landgartha* ſo humble, wiſe, diſcreete, and ſuch a louer of quietneſſe, that, hauing meanes to be reuenged on ſo high a wrong done her; ſo farre was ſhe from purſuite, heate, rage or tempeſt, that making Patience prowd of her example: ſhee offered ſeruice to him, by whome ſhe was contemned and deſpiſed, preſenting all duety to an ingratefull husband, and promiſing freſh ſupply, after receit of a former diſloyall recompence. You which are iealous of Ladies honour, and complaine of a giddie madneſſe in theyr braines, and of immortall enmity and hatred engrauen in their Soules; behold this rare woman, declaring

Let all ſuch as depraue the ſexe of womē obſetue the incomparable vertues of Landgartha.

declaring truely a Christian minde, although she neuer receiued baptisme: Of her you may learn, that Ladies haue somthing in them rightly heroycall, which men can neuer comprehend nor taste of, but by long, studious and wise experience.

All Ladies are not like to Landgartha in the true vertue of patience.

And yet *Landgartha* stands not alone in this example, for *France* can make boast of many more great Ladies, that imitated her mildnesse and constancy, & of whom I could enter into a large Discourse: if *French* Histories were not so frequent among you, wherein you can lose no time to bee continually reading. But yet we haue not said all, that *Landgartha* (not hurried with iealousie, or tempested with fury for this refusall) sought any meanes whereby she might be reuenged: but in doing much more, surmounted all opinion and iudgement, giuing aide to him that had so shamefully left her, and doing good for euill, contrary to some stearne and combustious natures of her sexe, and as the sequell will more amply deliuer.

The Subiects take occasion to reuolt against Reyner

Reyner, being a Prince greatly addicted to Armes, seeing himselfe at home in peace, and that none of his neighbours sollicited him by warre; because his Subiects (being naturally giuen to warre, and inured to courses both by Land and Sea) might not liue ydle and slothfull: he permitted them to pursue their fortune, passing them into the Isles of *Ireland*, *Britain* and *Scotland*. Whereupon, the *Iutes*, and some other of the *Scandian* Territories, that bare him but bad affection, taking occasion by the Kings absence with his Forces; elected and created for their king, a Prince of royall blood, named *Harolde*, who shaping his course to the Emperour *Lewes* the debonnaire, that made his abiding then at *Magunce*, hauing receiued baptisme with his followers: was sacred and crowned King of *Denmarke*, by authority Imperiall, doing homage to the Emperor for his Kingdome.

Harold a christian Prince made King of Denmarke by the Emperor Lewes.

Harolde, being fauoured of his owne people, and affected by the most of them that embraced Christianity (to whom *Reyner* was no way pleasing) and re-enforced by a goodly band of *Germanes*, wherwith the Emperour furnished him, to put him in possession of his lands: went into *Denmarke*, to expell *Reyner* thence, and all such as followed his Faction. *Reyner*, waxing weary againe of his wanton desires, returning home secretly into *Denmarke*: found strange alteration since his departure thence. His owne people he encouraged to stand fast with him, called the *Swetians* also to his succour, and dispatching letters into *Norway*: requested assistance of her, from whom hee might more iustly expect warre then defence, and seuerity of reuenge for his vile dealing.

King Reyners returne home into Denmark from Swetia, and craning assistance of Landgartha.

What would an angry heart haue done in this case? A minde neuer satisfied but in doing ill; what an opportunity had it heere to worke vpon? How would a man haue carried himselfe, hauing beene notoriously iniuried, and so faire a way set wide open for him, as neuer was the like to bee expected againe: what haste would he make now to be fully reuenged? Without all contradiction, the breach of faith is very abhominable, and wrongs receiued by Noble natures, are not easily quallified, when times and seasons shape out reuengefull meanes, such as was this warr vppon the faithlesse *Dane*. Neuertheless *Landgartha*, hearing in what anguish her vnkind husband was, and considering with her selfe, that his ruine could not returne her any benefit, seeing also, that shee had two louely Daughters by him, and a Princely sonne, named *Frideslaus* (who afterward was King of *Norway*) motiues sufficient for his longer abiding with her: shee leuied an Army of sixe score Ships, euery one being worthily furnished, wherewith she intended to succour her distressed Husband, to whom shee sent tydings of her preparation and comming, in these few Lines.

The noble disposition & nature of Landgartha.

Frideslaus son to Landgartha by Reyner, was afterward K. of Denmarke

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The Letter sent by *Landgartha*, to her Husband, King *Reyner*.

IF this my second duty may proue as happy, in the recouery of thy Lands & Kingdoms, as my first was against a Tyrant, and yet honouring thee with the victory: I shall account my paines well imployed, and neuer expect any other recompence. Make head brauely against the Enemy, for I am coming with all speede, to let him know, that

Land-

Landgartha *is both a Queene and a warriour.*

Landgartha.

The Rebels afraid of Landgarthaes coming with her forces.

The Rebells, beeing aduertized of this supply from *Norway*, labored by all means possible) to prouoke King *Reyner* to the fight, before the comming of *Landgartha*, whom they knew to be wise, and very skilfull in the Art Militarie. And the king knowing their intention, delayed the day of battell, by marching further off from them, towards the place where hee expected *Landgarthaes* landing, that their two forces might the sooner ioyne together, & then to giue the enemy battell. Which *Harolde* well perceiuing, and knowing, that such delay would redound to his disaduantage; he pursued after *Reyner* with such expedition, laying such traines and ambuscadoes for him, that he compelled him to handy blowes, euen at the verie same instant as *Landgartha* landed.

The landing of Landgartha in Denmarke.

The fight fell out to bee very furious and bloody, and great numbers of men fel as well on the one side, as on the other, the chiefe Commaunders beeing fiercely animated, the one to defend his Crowne, and the other to vsurpe an estate, whereto he pretended a iust title, by reason of the quarrell betweene the King and his Subiects. And both of them standing on the aduenture of life, as well vnderstanding, that no fauour was to be expected, which side soeuer prooued to bee Conquerour.

The Danes put to the worst by Harold, & Landgarthas worthy assistance in very great extreamitie.

Now, though the *Danes* that followed *Reyner*, perfourmed so much duty as warriours could do, sustaining many impetuous efforts of the assailants; yet were they constrained to turne their backes, beginning to fall into rout and disorder. By this time was *Landgartha* come neare to the Campe, where she made a pause a while, to see which side behaued it selfe braueſt; and perceiuing *Reyners* men in no meane extreamity, valiantly she entred amongst the thickest of them, incouraging her husbands soldiers on thus: *On them braue spirits, set on them manfully, they are our spoile, as villaines not deseruing to liue, seeing traiterously they lift vp their weapons against their king. On then (I say) vndaunted spirits, heere is Landgartha, who hath brought you victorie, as well against Harolde, as sometime she did against Frollo in Norway.*

Landgartha encourageth the Danes against their enemies.

In deliuering these wordes, she dealt such bold blows amõg the Rebels, as they hardly knew which way to bestirre themselues. Now the battell grew to be more fierce on either side thẽ before: the *Danes*, to repaire their disorderd flight, th'other, to maintaine their hope of victory, whereof they doubted not, but disdained a woman shold depriue them of the occasion, of wholly ruinating *Reiner* and his Army. Neuertheleſſe, whatsoeuer manhood *Harold* and his men declared in the fight, yet they were oppressed by multitudes, being wearie, spent, & closely followed by the *Norwegians*, who were fresh, chearefull and actiue, conducted by a woman of very high resolue, and as furious in warre, as modest and gracious in her Pallace. Thus were they enforced to fight, not without great losse of the very worthiest mẽ in the Army, and the vanquished deliuered to the Conquerours mercie. But, though *Reyner* triumphed of the victorie, yet hee enioyed it by the fortune of her, who, albeit she might boast of her happinesse in war, and thereby attained to a great mariage; yet her other infelicity was a great corsey to her heart, to be disdained where she ought to be most beloued & esteemd.

Harolde and his men driuẽ to flight, and the victorie remaining to Reyner by the valor of Landgartha and hir Norwegians.

Reyner now was growne sensible, of the shamefull wrong he had offred to his first wife, accusing himselfe of disloyaltie, and detesting his former leuitie, entreated her to take such reuẽge on him, as she thoght fitteſt in her own iudgement. But she, being a Lady of vnmatchable mind, fearing lest the king (conquerd by this obligation of duety to her) should commit an other fault, by leauing the K. daughter of *Swetia*, who had brought him diuers children also: pardond all his passed iniuries to hir, & vowing her selfe to a widdowed estate of life, neuer more to conuerse with him or any man liuing; after a solemne parting betweene them, she returned home into *Norway*, to gouerne the Countrey by her discreete care, til her son *Ftediſlaus* should attaine to yeres of rule, and whom rhe K. there had constituted as his lawfull heire.

The reconciliatiõ betwixt King Reyner and Landgartha.

The remainder of this discourse, being more at large pursued by the Annalists of *Denmarke*, *Swetia* and *Norway*; I purpose here to conclude the Historie, which I haue in this place set downe, more to relate the valour, councell, aduice, good conduct and wisdome, seldome wanting in Ladies deriued from good birth; then I care

care for the idle loues of *Reyner*, or any of his Conqueſts. To the end, that ſuch Ladies, as excell in the like vertues in theſe our times; may hold on in the purſuite of their perfections, by the honorable exãples of them, that (in thoſe precedent daies) declared themſelues admirable in their actions, & imitable for their vertues and commendable carriage.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Bezaars Stone, which is reputed to be very vertuous and ſoueraigne, againſt all venomes and poyſons.

The Bezaar or Pazar ſtone good againſt all venomes and contagions.

THe Stone of the *Bezaar* or *Pazer*, is a true and aſſured Antidote againſt all poyſons, venomes, bytings of venomous Beaſts, infections of the Ayre; As peſtilence, carbuncles or plague-ſores, Purples, the ſmall Pox, the Meazels, and in briefe, againſt all diſeaſes popular and contagious. And becauſe experience hath made this ſtone to be in daily requeſt, and cauſeth it to be ſought for by people of good meanes; therefore ſale hath bene made thereof at extraordinary rates, and auarice being ſo great among men, hath therefore practiſed and compaſſed the meanes whereby to adulterate it, as heeretofore they did the like by Baulme or Balſamum. But before I write any further thereof, I will tell you from whence they bring it, and how it is engendred in the bodies of certaine creatures, which are like vnto Goats heere among vs; but they haue no horns, being of a reddiſh colour, and feed not but on good and wholeſome Hearbes, whereof are plenty on the Mountaines, and where they ſtartle at the leaſt noiſe of a Piece. But for our better vnderſtanding this Hiſtory, I will inſert a ſmall parcell of a Letter, written from *Peru* by a Spaniſh Gentleman, to *Monardus* a Phyſition of *Hiſpalis*, dwelling then in *Seuill*, whereby we ſhall perceiue how they are found.

Whence the ſtone is broght and how it is engendred.

¶ The Letter of a Gentleman reſiding in *Peru*.

Hunting of the Bezaar in Peru.

THe fifteenth of Iune, 1568. *being at the exerciſe of hunting, with diuers of my friends, among the Mountains in this Country of* Peru, *continuing at the ſport for the ſpace of fiue dayes, and hauing ſlaine ſome of the Beaſts called Bezaars; we diſſected their bodies, to finde the ſtones. But it beeing a matter impoſsible for vs to do, becauſe wee were not vſed thereto: we demanded of the Indians, which we had brought with vs thither to attend vpon vs; in what part of the body we might ſooneſt finde them; whereto they made vs anſwere, that they knew it not. But a young Indian Lad, aged about tenne yeares, and being then in our company, ſhewed vs where it was, and we found it in the firſt ſtomacke, where the food of the Beaſt falleth down, to be ruminated or chawed afterward. Which when the Indians ſaw, they would haue killed the Boy, as being offended at his enſtruction giuen vs: but we would not ſuffer them to doe him ſuch violence, and although they are ſubiects to vs Spaniards, yet they are our deadly enemies. Notwithſtanding, while we followed our paſtime of hunting, they got the Boy aſide and ſlew him, and afteward ſacrificed him, as we were giuen to vnderſtand.*

In what part of the Beaſt the ſtone is found.

He that feareth, hateth.

The Indians hold thoſe ſtones in great eſteeme, placing them for Ornaments in their Temples, which they call Guacas, *adorning alſo their Images with them, and many other things beſide, as Gold, Siluer, precious ſtones and rich Iewels. And I repute it a matter of ſome admiration, that this Beaſt is not found in any of the hither Indiaes, but in the Mountaines of* Peru, *neyther could I ſee them any where elſe: albeit I haue trauailed through all the Kingdomes of* Mexico *and* Peru. *In the Prouinces and Iſles of* Maranon, Florida, *and the Weſterne Iſlands, I haue beene diligently informed, and by the Indians heere among vs, vppon vrging them to what vſe theſe ſtones are proper: And they haue aſſured mee, that they are ſingular againſt all venomes, eyther applied outwardly, or receiued inwardly; but eſpecially againſt all harmes of the heart, and it expelleth wormes out of the body. Being put into wounds, made by impoyſoned Arrowes (as heere it is too much in vſe) it is an aſſured healing, and no other remedy could be found for it, but that onely.*

The Indians adorning their temples in rich maner.

Informations of the Indians concerning the Bezaars ſtones vertues

Wounds cured of impoiſoned Arrowes.

In

Stones are in some Beasts more, and in other lesse, according to their yeares.

In the first Beast that we dissected, wee found in a Bagge like a little Purse, 9. stones, which Nature had there engendered, onely by the benefit of feeding on good and wholesome hearbs: and in all those which we dissected afterward, we found in some more, in others lesse, according as they were aged in yeares. It is to be noted, that although they are found also in Beasts of the same kinde, which brouse and feede on the Plaines: yet they are not so vertuous, as in those bred upon the Mountaines.

Nicholas Monardus a Physition of Seuil

Thus you see in briefe, what was written by this Captaine (and indeed a very worthy Gentleman, liuing then in the *Indiaes*) to *Nicholas Monardus*, a learned Physition, and dwelling in *Seuill*; whereby may be vnderstood, how and frõ whence these stones proceede. Now wee will heare what the *Portugals* say, who haue made their conquests farre off frõ thence, to know, whether they agree with the *Spaniards* in this report, or no.

Of other Stones of Bezaars, described by the Portugals.

Garcias d'Orta a *Portuguize*, Physition to the Viceroy in the *Indiaes* discouered by the *Portugalles*, saieth, that in *Corazine*, and in the Countries of *Persia*, there is another kinde of Goates, of meaner greatnesse, which they call *Pazans*, in whose stomack or bulke are found stones of the *Bezaar*, the beginning of them beeing a small little straw, growing on to a certain greatnesse, by recouering many coates or tunicles: whereof some are found to bee as big as our common Beanes, others as Acornes, and other of more or lesse quãtity, smoothe for the most part, and in colour resembling a darke greene. The greatest, becausse the rarest, are more sought for then the lesser sort, by them of the Country where they are found, as reputing them to haue the most vertue. He reporteth, that he saw one which weighed fiue Ducates, and which was brought into *Portugall*, that would not be bought for threescore Ducats, albeit it was more worth whence it came: and in all those stones which are brought out of the *Persian* Countries, a little straw or stalke is found in the very midst of them, as hath beene often approued.

A Bezaars stone that weighed fiue ducats, broght into Pottugal

This Stone (saith he) is not found in *Persia* onely, but also in *Malaca*, and in the Isle which is named *Vaccæi*, not farre off from the Promontory of *Comorina*. For, as they can betray those Beasts, so they kil them, and being well salted or powdred, they serue as good prouision for their Armies. In many of them are found very great stones, vnknowne to the people there inhabiting, or why the *Portugalles* labour so much in search of them: which (indeed) is more for the said stones, then any loue they haue to the flesh, although it is very sauoury.

Countries where Goats are found that haue the Bezaars stões

The *Bezaars* stones which come from *Peru*, haue no strawes or stalkes in the midst of them; but onely a little cauity or hollownesse, wherein may be found some thicke dust or sand, which is of far greater efficacy then the stone it selfe. I haue seene fiue graines of this stone (in a little water of Mugwort) giuen to a Gentlewoman, who had beene seuen dayes in child-birth trauaile: and she was instantly deliuered of a childe dead and putrified. At the Castle of *Luke*, in the lower *Lymosine*, there was a great pestilence, wherof (in lesse space then foure & twenty houres) dyed three persons: afterward it tooke hold on the rest of the houshold, which were eighteene in number. Each one receiued two graines of this stone euery morning, with a little water of *Aenula Campana*, continuing so for seuen daies space together, and not any one dyed afterward, or became further touched with the pestilence. Diuers beside, that had carbuncles and sores, by vsing this stone, preserued their liues: It is very good also in application, to botches, byles, and all irkesome paines or swellings.

Difference betweene the Bezaars stões of Peru and Persia.

Vertues approued of the Bezaars stone

A young Gentleman, with whom it was my chance to be bathing in a Riuer, was bitten in the leg by a Serpent, so that his leg was become very black, and greatly swolne: hee was aduised, to take foure graines of *Bezaars* stone, with a smal quãtity of Rose-water, and a graine also was put into the wound; which caused the ranckling and paine to ceasse, and he was fully cured within twelue dayes space.

A cure of byting by a Serpent on a gentlemans leg.

Monsieur le Vicomte de Conborn, and Lord of *Chasteauneuf*, Lieutenant for the King in *Lymosine*, reported to me, that he was touched with a pestilential Feauer at *Paris*, and whereof many dyed, of euery quality, age and sexe, and abandoned of all Physitions. By the aduice of his Father in law, the Marshall *de Biron*, he took *Bezaars* stone for some few dayes, & within

Histories of rare vertues in the Bezaars stone.

in a little while after, he recouered, grew to indifferent ſtrength, and was much more luſtily diſpoſed, then any of them that had beene offended by the ſame diſeaſe, to the no little admiration of all them, that had knowledge of him and his ſickneſſe.

An obſeruation among the Inhabitants of the Iſland of Ormuza.

The Inhabitants of *Ormuza* (an Iſland that is moſt rich, ſituate vpon the red ſea, and ſubiected to the *Perſian*) after they haue purged themſelues in the Spring & Autumne: vſe to take ten graines of this ſtone, in as many ſpoonefull of Roſe-water, for fiue mornings following each other, by which meanes (they ſay) their health is ſoundly preſerued, and youthfull diſpoſition maintained. Againſt an inueterated ſcurffe on the head, or body, a loathſome itch, the wilde ſcab, called S. *Martins mange*, and (aboue all) againſt a confirmed ladry or leproſie; there is not any remedy like to this. As can well bee witneſſed by a Prelate of *Languedoc*, liuing at this day, who would haue ſlaine himſelfe an hundred times, and throwne himſelfe out of windowes (if hee had not beene carefully reſpected) onely beeing tormented with that diſeaſe of S. *Martine*. But by vſing this ſtone, which hee tooke three Months together euery morning, and good gouernment otherwiſe directed to him; hee is perfectly recouered. Now let vs ſee how true and naturall ſtones are to bee diſcerned, from ſuch as are counterfeit, and meerely adulterated.

Loathſom diſeaſes cured by the Bezaars ſtone.

How the Moores diſtinguiſh the true ſtones from falſe.

The *Moores* are exceeding skilfull in knowing them, and eſpecially, from what parts they are broght, in the doing whereof, the *Moore* will lay one in the palme of his hand, and cloſing it then faſt together, he will breathe or blow ſtrongly into his hand: if hee feele his breathing to paſſe through his hand, he is aſſured then, that the ſtone is falſified. A great number of them are oftenrimes to be ſolde at *Liſbonne*, the cheefeſt Metropolitane City of *Portugall*, where is one of the moſt frequented Portes in al Chriſtendome. And ſuch as there buy them, content not thẽſelues, with this order of triall made by the *Moores*: but dip a twined thred in the iuyce of a very venomous hearbe, which there they call *Baliſtera*. Then paſſing it thwart the foote, or other part of any Beaſt (as of a Dog) with a Needle, hee ſo

Experiment made in Liſbourne for the true knoledge of the Bezaars ſtone

leaueth it in the wound, vntill ſuch time as he feeleth thoſe accidents, which commonly ſeize on them that are poyſoned. And when he is perceiued to draw neere death; then to make him ſwallow three or foure graines of Bezaars ſtone, mingled with water: if it preſerue his life, it is an apparant ſigne of the ſtones goodnes and perfection; but if not, it is adulterated.

The variety of hornes borne by this Beaſt.

The Beaſt in whoſe body theſe ſtones are found, in *Perſia* and other parts of that Climate, as in *Comorina* (according to the writing of *Garcias d'Orta*, who had ſeene of them in diuers places) hath horns bending backward; but thoſe in *Peru* haue none at all. *Theuet* ſaieth, that they haue but one, and that the skinne of the ſaide Beaſt is kept, to be laid to the ſtomacke of man or woman, poſſeſſed with any paine or anguiſh there, and to procure digeſtion, and that (without all queſtion to the contrary) this skinne healeth all ſuch diſeaſes, although the perſons bee aged and decreipt. Moreouer, that he ſaw a ſtone of the *Pezar*, or *Bezaar*, in the cuſtody of the *Greekes* Patriarch of *Cayro*, which was as big as a good great Nut: if it were ſo, that ſtone was worth no meane ſumme of money. It were a thing miraculous, to finde a ſtone of ſuch greatneſſe; & yet he further ſaith, that an *Arabian* Captain had it giuen him, becauſe hee was ſecretly conuerted, and became a Chriſtian.

Some thinke Theuet to be greatly miſinformed in this matter.

The Bezaars ſtone knowne in times of great antiquitie.

It is not to be thought, that this ſtone hath beene knowne but within ſome ſmal compaſſe of time; becauſe antiquity ſpeketh of it more then fiue hundred yeares ſince. For proofe whereof, *Raſis*, an *Arabian* Phyſition maketh mention therof, though not relating from whence it was brought, or where it is to bee found: yet he affirmeth, that it reſiſteth all kindes of poyſon, and that hee made experiment thereof vpon a childe, that innocently had eaten a venomous plant, called *Napellus*, which cauſeth death immediately; and yet by giuing him a ſmall quantity of this ſtone, his life was preſerued. This ſtone hath beene ſo highly eſteemed, and eſpecially in thoſe precedent times; that, as it is reported by *Abdara Narach*, an *Arabian* Doctour in phyſicke, who was then at *Corduba*, about thoſe later yeares, when the *Sarrazins* made their vſurpation in *Spaine*: he ſaw a *Bezaars* ſtone, in the hand of

Proofe made vpon a childe that had fed on a poyſonnous hearbe.

of one of the children of *Amirama* (a great and diligent obſeruer of Religion) for which he gaue in exchange, a very goodly houſe which he had in *Corduba*, equall (well neere) to a Princes Pallace. And the ſaid *Abdara* further ſaieth (alleadging the forenamed *Raſis*) that this ſtone being worne about a mans necke, and kept ſo neere to the heart as may be; defendeth it and the party from all infection, & no poyſon can offend the body of him, that hath it thus about him.

Abdara Narach, a skilfull Phyſition of Arabia.

Seeing then, that this Stone hath ſo many good and ſingular vertues in it, methinks, men (of meanes and worth) ſhold ſildome or neuer be without it, for a preſent ſuccour in ſuch weighty infirmities. Beſide, Apothecaries of skill and iudgement, ſhold euermore be wel prouided of them, becauſe Phyſitions continually preſcribe it in their directions, which they would not do, if they knew men to be vnfurniſhed of it. For more aſſurance is to be repoſed in it (next to the aſſiſting power of Heauen) then in Treacle or Mithridatum, the confection of *Alkermes*, & of *Zacinth*. As is too well knowne by many barbarous Kings; gouerning in thoſe Regions, where the Beaſts are bred that engender theſe ſtones, repoſing ſuch confidence in them, and making ſo precious eſtimation of them; as they cauſe thē expreſly to bee brought from all parts. And when they are poſſeſſed of them, it is a difficult caſe to get any one from thē: which partly is the reaſon, why they are ſo deare and rare to be had.

The Authors friendly aduertiſement to the reader.

Heere the Reader likewiſe is to bee aduertiſed, that ſome of theſe ſtones are not pointed, or ſharply cornerd; but blunt, edgeleſſe and rounded, like to the little fingers ende, or as an Acorne. And although ſome are found to be great, yet commonly they are but as our ordinary Almonds, and not pointed. They haue alſo diuers foldes or lappings, one wrapping ouer another, like vnto Onions, all ſleecke and ſmoothe: for if you finde thē otherwiſe compacted, they are to bee reiected as falſe and counterfeit.

The admirable ſoueraignty of the Bezaars ſtone in compariſon of diuers other preſeruatiues.

All Bezaars ſtones are not alike in forme & proportion.

One of theſe ſtones was preſented to *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, hee being then at *Molins*, which he cauſed to be eſſayed vpon two perſons, that had deſerued ignominious death, & both of them hauing poyſon giuen them to drinke. One of them was holpen by the ſtone, who neuertheleſſe dyed; and the other that tooke it not, dyed alſo. The ſtone being broken, was found thicke and maſſiue, not diuided by Sphericall robes or foldings, and was throwne into the fire: And the giuer, who expected to deriue ſome great recompence from his Maieſty; had nothing at al, but frowning looks of the King, and the Queene his Mother, for his reward.

The diſcourſe of a falſe ſtone giuen to *Charls* the ninth, K. of France.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the generation of Pearles; where, and how they are found; from whence they are brought; and of their value and eſtimation.

IHaue read many Authors, to be reſolued aſſuredly, concerning the generation of Pearles: but I could finde none of one conſent, or agreeing together, and namely, ſuch as frequent the *Indiaes* in theſe dayes, are diuers and doubtfull alſo in their anſwers. For ſome ſay, that they are engendred in Fiſh-ſhels, like to thoſe of our Oyſters heere among vs, but much greater, and ſomewhat longer. And when they are deſirous to conceiue (vrged thereto by nature, and at a certaine time) they open of themſelues, to ſucke in and draw the dew of heauen: when, if the Ayre bee cloudy or lowring, then they engender troubled Pearles; and if it be windy, they cannot conceiue, ſo long as the wind continueth. But how fabulous this is, I refer to others iudgement: becauſe in one and the ſame ſhels, are found Pearles trobled, cleare, & of diuers colours and formes.

Authors agree not in the generation of Pearles.

Great difference in the generation of Pearles.

Others ſay, that the proper birth and production of the Oyſter, is by egs, whereof they are produced, and that the Pearls come forth of the ſand and grauelly duſt, whereby they are nouriſhed, & wherein they hide themſelues: which grauell refineth it ſelfe, & encreaſeth in them, as the graines of the Raiſin in the Grape. And this ſandy ſeed ſoftneth it ſelfe, the Oyſter being in the water: but ſo ſoone as it is out of the water, it hardneth of it ſelfe, as we may ſee daily: and this is another opinion of our Pearles production.

Another opinion of their generation, contrary to the former.

The

The Egyptian Merchants report how Pearles are engendred.

The Merchants of Ægypt, that at this day Traffique with them, and bring them from the Persian Sea, make men here beleeue that negotiate with them: that perls are engendred in the stomacke of a flatte Fish, round like to a Trencher-plate, and as big as a common plate, which is found on the shores of *Nilus*; and that it drinketh the dewe of heauen, as wee formerly sayd of the Oyster, all which is a meere fable. And although the Egyptians of these dayes know the matter truly; yet notwithstanding, meaning to mocke such as are ignorant in these things, they publish lies for apparant truths. *Atrosthenes* sayth, *Pearles are engendred in Oysters, as certaine white and solide graines are in the Flesh of Swine, which we vse to tearme Meazels, & is made of a clammy slime, congealing and hardning of it selfe*. Which I thinke to be very likely: For, beeing at *Paris* in the yeare 1566. and (in assistance with others) at the dissecting of a womans body, long troubled with a disease in the reines, in each of the reines was found a solide substance or body, as big as a cõmon Pease, glistering, cleere and round, like vnto Pearles.

Variety of opinions concerning the generation of Pearles.

Chares the *Mitilenian* saith, *Pearles are made of the bones of the Oyster*; but therein he is much deceyued, becausse the bones are alwayes in seruice to strengthen the body: but Oysters haue no need of bones: and likewise Pearles are not found in all of them; and if they had bones, then they would be found in all Oysters.

The iudgement of Chares of Mitilen

Americus Vesputius, in his booke of *Indian* Nauigations writeth, that he obserued the opening of many, & out of some certaine Pearles, which had not attained (as yet) to their maturity and perfection, being in some pretty store or number: but yet those Pearles perished of themselues, and came to nothing. But in them that were more aged, Pearles were founde in the flesh of the Oister, easily parting from it, and those were the best. And they that are found in them so aged and ancient, were wrinkled and very darke; which is likely to be true, if we do well consider thereon.

Americus Vesputius recordeth what himselfe had seene.

It is a meere Fable, which some haue divulged, that Pearles are found among the Rockes, by reason of many fishes laying their Egges, and becausse they cleaue to the flesh, or to the shell; but this happeth very rarely. For, all Oysters are not apt to procreate Pearles; but onely such as are rude, white, and pointing, like to the teeth of a Combe; which the Persians call *Cherippo*, cleere and verie smooth within: of which shelles are made Cups, Boxes, Spoones, and other very sightly things. Some are found in other kinds of Oysters; but they are neither so great, nor so good, as these that the *Cherippo* produceth, which some haue termed mother of Pearles.

Of Pearles found among rockes.

Of the Persian Oyster called Cherippo.

Heere we may note the variety of opinions, concerning the production of Pearles, the knowledge whereof is much concealed: for Oysters keepe alwayes at the depths of the sea, becausse their shelles are great, and therefore they are so deepe in the sea. If sometimes they are founde neerer to the shores, it happneth by tempests of the sea; also they swim heere and there, to seeke their best nourishings; which when they haue found, there they stay, vntill they haue eaten all they can find. Then if they senet, or perceiue such as seeke for them, they will fasten themselues so strongly to the rockes & stones, ouer-couering one another: as very hardly can they be forced thence, but oftentimes labour is bestowed in vaine, and they left there, as being immagined to be stones.

A reason for the variety of opinions in this matter.

In what parts the Pearl-oysters are vsually fished for

They are fished for in store of sundrie Countreyes and Regions; but the goodliest and those most common, are fished for in the Isle of *Baharem*, an Island bigge enough, and well peopled; being subiect to the Viceroy of *Ormuze*, and is neere to the Cape of *Masina*, in *Arabia Fælix*, & there is no meane fishing for them. In the Isles of *Maniolæ* also, is continuall fishing for them (they beeing as good there, as those of *Baharem*) and the Isle seated on the Persian Gulfe, an hundred Leagues or thereabout, from *Calicuth*, and almost throughout the inner *India*. In the Isle of *Zeilan*, in the Isles called *Vciques*, and so thorowe the great Empire of *Mexico*. At *Tarate*, more then in any of the forenamed Islandes, and in the Isles of the New World, they haue beene fisht for in such plentie: that the *Cacico* or Prince of the saide Isle, made a present of a Casket full of Pearls, to *Gaspar de Morales* (a Spanish Commaunder) which weighed an hundred and ten pounds. He promised

A Casket of Pearles giuen to a Spanish Captaine.

A tribute giuē of a Quintall weight of Pearles yearly.

beſide, to giue yearely a Quintall weight of Pearles, as a Tribute to the Emperor, and (among them) ſome were as great as ſmall Nuts, others as big as Nutmegs; & one (aboue the reſt) was found to weigh ſixe and twenty Carrats, and another one and thirty: it had the ſhape of a Muske-Peare, being very perfect and orientall.

A Merchant, being named *Peter du Port*, bought the ſaid Pearle of *Gaſper de Morales*, for eighteene hundred Ducates of gold, and after he had bought it, hee could not ſleepe for melancholy, and inward griefe he conceiued, becauſe he had giuen ſo much mony for a ſtone: yet hee ſold it againe on the next morrow (& for the ſame price) to *Pedrarias d'Auila*, for his Wife, the Lady *Iſabella Bouadillia*, who alſo ſolde it to the Empreſſe, Madame *Iſabella*. A Iew, named *Damell*, bought of a country peazant of *Baharem* (no long time ſince) a Pearle, of the greatneſſe of a Musket Bullet, for no more then the ſumme of eight ſhillings; and afterward ſold it to a Lord in *Sclauonia*, for three thouſand Crownes. There was a preſent made to *Fernando Magellano*, in one of the Iſles of the *Molucques*, of foure Pearles, each one of them being as big as a Pigeons Egge; and they were eſteemed worth an hundred thouſand Crownes, at the leaſt.

The admirable greatneſſe of ſome pearls and of extraordinary price and value.

Returning now to our former purpoſe, which was to diſcribe where Pearles are found, I ſay, that not onely they fiſh for them in the fore-named places: but likewiſe in all other Seas, bee it eyther of the South or Occeans of *Peru*, the *Antarticke*, *Florida*, *Canada*, *Guinea*; yea, euen heere in our neerer Seas, of *England*, *Scotland* and *Denmarke*; but in ſome place they are better, fairer, greater and rounder, then in other. And namely in ſome parts of *France*, as at *Rouen*, *Dieppe* and *Rochelle*, where ſome are found very rare and paſſable. Now let vs obſerue, how, and in what manner their fiſhing is for them.

In our neerer Seas they fiſh for Pearles, & finde ſome ſtore.

Such as are appointed for this manner of fiſhing, entring into their Barques; and (leauing ſome to tend and haue care of them, and to keepe the Oyſters after they are brought to them) leape by great numbers into the Sea, remaining ſometimes vnder water halfe an houres ſpace, before they be ſeene againe, and ſo continue at the bottome: hauing ſtrong pockets, or ſmall twiſted nettings hanging about them, wherin they put their Oyſters. Which being thus taken, they aſcend aboue water againe, and are receiued into their Ships: where hauing a while taken the ayre, and ſtrengthned their bodies with ſome ſuſtenance; they put on their wrappers againe before their faces, which commonly are thin waxed toylets, as fine as the bladders of Swine, that they may the clearer ſee in the water. Fiue or ſixe times in a day, thus they throw thēſelues into the water, and towards night returne home with their takings, I meane ſuch Oyſters as they hope to finde Pearles in.

How and in what manner they fiſh for ſuch Oyſters as haue pearls in them.

Vpon the Sea-ſhore there are a great number of ſlaues, as well women as men, who as often as the Oyſters are brought on land; fill their Scuttles and Baskets, made of Sea Ruſhes, carrying them to Veſſels full of freſh water, wherein when the Oyſters haue continued foure and twenty houres ſpace, and feeling a contrary ſauour to the Sea-water; they open of themſelues, and ſo ſoone as they are open, the Pearles ſunder themſelues from the fleſh of the Oyſters. Afterward, the Merchants emptying the ſhels out of the veſſels, finde all the Pearles in the bottom of the freſh water, and thus they gather the Pearles of *Peru*, and likewiſe in other places. Neuertheleſſe, they are not the hundred part ſo good, nor ſo fair, as thoſe of *Baharem* and *Maniolæ*: And obſerue withall, that Pearles are not found in euery Oyſter, but in ſome few, in other more, ſome breeding the greater, other ſmaller.

Men & womē ſlaues that attend on the ſeruice.

In what manner the Pearls are ſeparated from the fleſh of the Oyſter, & how they differ in goodneſſe & greatneſſe.

The Pearles being thus taken, ſometimes they eate the Oyſters, and otherwhiles they throw thē away, as being wearie and ouer-glutted with them by too frequent vſe. Theſe Fiſhers are ſlaues, ſeruing (for this purpoſe) the Chriſtian Merchants, Maronites, Iewes or Indians, which traffick in *Baharem*: and according to their taking pearled Oyſters, ſo are they cheriſhed and reſpected by their Maſters euery night, which maketh euery one ſtriue to be moſt beneficiall by his paines. Some-times the Seas are ſwolne more high & boiſterous, then the Fiſhers wold haue them to be, becauſe then it is an hinderance to their tarrying long vnder water; and then they make prouiſion for them-

The ſlaues reſpected by their Maſters, according to the benefit by their ſeruice.

themſelues in this manner. They haue a corde, at each end whereof they faſten a ſtone, which cord they binde about their backes, and ſo fincking downe into the Sea, by the weight of thoſe ſtones, they continue firmely vnder water, and gather the Oyſters at their eaſe: and when they would mount vp to the Shippe, lightly they caſt off the ſtones, and ſwimme nimbly in their riſing. Such as would meddle in fiſhing for theſe Oyſters, it behooueth them to be very expert in ſwimming and diuing; becauſe many drown themſelues, through want of taking winde, or elſe are drawne into the depth of the ſea, by huge and mighty Fiſhes, which there they met withall, and then by no meanes can eſcape drowning.

The induſtrie of the diuers or fiſhers vnder water to finde the beſt Oyſters.

Marcus Paulus ſaw this kind of fiſhing in the kingdom of *Vara*, which is in *India*, where it was performed in the ſame manner, and he ſayth, that they fiſh not but in the moneth of Maie, and then the Peaſants or Boores are ſet on worke by the Merchants. The King hath his Tenths or Tithes, and certain Sorcerers or Enchanters, there called by them *Abraiamins*, haue the twentieth part, and the Peazants haue their payment in money. Here you muſt know, that without theſe Enchaunters, they that fiſh in this manner for Oyſters, ſhould bee deuoured by certaine greedie and venemous fiſhes, as Crocodiles, Whales, and other ſuch like deuourers: but they coniure them in ſuch ſort, that they eſcaped from them without any daunger. But when night commeth, and the fiſhing muſt be forborne till the morrow; the Enchaunters releaſe and make their coniurations to ceaſe: onely to preuent theeues, who elſe (in the night time) would plunge and diue into the water, knowing they may doe it ſafely without perill, and ſo carry away the pearly Oyſters, and fruſtrate the Merchants of their expectation.

Marcus Paulus an eie witneſſe of this maner of fiſhing for pearls

Of inchanters whoſe coniurations doe great ſeruice in the fiſhing for pearled Oyſters.

Moreouer, there is no people in all the Countrey, that can enchaunt thoſe terrible fiſhes, or doe know the words belonging to this coniuration, but onely theſe *Abraiamins*. And it is to be noted, that all ſuch as trafficke in this fiſhing; doe not cauſe the Oyſters to open themſelues in freſh water; but in ſome Countries, they open them with little kniues, or ſharpe pointed bodkins. And in many other places, as in the *Indiaes* lately diſcouerd, they ſet their Oiſters ouer a fire, and ſo by heat procure them to open, by which meanes they finde the Pearles: but then thoſe pearles appeare of a reddiſh colour, and carry no chearefull water.

All Countries not alike in opening the oiſters for their pearles.

Alſo it is to be obſerued, that all pearls are not white of themſelues naturally, but in ſome places they are found to bee red; as in the Iſland of *Zipangrie*, ſcituate in the Eaſt *Indiaes*, according as the ſaid *Venetian Paulus* reporteth. And yet there they haue great plentie of them, very ſingularly excellent, both for greatnes and roundneſſe: and in thoſe Countries, they are of dearer value, price and eſtimation, that thoſe white do carry no compariſon with them. Somewhat I can ſay of my ſelfe, that I haue ſeene ſeauen redde pearles, and no more, belonging vnto the late deceaſſed Dutcheſſe of *Valentinois*; which had a moſt goodly luſtre, and I was (for a while) perſwaded, that they wonne that colour by ſome artificiall meanes: but after I had read the Diſcourſe of *Marcus Paulus*, then I became to be of another opinion.

All pearles be not white naturally of themſelues: but ſome redde pearles haue excelled the white in price & eſtimation.

Heere likewiſe will I inſert a great ſecret in nature, and (in my minde) very meruailous, reported to mee by men of good credite, that haue ſeene the fiſhing for thoſe Oyſters, and found it true by their owne experience. In a certaine ſeaſon of the yeare, theſe Oyſters of pearles, doe belch and caſt forth a red and blood-like moiſture, in great abundance: ſo that many (of the beſt in iudgement) among thoſe barbarous people, imagined them to ſuffer a fluxe of menſtruoſitie, as other fiſhes in the ſame Ocean doe. Theſe Oyſters haue their paſſages, like to all other fiſhes in Seas or Riuers, ſo that in ſome places great ſtore of them is to be found, and within a while after, a rare matter if tenne remayne there to be had, but all are fallen downe aboue tenne miles further off. Sometimes, they which fiſh in an other Countrey, where ſcarcely one is left: on the morrow or next day, ſhall light on more then euer was there before.

A ſtrange kind of moiſture iſſuing from thoſe pearly oſters at a certaine ſeaſon of the yeare.

Oyſters continue not in one place.

The *Perſians* haue moreouer inuented an other manner of fiſhing, more commodious, and of leſſe charge and perill. By making of hurdles of Oſiers or Palms, well knit together with ſtrong bindings, in ſuch manner as the fiſhing obſerued in

A later inuention of the Perſians in fiſhing for their pearled Oyſters.

our *Xantonge* Seas for Casserons, vsing certaine Rakes, which rash into the Sea sands, and when they find the beds of Oysters, so force thē enter into those hurdls. Others walke aloug amongst the Rockes and Stones, which appeare aboue the water, where oftentimes, they finde some of those Oysters, so fast knit to the Rockes or Stones, as very much labour can scarcely get them off, without breaking the rocke or shell of the Oysters, and then taking from thence the Pearle, so soone as the shell is broken; for otherwise it diminisheth, and doth loose the true and naturall colour.

Barbarous nations made no account of pearles in elder times.

The *Indians*, *Arabians*, *Persians* and others, in auncient times, made no more account of Pearles, then of ordures and corruptions which the Seas cleered them selues of, during the seasons of their turbulence and boyling. But now wee haue so well enstructed them, in knowledge both of the worth and profite, that they can skill of the goodnesse, and value of things in such sort, as they will sell those commodities at rates deare enough. The Ægyptian hath beene quicke witted alwayes, as hauing knowledge in good letters of longest continuance, addicting his studious contemplations, to vnderstand the secrets of Nature: so that Pearles and precious Stones, at all times hath tasted of his approbation and esteeme. The slaues and baseſt peazants in the Isle of *Baharem*, and other adiacent partes of firme Land, neighbouring vpon the Sea; haue oftentimes found Nacres and Oysters on the shoares, beeing dead, and yet they made search into them, and often they found very fayre and also rich Pearles.

The wisedom and long continued experience of the Egyptians.

Pli. li. 12. ca. 17. A king among the Oysters. and yet it is doubted, whether Oysters haue any vnderstanding, or no, and a great question among the best Naturallists.

Pliny saith, that Oysters haue a King amongst them, according as the like is affirmed of the Bees, Antes, and a guide allotted to the Cranes, and that this king is elected and chosen (by being the very fayrest and greatest) to take a carefull charge of all the rest: And that is the Oyster, which the fishers or diuers couet most to finde, being then assured, that the rest will not feare to followe. *Atheneus* alleadgeth another Fable, as thus: That they doe striue to reuenge themselues on the fishers, by opening their shells so to catch holde of their fingers. But such opinions are meerely friuolous, and they which ordinarily fish in the Oyster-Seas, make a mockerie of such reports. Beside, our Naturallists stand in doubt, whether Cockles, Scallops, Muscles, Oysters, and such like shell-fish (liuing in the water) haue any part of vnderstanding. And, by the same reason, if they haue the meanes of withdrawing themselues, vpon sight of the fishers comming, or from any other fish (opposite or contrary to them) endeuouring to eate and deuoure them.

Taruphall, or Taball, a fish contrary to the pearled Oisters, liuing by feeding on them.

There is a fish, which is very opposite to the Oyster, being tearmed by the *Persians*, *Taruphall*, or *Taball*, and is of the bigneſſe of a midling Salmon, hauing a hard skinne, yet without scales, and his finnes of an azure colour. This fish hath a little head, a sharpe nose or snowt, seruing for his mouth, which is full of sharp teeth: and these pearly Oysters are his delicious diet, liuing (almost) by no other kind of foode. When he is desirous of feeding, he watcheth till such time as the Oisters beginne to open, as oftentimes they doe, beeing in the Sea: whereof making his aduantage, and thrusting in his nose, hee deuoureth the fish quickely, leauing the shell quite emptie. The fishermen of the Islands, labour diligently to catch this fish, and first of all they open her bowells, wherein they finde store of very goodlie Pearles: then feede they on the fish, because it is dainty and delicate meate. The fewer number of Pearles they finde in an Oyster, so much the greater and fayrer they are, and where they chaunce on anie store, they are the clowdier and small. Some are found to be so little, that they can not bee drilled by any meanes; and therefore they call them Seede-pearles, which are purposely kept for Apothecaries, who imploy them according to their owne knowledge and experience, or as they are aduised by the Physitian.

The Taruphal hath plenty of rich Pearles found in his belly.

Of those Pearles that carrie most commendation by their shape.

The most commendable forme and shape of the pearl, is said to be that which is roundest; yet that in fashion of a Peare or Akorne, is not much worse; and next to these is that like to a little Nutte: nor doe they reiect such as are writhed and wrinkled, nor the very smallest; but all are employed and made vse of: the best for the richest people, and the other for them of lower qualitie, because they are worne by all degrees of persons, as well men as women, in regarde they are growne to be so

ſo common. No Prouince doe I know, whereunto more Pearles are brought, then into *Spaine*, and next into *France*, within ſome ſmall compaſſe of time, which makes mee ſo much to maruell at them the more.

In briefe, Pearles haue ſurpaſſed the riches of gold and ſiluer, and of Emralds brought from foorth the *Indiaes*. And yet I would gladly know the reaſon, wherefore our graue Auncients made ſuch eſtimation of Pearles; conſidering they knew them not to haue any medicinable vertue, and in regard alſo, they grew quickely olde, as we plainly perceiue, when they haue loſt their luſtre, cleareneſſe and whiteneſſe. For my ſelfe, I cannot imagine what ſhould be the reaſon, except it be in regarde of their whiteneſſe, which is not common to other precious ſtones: and I perceiue, that no account is made of them, which are of another colour, although they be of the ſelf-ſame ſubſtance. Some haue enſtructed mee in an other reaſon, to wit, becauſe they haue beene brought from the new-found world, and likewiſe, that in times paſt, they fetcht them from very farre remote Countries, which needs muſt vrge the more affection to them, becauſe they come from farre hence: Or elſe wee make ſuch deare eſtimation of them, in regarde that (many times) they coſt the liues of men in fiſhing for them, as partly we haue before reported. The greateſt Pearles are called in Latine *Vniones*, becauſe ſildome or neuer we ſhall light on two, that are alike eyther in greatneſſe, roundneſſe, or ſplendour, or anſwerable in weight: for wee finde them alwayes ſeparated one from another, and not ioyned together; And the leſſer ſort they vſe to call *Marguerites*.

The reaſon why the greateſt Pearles are called in Latine Vniones.

After that the Merchants haue them in their power, they permit them to bee peruſed by diuers people, wherein the *Indians* and *Perſians* are the beſt exerciſed, as beeing naturally enclined thereto by frequent practiſe. Nor do Pearles continue ſtill in one and the ſame condition, for the truth is, they will fade, wither and waxe light by courſe of times: eſpecially ſuch as are caught after the full Moone. But being kept in the floure of Rice, mingled with Bay-Salt, they will recouer their former beauty and weight. But they which are caught deepeſt, and in the new Moone, are neuer ſubiect to any ſuch inconueniences.

The Indians and Perſians haue the greateſt skill in Pearles.

Pearles will decay & waxe light.

The fleſh (as they vſe to call it) or body of the Pearly Oyſter, is moſt wholſom, and of great nouriſhment; excellent good againſt melancholy, and for ſuch as language, or are in a conſumption, and alſo for Hectiques and Tiſicks. But the *Indians* make no vſe of Pearles in their medicines, although the moderne Phyſitions of the *Arabes* and *Moores* doe, which hath beene learned of them by ſome of ours, and vſed in all cordiall medicines, being good alſo for the eyes, finely beaten into powder, and held as an eſpeciall preſeruatiue for the ſight.

Pearly Oſters good for diuers diſeaſes.

A doubt and demand, what the reaſon may be, that Pearles ſhold exceed gold and ſiluer in value and eſtimation.

FINIS.



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